Policing Perspectives on “Honour”-Based Crimes and Forced Marriages within the Context of Domestic Violence

by

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ABSTRACT

There is limited research on how police conceptualize “honour”-based crimes and forced marriages; to the best of my knowledge, this qualitative study is the first to examine the perceptions of police officers and civilians working in Canadian law enforcement agencies. This study is based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with 46 research participants: 32 police officers of various ranks and 14 civilian members working in rural and urban settings across Alberta. This dissertation brings together multiple perspectives, which contributes to understanding the need to improve policing practices to prevent, protect, and investigate these crimes.

The main research question that guided this dissertation is: How do policing agencies in Alberta conceptualize, understand, and respond to “honour”-based crimes within the context of domestic violence? I used constructivist grounded theory approaches to analyze the individual interviews to gain new insights and a deeper understanding of police perspectives and responses to “honour”-based crimes and forced marriages. Critical race feminism is the lens through which I analyzed the data and interpreted the emergent themes. I argue that more direction is required from the government and police service administrations, so individual officers and civilian members are equipped to respond under the existing framework for domestic violence.

Overall, the key findings presented in each chapter make definitional, methodological, policy, and practical contributions to better understand “honour”-based crimes and forced marriages as specific forms of domestic violence. I outline the methodological approach and research methods I used in chapter 2. The remaining chapters are structured around three substantive papers that have been published in peer-reviewed journals.

Chapter 3 outlines the construction of a written vignette based on actual cases of girls and women murdered in the name of "honour" as a method of complementing the semi-structured interviews. The methodological considerations I made with the hypothetical vignette are discussed, as well as how the participants reacted to the various forms of abuse, multiple abusers, and the forced marriage depicted in the scenario. This chapter presents my reflections on the development and implementation of the vignette and the rich data that emerged, which indicated that it was a successful method. Finally, I offer recommendations for future training with vignettes and research, as this method is a valuable tool to increase awareness.

Chapter 4 also examines the vignette and presents the findings from the six accompanying questions. This chapter seeks to understand the meaning-making processes police use in situations like the one described in the vignette. Analysis reveals that both police officers and civilian members recognized the need for intervention in the vignette scenario, except there was uncertainty in how to respond. I examine how not everyone in policing would be able to reliably identify the need for police interventions. Investigations vary depending on the investigator's level of expertise, knowledge, and experience. Participants' responses indicate the need to have clear and appropriate guidelines to investigate cases similar to the vignette. I also show how implicit cultural biases can influence a police officer's actions that stereotype and stigmatize racialized communities. I argue the need to go beyond cultural sensitivity training and diversity hiring practices to educate and train police and other professionals.

Chapter 5 situates this study within the broader Canadian discourse and political stances informing law and policy decisions where interview questions outside the vignette are discussed. Findings reveal that there is "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices" because of inconsistency in the use of terminology, police perceptions of training, and new legislation

passed in 2015 titled Bill S-7, *Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act*. I argue that police are met with challenges and resistance from colleagues within the service, which can affect their actions and protection of victims in vulnerable situations. I offer five recommendations to inform policy and practice.

This timely study is significant in that it increases the understanding of a complex yet underexplored phenomenon in Canada and contributes to planning for police efforts to protect those at risk. This dissertation focuses specifically on the perceptions of law enforcement, contributes to an emerging body of literature in the Canadian context, and lays the foundation for future research to consider services provided in and beyond policing.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Wendy Aujla. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board 1, Project Name "The Perspectives of Alberta Law Enforcement on So-called "Honour" Crimes within the Context of Domestic Violence", No. Pro00056667, April 29, 2015.

Certain parts of this thesis have been reworked and condensed for publications. Accepted publications and papers in journals include the following chapters:

Chapter 3 of this thesis has been published as Aujla, W. (2020). Using a Vignette in Qualitative Research to Explore Police Perspectives of a Sensitive Topic: "Honor"-Based Crimes and Forced Marriages. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 19,* 1–10.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to those who continue to fight for a response to "honour"-based crimes and forced marriages, including all the anonymous sisters and brothers who survived and those murdered, not by a stranger, but by family members. It is my sincere hope that we remember to honour their courageous efforts, so their struggle and suffering is not forgotten in their tragic stories that continue to be shared.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I praise and thank Waheguru (God) for guiding me in life. I also would like to thank my parents for their continuous support, the freedom to pursue what interested me, and for always believing in me. As a South Asian woman of colour, pursuing this Ph.D. was quite the journey. I am the first in my family to reach this level of education, and I value the continuous learning and opportunities. This research comes from a place of privilege—not everyone has the means to pursue an education and engage in critical conversations about strategies for providing meaningful social supports for victim-survivors of "honour"-based crimes and forced marriages. I strive to hear and respect those who are differently positioned, and as an applied sociologist, I have built bridges between researchers, law enforcement, and the community. I thank the organizations, gatekeepers, participants in law enforcement, and community activists who provided pivotal insights into the work they do. I hope this research advances this work, which is far from complete.

I would like to thank all the mentors and educators who supported my academic journey. Special thanks to my one-of-a-kind supervisor/mentor, Dr. Jana Grekul. I could not have asked for a better supervisor to share this experience with. You pushed me to think about my research and the story I was telling. With every track change comment, your thoughtful feedback strengthened this research. I truly could not have completed two graduate degrees in the Department of Sociology at the U of A without you taking me under your wing and being my biggest cheerleader. You freed me to study what I am passionate about while wearing multiple hats, because it was worth undertaking what is important to me. I admire you for recognizing my appetite for advocacy work, parallel to my research. Without your endless support, guidance, and encouragement, I could never imagine this dissertation coming together. Go team purple!

I also want to acknowledge the support of my supervisory committee, Drs. Amy Kaler and Janki Shankar, for their valuable input that strengthened my work. Thanks to my external examiners, Dr. Derek Truscott and Dr. Tuula Heinonen, for their careful reading of my dissertation, and to Dr. Michelle Maroto for chairing my exam.

I have been touched and honoured by my friends and family who have valued my ideas and allowed me to think more deeply about this project. I am also grateful to the Academic Success Centre and Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for the opportunity to participate in writing groups and retreats that kept me accountable and motivated. I am also forever grateful to Kate Pratt, the graduate writing specialist, who enriched my work with conversations, reflections, and editorial advice. I am also thankful for discovering my passion for cycling, as it allowed me to pedal out writing doubts.

Finally, I am forever grateful to my husband. Harry, without your love, support, encouragement, and humour, my coping strategies to survive our personal experience with "honour" would have looked different, and I would not have been able to complete this dissertation. I still remember how we felt as we kept our inter-caste relationship a secret, and navigating the experience was a process that took a lot of courage and resilience. Until now, I had never stopped to reflect on my work being so deeply rooted in those experiences. Disownment is painful, but as you always say, we are not the first nor the last couple to marry outside of caste. You helped me find the strength to enforce boundaries, which is a challenging thing to do in our culture. I have a greater understanding of how "honour" operates for each gender and for victim-survivors, which has allowed me to bring an empathetic perspective to this research that is thus informed by our personal experience. Thank you, Harry, for helping me achieve what would not have been possible without you!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALERT – Alberta Law Enforcement Response Teams

AM – Arranged Marriage

ASIRT – Alberta Serious Incident Response Team

CFS – Child and Family Services

CGT – Constructivist Grounded Theory

CIAS – Crime and Intelligence Analytical Section

CPS – Calgary Police Service

CRF – Critical Race Feminism

DAHRT – Domestic Abuse High Risk Team

DCU – Domestic Conflict Unit

DV – Domestic Violence

DVIT – Domestic Violence Intervention Team

EDHR – Equity, Diversity, and Human Rights

EPS – Edmonton Police Service

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation

FM – Forced Marriage

FV – Family Violence

FVIR – Family Violence Investigative Report

GTM – Grounded Theory Methodology

HBC – “Honour”-Based Crime

HBK – “Honour”-Based Killing

HBV – “Honour”-Based Violence

HBVA – “Honour”-Based Violence/Abuse

HRV – “Honour”-Related Violence

HMIC – Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary

ICWA – Indo-Canadian Women’s Association

IPV – Intimate Partner Violence

I-TRAC – Integrated Threat and Risk Assessment Centre

RCMP – Royal Canadian Mounted Police

REB1 – Research Ethics Board

SALCO – South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario

SVIT – Spousal Violence Intervention Team

UK – United Kingdom

VAWG – Violence Against Women and Girls

VoIP – Voice over Internet Protocol

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Research Background and Motivation for Research

I became interested in studying violence against women and girls (VAWG), particularly in immigrant and racialized communities, during my undergraduate days when a number of South Asian women in British Columbia, Canada, were murdered by their husbands and other relatives. A case that I followed closely through Canadian media coverage was the 2000 murder of 25-year-old Jaswinder (Jassi) Kaur Sidhu, a beautician from Maple Ridge, British Columbia. On June 8, 2000, Jassi was kidnapped, assaulted, and murdered during a visit to Punjab, India by contract killers. Jassi's family disapproved of her secret marriage to Sukhwinder (Mithu) Sidhu, an auto-rickshaw driver, on March 15, 1999, believing it to be shameful and damaging to their reputation in the Sikh community (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Dawson et al., 2011; Virdi, 2013). "In the eyes of her family, Jassi was threatening to destroy everything they had worked for" as a wealthy blueberry-farming family with high socioeconomic standing in Canada (Dawson et al., 2011, p. 200). This case attracted significant media coverage in Canada, leading to three documentaries by CBC's *The Fifth Estate*—"The Murdered Bride: Jassi Sidhu" (Vickery, 2001), "Escape from Justice" (CBC, 2012), and "Justice for Jassi Sidhu" (CBC, 2019)—as well as a movie titled *Murder Unveiled* (Sarin, 2005).

A petition website, *Justice for Jassi,* and a book with the same name were co-authored by well-known journalists in Canada and India (see Dawson et al., 2011). The book described the compound Jassi lived in and how her life was controlled and monitored. She was under constant surveillance from male cousins and uncles who were responsible for making sure women did not injure the family's "honour" (see Gill, 2009; Mucina, 2018). Like Jassi, some women are socialized to avoid any action that might harm the family's reputation in the community (e.g., to

prevent gossip or humiliation), and if one woman in the family acts or is perceived to have acted in a shameful way, the dishonour is shared by the entire family, including extended members (Korteweg, 2012). Jassi's family was strict, and she was "forbidden from engaging in after-school activities, sports, sleepovers, and absolutely any activity that involved boys" (Dawson et al., 2011, p. 9). The book also provided a summary of how Jassi kept her marriage a secret from her family, as well as the physical abuse she suffered when they found out about it. The family pressured her to divorce Mithu, but she refused. They also made threats against Mithu's family, and controlled and isolated Jassi by locking her up inside the home. Jassi managed to seek help from the police to escape the family home and stayed with a friend until she travelled to India, as she feared for her life and Mithu's safety. Despite these efforts, Jassi was found and punished for challenging her family's patriarchal values. She was murdered for choosing to marry Mithu, a man her family thought to be unsuitable, instead of the much older and more financial stable man her uncle, the family patriarch, had chosen for her (Dawson et al., 2011; Moore, 2013). The case is well-documented and demonstrates the motives (e.g., cleansing the shame and dishonour) behind such murders, as well as what can happen in a family similar to Jassi's "where men are in charge of family honour and women are blamed for tarnishing it" (Dawson et al., 2011, p. 23).

Jassi's murder led to a lengthy investigation involving authorities in both Canada and India. In 2007, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) sent two officers to India to further investigate (Dawson et al., 2011; Lazaruk, 2012). An investigation by the Indian police led to the arrests of a dozen individuals, including a police inspector, two local gang members, and Jassi's uncle Darshan Singh. At least seven of these individuals were charged; three were later acquitted and four were found guilty (see Dawson, 2019). Jassi's mother, Malkit Kaur Sidhu, and her maternal uncle, Surjit Singh Badesha, were also accused of plotting her murder in Canada and

hiring contract killers in India. Investigators found at least 147 telephone records between the accused in Canada and the hired contract killers in India (Dawson, 2019; Dawson et al., 2011). Sidhu and Badesha were arrested in 2012 and extradited to India in 2019, where they are still waiting to stand trial (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Dawson, 2019; Virdi, 2013).

Because of its organized and complicated nature, this case demonstrates the extent this type of violence can reach. While this case is more involved than most, such as other high-profile cases and the story I constructed in the vignette (see Chapter 3 and 4), these extremes are not rare, nor do I suggest that others are less severe and cannot be complex or organized crimes. Also, there is an obvious overlap in their characteristics, for example, the pre-meditation and planned nature of women murdered with the participation and involvement from multiple family members, including female and extended relatives. Even the less serious situations warrant attention as they can escalate quickly and involve others in the wider community.

Investigations of these crimes "often have to be carried out transnational[ly], involving many authorities and sometimes several countries" (Belfrage et al., 2012, p. 20). There is no doubt that these cases are complicated with transnational factors influencing the investigations. It has been more than 20 years since Jassi's death, and the efforts to seek justice continue in hopes that her family will be held accountable for her death. The complicated case also points to gaps in protection from the authorities in two countries, as this murder was planned in Canada but carried out in India. Cases like this one illustrate how the police and other professionals need to identify what to look for when young girls report their experiences to authorities. Jassi and friends who became aware of her situation called the police repeatedly for help. In the months prior to her death, Jassi went into an RCMP detachment where she expressed concerns about her husband's safety in India because she had married against her family's wishes. The police officer

who took her statement provided Jassi with a phone number for the Indian consulate. Jassi was at the police detachment for approximately 45 minutes and left without much protection (Moore, 2013). This plea for help demonstrates the importance of police training to recognize safety concerns, especially when young women like Jassi are afraid to report their families to the police. If the authorities in the two countries (e.g., Indian police, RCMP, and immigration officials) had taken seriously the many written and verbal statements Jassi made, she likely could have received the necessary protection from her family to save her life (see Aujla & Gill, 2014; Dawson et al., 2011).

There are many lessons to be learned from Jassi's case that could help inform police decisions when encountering similar situations with heightened levels of risk. The risk in these situations can escalate, and police officers need to understand the "one-chance rule" and the steps they need to take to save a life. The one-chance rule is a "concept denoting the fact that there may be only one chance to speak to and save the life of a potential victim" (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary [HMIC], 2015, p. 142). If the responding officer had received training in the one-chance rule, they could have taken further action (e.g., assessing the risk of violence, developing a safety plan or applying for a protection order from the family) so Jassi did not "walk out of the door without support being offered" (HMIC, 2015, p. 15). Police and other professionals need the training to recognize the seriousness of the risk of harm when receiving a disclosure of concerns like Jassi's. This case is a powerful example of where gaps exist in police understandings of these crimes and of the lack of interventions to support the needs of young women and their safety when their families disagree with their life choices. Individual officers may respond differently to these situations depending on their level of knowledge and training to identify risk factors.

I self-identify as South Asian, and I feel emotionally impacted when I hear of young girls and women like Jassi being murdered by family members. My motivation for this research is in response to the dominant discourses I have witnessed while pursuing graduate studies in sociology. I was inspired to study how deaths like Jassi's in a family context are conceptualized by police and other professionals, and how they need better training to recognize the nature of these crimes and prevent these murders. From 2011 onwards, I noticed that the federal government was trying to figure out how to take action to prevent "honour"-based killings (HBKs).[1] I noticed some troublesome aspects of the response in Canada, especially in the media reporting, training offered to service providers, and political discussions leading to policy and law changes. HBKs did not receive extensive public and media attention in Canada until December 10, 2007, when 16-year-old Aqsa Parvez was strangled to death in her Mississauga family home by her brother and father, and June 30, 2009, when police in Kingston, Ontario, investigated the deaths of three teenage girls (Zainab, 19; Sahar, 17; and Geeti Shafia, 13) and a woman (Rona Amir Mohammad, 50) who were found drowned in a car.[2] These murders occurred on Canadian soil, and the cases were framed as HBKs in the media (Haque, 2010; Jiwani, 2014a; Jiwani et al., 2012; Mason, 2015). The media coverage focused heavily on "cultural" and "religious" frameworks, and the "death by culture" narrative (Zine, 2009, p. 152) "othered" the victims and perpetrators as belonging to a "backward" Afghan culture and Islam (Jiwani, 2014b).

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[1] The federal government funded several projects for a total of $2.8 million through the Status of Women Canada to address "honour"-based crimes (HBCs) and "harmful cultural practices" (Olwan, 2014). The Indo-Canadian Women's Association (ICWA) in Edmonton was among the various community organizations to receive funding for a project in 2011 on early prevention and intervention, which included training community members and service providers. ICWA hosted a conference in June 2012 to increase education and awareness among service providers.

[2] A documentary, *In the Name of the Family* (Saywell, 2010), portrays the life of Aqsa Parvez and other young girls who were murdered. The Shafia murders have been detailed in several books (Tripp, 2012; Schliesmann, 2012).

I am frustrated with how culture and the term "honour" killing are used to label domestic and family violence in racialized communities. This terminology ignores the effects of the patriarchy and the structural barriers (e.g., lack of access to social support services and reliable intervention) that are found cross-culturally (see Haque, 2010; Razack, 2021). I began thinking of this project after attending several conferences and training-related workshops where my views differed from others' perspectives.[3] I found that individuals concerned with this topic were using their personal experiences, survivor identity, and cultural background to educate professionals, including police services and their members. The trainings I attended with representatives from various police services seemed to validate assumptions that racialized individuals from diverse communities need more protection because of their culture. I had great difficulty trying to understand the cultural explanations being used to explain the motivation for an "honour"-based crime (HBC). I was surprised by the connections others were making to a cultural background with which I self-identify. I was taken aback by how HBC educators shared extensive lists they had compiled that reinforced how police could identify HBCs in racialized communities. I saw myself not accepting the explanations and cultural reasonings I was hearing, but instead challenging myself to think about the systemic problems at the root of all gendered violence and to go beyond the emerging but unhelpful views of linking this form of VAWG solely to non-Western cultures. I pushed back about my community's construction as "culturally

[3] Trainings were offered by: 1) Alberta Criminal Justice Association, 2) ICWA, 3) Sheldon Chumir Foundation for Ethics in Leadership, 4) the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, 5) Barbra Schlifer Clinic and South Asian Legal Clinic (SALCO), and 6) The Annual Diverse Voices Family Conference. I also participated in a 2013 roundtable discussion with Rona Ambrose, former Minister for the Status of Women, on violence committed in the name of "honour" against women and girls. In 2015, I accepted an invitation from the Department of Justice Canada and the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development to attend a conference in Ottawa titled "Tackling Early and Forced Marriage and 'Honour' Based Violence in Canada," where I had the opportunity to discuss the current legal responses with professionals (e.g., law enforcement officials, victim service providers, frontline workers). At this conference I observed how the Canadian government had joined the international discussions by inviting experts from countries like the United Kingdom to present.

driven" by violence (Papp, 2010) and unwilling to assimilate to Canada, and I started to think about how South Asian women, including myself, transgress boundaries and patriarchy found in all societies (see Mucina, 2018).

The training did not challenge the systemic barriers or service provision gaps as seen in the high-profile cases of young girls and women murdered by their families in Canada. I worried about how the information presented by HBC educators without an anti-racist lens would further perpetuate cultural racism among attendees. Based on my prior research work with seven South Asian women in reporting all forms of violence, I knew a simplistic analysis of South Asian culture in a training session could put victims at risk of revictimization if they disclosed their experiences to those in and outside their communities, including professionals like individual police officers who may fail to protect them from further harm (Abji & Korteweg, 2021; Aujla, 2021a). Thus, young girls and women may not engage in help-seeking behaviours if they fear being stigmatized by professionals (e.g., police officers) who hold racist attitudes, lack knowledge, or do not have anti-racist training (Aujla, 2021a; see Razack, 2021 on concerns with training on issues of culture that lack an anti-racist approach).

Terminology and What is "Honour?"

As I became immersed in the world I study, I began to understand how perceptions regarding the meaning of "honour" can vary between families, even those from the same community. Beyond my personal experiences, feminist activists, non-governmental organizations (e.g., Canadian Council of Muslim Women), and various scholars have questioned the use and the meaning of the term "honour," and specifically the label of "honour" killing (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Hogben, 2012; Jiwani, 2014a; Jiwani et al., 2012; Keeping, 2012; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Mucina, 2018; Olwan, 2013; Terman, 2010). Since Jassi's murder, I have witnessed how

VAWG has been motivated by the preservation of family “honour” and how domestic homicides in immigrant and racialized communities in Canada have received the HBK label. This labeling is clear in the media coverage of Jassi’s case, which often mentioned the term and role of “honour” and included headlines such as “Victim of alleged honour killing” (Moore, 2013).

The Canadian media has covered news stories with the HBK label, and scholars have critiqued this discourse (Jiwani, 2014a; Jiwani et al., 2012; Korteweg, 2012; Mason, 2015). Scholars have pointed out how certain cases (e.g., Aqsa Parvez, murdered in 2007, and the Shafia sisters, murdered in 2009) in Canada became known as HBKs quickly, as opposed to others reported in the media (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Korteweg, 2014). For instance, 17-year-old Amandeep Atwal was killed by her father in 2003 for dating a White boy, but her death was treated as a murder and was not labeled as an HBK by the media. As Korteweg (2014) has discussed,

> Aqsa’s murder became known as an honour killing far more quickly than in Amandeep Atwal’s case, in part through the guilty plea of her father and brother. In terms of Aqsa’s perceived transgressions, the newspapers focused on her refusal to wear the hijab as the underlying conflict. (p. 200).

Scholars have raised concerns about the dominant media discourse in Aqsa’s death that focused on her Pakistani culture and religious identity (Shier & Shor, 2016; Zine, 2009). The media headlines focused on Aqsa’s refusal to wear the hijab and a cultural argument that emerged portrayed a story of a girl trapped in her Muslim culture and living “a double life” (Haque, 2010, p. 86). Haque (2010) challenged these identity narratives by drawing attention to “the conditions of Aqsa’s life; the underemployment and poverty, the surveillance and the social exclusions suffered by her family and community” (p. 96) that were missing in the media accounts.

While some journalists asked whether these cases were domestic violence (DV), most of the media applied the “honour” killing label and distinguished these murders from DV or

“standard” homicides (Findlay, 2012; Haque, 2010). The risk in this approach is that defining these murders as HBKs locates this phenomenon as exclusively a cultural or religious (Sikh/Muslim) problem and detaches it from VAWG in other communities. The HBK label overlooks the patriarchy at the root of all forms of gendered violence, including domestic homicides, and influences how these murders are understood by the public and professionals (e.g., police officers, school teachers, and social workers).

Like other scholars and activists, I disagree with the media reporting of the HBK label and policy discussions that portray VAWG in immigrant and racialized communities as culturally “backward,” or “uncivilized” as it reinforces racist attitudes (Hogben, 2012; Jiwani, 2014b; Korteweg, 2014; Mason, 2015; Olwan, 2019; Razack, 2008, 2021). “The danger here is that the South Asian family is seen as a regressive and backward when compared to the modern Caucasian one” (Gill, 2006, p. 6). This discourse also perpetuates negative stereotypes that cast all South Asian and Muslim men as being “barbaric,” and women from these communities as needing to be rescued from their oppressive culture (see Jiwani, 2009; Jiwani, 2014b; Olwan, 2019; Razack, 2021). Postcolonial feminist theorists critiqued this discourse as “colonial horror at the barbarity of the Arab, the Oriental, and the Other” (Gill, 2006, p. 6), and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak phrased it as “White men are saving brown women from brown men” (1988, p. 296). Not all South Asian men are violent, and HBKs do not only happen in the South Asian community. For example, many South Asian men, including journalist Harbinder Sewak, condemned Jassi’s murder and stated that HBKs have nothing to do with the culture or religion (Lazaruk, 2012). Cases similar to Jassi’s can occur in any family or society, and cut across all cultures, races, ethnicities, educational levels, socioeconomic classes, caste statuses, sexual

orientations, and all age groups (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Elakkary et al., 2014; Gill, 2009; Korteweg, 2014; Muhammad, 2010).

The term “honour” killing continues to be controversial as there is nothing honourable about murder (Gill, 2009; Siddiqui, 2005). Some advocates and scholars are reluctant to use the term “honour” killing and have indicated a preference for the terms “femicide” and “patriarchal homicide” to capture the gendered nature of the crime (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Hogben, 2012, Jiwani et al., 2012; Razack, 2021).[4] “Honour” is a highly contested concept, and the term takes on vastly different meanings in different contexts. Some scholars use it alone, without the modifier “so-called” or quotation marks, while others prefer to use alternative terminology (see Aujla & Gill, 2014). In this thesis, I have chosen to use quotation marks around “honour” when referring to HBC and HBKs to signal that I am still challenging the term because the meaning is problematic when used with words such as crime, violence, and killing. I use the term HBC broadly to encompass all forms of “honour”-based violence (HBV) against women and girls, including threats of violence (emotional and physical), murder (HBK), forced marriage (FM; a marriage without consent), and so forth. HBCs are depicted as unlawful activities because they are an extreme form of DV, encompassing all types of abuse and ranges of behaviour that may lead to murder/domestic homicide. I situate HBCs in the context of DV to include the practices unique to this crime, but also to be careful not to exclude the other forms of abuse found in the definition of DV that may lead to this crime. I also use the term HBV throughout this thesis to

[4] Some feminists suggest that because of our distinct values in Canada (e.g., gender equality, diversity and respect for all), we should tackle the phenomenon without joining other countries in using “honour” killing terminology to describe murder. Hogben (2012) has suggested that Canada follow certain countries in refusing to use “honour” killing terminology. However, she does not provide a detailed discussion on why authorities in countries in South America, “the East,” and Palestine prefer to use the term “femicide” (p. 43). Aujla & Gill (2014) have argued the “term femicide is not disrespectful or prejudicial toward ethno-cultural communities, highlighting the fact these murders are no different than the ones occurring in mainstream communities (e.g. domestic violence homicides)” (p. 154).

refer to any form of violence or abuse motivated by "honour," other than murder (see Roberts et al., 2014 on behaviours and crimes associated with HBV), which is similar to Korteweg and Yurdakul's (2010) and Janssen's (2018) use of "honour"-related violence (HRV) and Aplin's (2019) use of "honour"-based abuse (HBA).

Some scholars define HBC as a gendered crime or incident that covers a wide range of violent behaviours, including murder, against female members for deviating from traditional cultural norms, and family and community expectations (Aplin, 2017; Blum et al., 2016; Gill, 2006; Gill et al., 2012). In most cases, a patriarch (e.g., father, husband, brother, cousin, uncle) and other male relatives are typically expected to protect or defend family "honour" and use acts of violence, but not exclusively against women, to maintain and restore the family's status and reputation in the community. Male family members are also likely to assert their power to prevent any shameful or dishonourable acts, with the goal of allowing the family to maintain a respectable image in the community. HBCs are most commonly perpetrated by family members (including women) or extended relatives colluding to punish another family member (Gill, 2009; Mojab, 2012), sometimes through making a younger man (e.g., brother, cousin) to actually commit the crime (Korteweg, 2014). HBCs can transcend national and international boundaries through planned vacations; an FM or HBK can be carried out by family members or hired contract killers in a city or country far away from the victim's home (Gill, 2009; Idriss, 2017). For instance, Jassi Sidhu went to India to reunite with her husband and was murdered there by contract killers hired by her family, while the Shafia family vacation was part of the plan to murder the four women (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Schliesmann, 2012).

The punishment from known family members and the community is for actual or alleged behaviour that brings dishonour and shame to the family, which transgresses the "honour" code

(Blum et al., 2016). Women's actions either prior to, during, or after marriage may trigger disapproval from family members (see Janssen, 2018). In Canada, perceived "honour" violations have included immoral behaviour often associated with a woman's sexuality, such as having a boyfriend who is deemed unsuitable; inter-racial relationships; marrying outside of her religion/caste/racial/community background against the family's wishes; pregnancy outside of marriage; being a victim of rape or sexual assault; seeking a divorce; escaping an abusive relationship; disagreeing with an early, forced, or arranged marriage;[5] refusing to undergo the practice of female genital mutilation; wearing inappropriate clothing or makeup; supposedly becoming "westernized"; refusing to dress a certain way (e.g., not wearing a veil or hijab); kissing or showing intimacy in public; and seeking freedom, independence, and education based on personal choice (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Blum et al., 2016; Dawson et al., 2011; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Mojab, 2012; Olwan, 2014; Papp, 2012; Schliesmann, 2012). Thus, "the concept of honour can be very broad and inclusive, containing an entire codex of concepts and behaviours" (Gill, 2006, p. 2). Regardless of the motivation, HBC and FM encompass all forms of domestic violence (e.g., physical, financial, psychological, and emotional abuse) with elements of coercive control to instill fear (see Stark, 2007). In attempted FM, coercion can include emotional pressure, blackmail, physical abuse, and kidnapping (Gill, 2009). Young girls

[5] There is a wide range of different reasons where "honour" motivates an early/child marriage (non-consensual) or forced marriage (FM), including preventing access to education, control over a woman's body, sexuality, freedom, pre-marital sex, dating or marrying against the family's wishes, choice in separation or divorce from an abusive husband, or having an affair (Chantler et al., 2009; Gill, 2006; Gill et al., 2012; Hague et al., 2013; Hall, 2014). Other factors considered for pressuring a woman into FM include financial burdens like poverty, bride price, out-of-wedlock pregnancy (Chantler et al., 2009), refusing a marriage proposal, and being forced to marry a rapist (Chantler, 2012; Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Esthappan et al., 2018; Hague et al., 2013; Hall, 2014). An FM can include forcibly being taken abroad or misled into taking a holiday to visit family back home, at which point an individual is emotionally and physically pressured into a marriage contract without consent (see MacIntosh, 2012; Samad, 2010). As previous literature indicates, it is important to recognize FM is a process, not an event, that occurs at a young age through socialization (Chantler & McCarry, 2020). Also see Chantler et al. (2009) and MacIntosh (2012) on the "slippage" between an arranged marriage and FM along with issues of age of consent, marriage, and sponsorship concerns in other countries.

may be removed from school by parents and taken abroad to be forced into a marriage. Male family members (e.g., brothers) exercise control over female family members' (e.g., sisters) autonomy and sexuality. Surveillance is also a form of control that can be applied by members of the wider community.

Throughout this thesis, I emphasize violence in the gendered context, as female victims are much more prevalent in HBCs. Although men can also be victims of HBV perpetuated by their girlfriends' families who disapprove of their relationships[6] (Hall, 2014) and of FM, rates are significantly proportionately higher for women (see MacIntosh & Keeping, 2012). A few scholars have explained how men might be victims and describe scenarios where "the male is the females' lover in an extramarital relationship, or he is homosexual" (Elakkary et al., 2014, p. 77; also see Hall, 2014). In the first situation, the man would be at risk of violence or murder (HBK) by the woman's family members for jeopardizing her and her family's "honour" (see Aujla & Gill, 2014). In the second situation, the perpetrators would usually be the man's own family members, who disapprove of sexual behaviour that deviates from social norms and thus impacts the family's "honour" (Elakkarty et al., 2014). Men may also experience psychological threats or coercion into a heterosexual marriage as their sexual orientation (being gay) and identity is met with disapproval (Chantler et al., 2009; Esthappan et al., 2018; Gill & Harvey, 2017; Jaspal, 2014; Samad, 2010). Regardless of gender, reasons for being threatened or forced into a marriage can include protecting the family reputation, the threat of harm to self or a family member, immigration purposes, and financial concerns (Esthappan et al., 2018; Samad, 2010).

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[6] There have been media reports in Canada where young couples have both been killed. For example, Khatera Sadiqi and her fiancé were killed by her brother in Ottawa, and Jassi Sidhu's husband Mithu survived many attacks on his life from his wife's family because they did not deem the marriage suitable for Jassi. When Jassi was kidnapped, Mithu was severely beaten and left on the road to die, but he survived and then later was falsely accused of rape; he spent four years in jail and was released in 2008 (see Dawson, 2019; Dawson et al., 2011; Korteweg, 2012).

While the prevalence of male victims of FM is low, this is probably due to underreporting. FM can be more challenging for men because they are less likely than women to come forward for help and there are fewer resources available to them; in turn, this reality affects their coping mechanisms (Gill & Harvey, 2017). Male victims reporting cases of HBC and FM deserve as much support, empathy, and services as female victims do. Men can also be secondary victims, for instance, being forced to commit the murder while not necessarily agreeing to it (Korteweg, 2014), and they must also receive support. Police and other professionals need to consider women and men as both at risk of and as perpetrators of HBC. Additionally, research is emerging to provide insight into the involvement and role of mothers or other female family members (mothers-in-law, sisters, or sisters-in-law) in HBV and HBKs (e.g., Jassi Sidhu, Shafilea Ahmed, and the Shafia murders; Aplin, 2017, 2019; Aujla & Gill, 2014; Bates, 2018; Hall, 2014; Khan, 2018).

Purpose of This Study

The purpose of this research was to explore HBCs and FMs as a specific form of VAWG through the perspectives of Canadian police, a view that has not yet been examined. It is especially important and timely to enhance the understanding of this crime because although Canada has been successful with its prosecution and cases are few and far between, there is still a need to focus on the areas of prevention and protection (Korteweg, 2012, 2014). While critiques of social-service responses to HBC in Canada have surfaced, such as those of the school teachers, child-protection authorities, women's shelters, and police who failed to protect Aqsa Parvez and the Shafia sisters (Fournier, 2012; Jiwani, 2014a, 2014b; Korteweg, 2012; Schliesmann, 2012; Razack, 2021), police efforts in grappling with this phenomenon have not

been explored. What do police and other professionals they work closely with (e.g., social workers) make of this lack of intervention, and what lessons have been learned?

In the case of Aqsa Parvez, she spoke to school counsellors and social workers about how she was being treated at home. School officials kept inviting her father in to attempt to mediate the conflict between them, which exacerbated the risk of violence. After one meeting, Parvez told the school counsellor that she feared going home, so arrangements were made for her to stay in a shelter. Parvez needed protection as she feared her father would kill her, and she ran away twice to keep herself safe. She had also told school friends about her father threatening to kill her if she ran away again (Agreed Statement of Facts, 2012; Mitchell & Javed, 2010). Prior to her murder, she was staying with a friend and her family made attempts to convince her to return home. The police were notified about the situation before the murder. Her father reported her as missing to the police twice and shared the disagreements they had (Agreed Statement of Facts, 2012). Often, victims like Parvez reconcile with family members and return home only to be killed (Korteweg, 2014). Sadly, Parvez's fears were not taken seriously by school officials, and even after her murder, her mother warned police that other situations would be similar (Korteweg, 2012, 2014; Mitchell & Javed, 2010). What do school officials and the police make of such responses and the severity of death threats? At what point should the police be alerted about the case by school officials? If the police were contacted early on, would victims like Aqsa Parvez receive the support they needed?

Before the Shafia murders, authorities were informed on many occasions about the physical and psychological abuse the three girls experienced at home. Sahar Shafia confided in a teacher about her home life and attempted suicide. The teacher became concerned and contacted the vice principal, who alerted a youth protection agency. When speaking to the youth protection

worker, Sahar begged the professional not to contact her parents and retracted her statements. The eldest daughter, Zainab Shafia, ran away from home and met with a social worker at a community health centre before fleeing to a woman's shelter. The day she ran away, police arrived to investigate a 911 call made by a stranger. The responding officer spoke to Sahar, Geeti, and two other siblings. The girls reported the physical violence from their brother and death threats from the father to the police officer, who referred the case to a youth protection agency. Before the youth protection agency worker could show up, the father returned home while the police were speaking to the children. The investigating officer noticed that the children did not say much in his presence. A few days later, Sahar and Geeti were interviewed at school by a child abuse investigator (police officer) and another worker from the youth protection agency. Geeti withheld information that she had initially shared with the police officer who made the referral. She did ask to be placed with a foster family, but no action was taken to remove her or the other children from the home. The authorities felt there was not enough information to lay charges or pursue the case further, so they closed the file. There were other instances where school officials expressed concerns about the girls' situation, as they noted repeated absences and failing grades. Sahar trusted her teacher, whom she opened up to again because she feared for her life. The teacher made a call to a youth protection agency where Sahar had seen a social worker before. However, the agency explained that she was not assigned to a social worker and then refused to provide support because Sahar would soon be turning 18. The teacher then reached out to other social services and planned for a social worker to come to the school, but Sahar did not open up to them (Schliesmann, 2012; Tripp, 2012). What else could these professionals have done to protect the girls? As Razack (2021) noted in the Shafia case, "the police, teachers, and

social workers who knew of the difficulties in the family seem to have been puzzled by the situation and were not able to determine what could be done about it" (p. 39).

These two cases highlight how several systems (e.g., school, child and family services, and police) could have intervened and instead failed these young girls who needed protection when they were afraid to go home. What steps should school officials, child and family services, social service agencies, and the police have taken to protect Parvez and the Shafia sisters from being murdered by their families? In particular, professionals (e.g., teachers) who are aware of the situation have a duty to report to child protection and police authorities, who play a crucial role in the protection of potential victims and the prevention and investigation of these crimes. School officials, child and family services, social services, and law enforcement agencies should be prepared to intervene collaboratively when they see red flags (e.g., the victim has received threats from family members or fears for their safety). To some extent, bureaucratic rules and red tape influenced the types of interventions and efforts of professionals who tried to collaborate. Thus, it is important to understand how police make sense of these cases, training, legislative measures, and whether they are prepared to protect potential victims to prevent similar tragedies.

Though there are several law enforcement agencies in Alberta, I focused mainly on the policing services in two major cities (Calgary Police Service [CPS] and Edmonton Police Service [EPS]), as well as the major provincial and federal policing agencies (Integrated Threat and Risk Assessment Centre [I-TRAC] and RCMP). These policing agencies were selected to include municipal, provincial, and federal services covering the province of Alberta.

This study collected in-depth information on how police officers and civilians working in law enforcement agencies conceptualize HBCs and FMs. Since there is so little known about their understandings of these phenomena, hearing their experiences and perceptions can help

influence the type of interventions available for victims. The civilians were included for two reasons. First, civilian members play an important role in law enforcement and hold various positions in units that support police investigations. Second, their perspective cannot be ignored as civilians have unique skills (e.g., knowledge of risk assessment tools or community supports and services) that benefit police services. Indeed, civilians help build and maintain community relations (e.g., between police and various groups or organizations in the community working to end DV), and their experience informs the police response or intervention required to address these delicate situations. Some of the gatekeepers in the police services (e.g., EPS and CPS) shared with me how civilians (e.g., social workers or threat assessors) were of great assistance, especially those who worked closely with police (e.g., detectives) to follow up on calls for service and to offer support with files in specialized DV units. Including the two subject groups increased the study's potential to discover different perspectives related to the phenomenon. For example, some civilians (e.g., managers) might influence or participate in policy recommendations and training for police services, given their responsibilities. As Tator and Henry (2006) noted, police-civilian relationships are interesting as police officers may resist recommendations or reviews from civilians.

Research Questions

The main research question that guided this qualitative study was based on the literature gap: How do policing agencies in Alberta conceptualize, understand, and respond to "honour"-based crimes within the context of domestic violence? The study, and especially the data-gathering process, was guided by the following three research questions:

1) How do police officers and civilians who work in policing organizations experience, make sense of, and understand "honour"-based crimes?

2) What constitutes an “honour”-based crime from the policing perspective, and what factors influence the decision to separate or not separate these cases from domestic violence?
3) How do policing agencies intervene to prevent, protect and investigate an “honour”-based crime?

These research questions informed my decision to use grounded theory methodology; specifically, constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approaches, semi-structured interviews, and a written vignette to collect data. I do not discuss CGT here because it is covered extensively in Chapter 2. As explained in detail in Chapter 2, I used a vignette to elicit participant reactions, and I conducted the semi-structured interviews by telephone and face-to-face. I interviewed 46 participants, including 32 police officers and 14 civilians working in rural and urban law enforcement agencies in Alberta.

Next, I provide an overview of how this study draws upon critical race feminism, an anti-racist lens that helps explain my position as a researcher.

Theoretical Perspectives

Feminist theory and critical race feminism (CRF) are the lenses through which I approached this research and data analysis. CRF embraces the experiences of racialized women and is “a race intervention in feminist discourse, in that it necessarily embraces feminism’s emphasis on gender oppression within a system of patriarchy” (Wing, 2003, p. 7). Although feminist theory highlights power and gender oppression amongst women, it does not focus on how the experiences of racialized women are different than those of White women. At its core, CRF considers how race, gender, and class intersect to differently impact the experiences of women of colour. Moreover, CRF “broadly interrogates questions about race and gender through

a critical-emancipatory lens, posing fundamental questions about the persistence, if not magnification, of race and the 'colour line' in the twenty-first century" (Razack et al., 2010, p. 9).

Using CRF as a framework, this study offers an understanding of how social structures, policies, and laws discriminate and portray racialized women as victims of their culture. In this study, I draw on anti-racist feminist scholarship and CRF to show links between patriarchy and understandings of VAWG in racialized communities to conceptualize HBCs and FMs. An anti-racist feminist perspective helps unravel how blatant forms of racism operate. For example, many social services, including policing, and immigration policies focus on exclusion and dominant discourses (e.g., media and state) that frame how we (Canadians) encounter the "Other" and contribute to the oppression of women of colour (see Razack et al., 2010). Both the Canadian state and the media discourses target immigrants and racialized groups; for example, Muslims have been unfairly stigmatized, particularly since 9/11, and marked as more violent compared to Western societies (Jiwani, 2014a, 2014b; Keeping, 2012; Olwan, 2013; Razack, 2008; 2021).

The main argument in this dissertation is that HBCs and FMs should be included in the framework of VAWG, such as DV and family violence, to prevent xenophobia or racism against racialized communities (see Aujla & Gill, 2014; Mucina, 2018; Razack, 2004; Siddiqui, 2005; Terman, 2010). While certain cultures are associated with HBCs and FMs, we must recognize that these crimes are not "part of their culture," religious problems, or limited to only a few communities (e.g., Muslims; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Razack, 2004, 2021; Terman, 2010). Patriarchy influences all forms of culture, thus forming the foundation for VAWG found within both non-racialized and racialized communities (see Abji & Korteweg, 2021; Jiwani et al., 2012).

Thus, I ground my study within a feminist analysis to contextualize how HBC is a form of gendered violence rooted in patriarchy and the unequal gender relations found in all societies.

Building on the work of critical race feminist scholars (Jiwani, 2014a; Razack, 2004; Zine, 2009), criminologists (Gill, 2009), and sociologists (Korteweg, 2014; Olwan, 2019), I conceptualize HBC as a manifestation of VAWG and gendered violence. For instance, some scholars have critically analyzed the media discourse, state response, and policy debates around HBKs in immigrant-receiving countries in North America, and these scholars have refused to link such violence to a particular culture, religion, or community (Jiwani, 2014a; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Olwan, 2013, 2019). As Razack (2021) argued, an anti-racist approach is needed to shift the focus on HBK, as "culture talk often takes us in a direction of racism and away from a more holistic understanding of why women and girls are killed" by their families (p. 45). To understand the discourses surrounding "honour" killings in Canada, I provide a brief overview in Chapter 5 of how scholars critique the use of culture and the dangers of culture talk in the policy and legal responses to VAWG such as the racial undertones found in the Conservative government's passing of Bill S-7 with the short title of *Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act* (Government of Canada, 2015). The Liberal government took over in 2015 and immediately changed the title (Bill S 2-10) to remove the offensive language, which Abji and Korteweg (2021) argued is a shift away from culture talk. Additionally, I draw on the work done by Abji et al. (2019) who interviewed 15 frontline workers and advocates in the VAWG sector about culture and violence when working with South Asian clients. The researchers identified three discursive strategies used by professionals in the VAWG sector to negotiate and resist the standard culture talk, which

> reinforces the idea that certain cultures are barbaric and in need of Western intervention, thus acting as the direct opposite of cultural relativism in its

> rendering of Western culture as superior to others. Culture talk has been used to explain acts of terrorism as the presence of Muslim minorities grows in the West and to justify the War on Terror (Abji et al., 2019, pp. 799–800).

These three discursive strategies included service providers framing VAWG "as a universal practice," shaped by "structural forces and interlocking systems of oppression," and through explanations of "violence as a community issue" as opposed to a cultural problem (Abji et al., 2019, pp. 805–807). They identified the dangers of culture talk and suggested a need to consider the role of culture as a part of the meaning-making process when understanding experiences of HBV as a form of VAWG. In their earlier work, on the same study conducted with service providers in Toronto from 2011 to 2013, they included the perspectives of two participants with several years of experience working in police services. They shared their understandings of how violence manifests differently (Korteweg et al., 2013). One recognized how men are subject to violence, and another stated that VAWG is a problem not only in South Asian communities but in all communities because of patriarchy. Integrating the voices of those working in police services is valuable, but much more needs to be understood about policing VAWG. In my work, I focus specifically on police officers and civilian members working within policing organizations to add to the literature in this area and specifically Abji and Korteweg's (2021) latest piece. They continue to examine uses of culture talk to understand violence in South Asian communities and advocate for an alternative approach where "culture as meaning-making" plays a role in understanding "honour-" and gender-based violence in all communities (Abji & Korteweg, 2021, p. 74). In this dissertation, I build on their research findings and how the interviewees rejected culture talk. I discuss how some of my participants shared similar views as they approached culture as a meaning-making process to describe VAWG, while others reinforced dominant narratives, racism, and culture talk (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Significance of This Study

This thesis is timely in highlighting the Canadian context, and its findings are significant to Alberta law enforcement agencies, to the study participants, and to policymakers. This study identifies current practices and perceptions in policing HBCs within the context of DV, as this perspective is underrepresented in the existing literature. To my knowledge, this is the first empirical study in Canada to comprehensively examine police experiences and their perceptions of HBCs and FMs. Thus, it sheds light on the type of training that guides policing strategies and what is still needed (e.g., what responses exist or do not, including training, procedures, and policies).

Gaps in the Literature

Much of the literature in Canada has focused on the conceptualization of HBCs (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Mojab, 2012), critiques of newspaper coverage (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010), and the framing of cases in immigrant communities as HBKs as opposed to DV or "family/spousal murders" in the Canadian media (Jiwani, 2014a; Shier & Shor, 2016). Scholars have also focused on citizenship, nationhood (belonging and not belonging within Canadian society), and discursive strategies in the dominant media and state discourses, particularly Orientalist constructions and monolithic understandings of culture (Haque, 2010; Jiwani, 2009, 2014a, 2014b; Mason, 2015; Olwan, 2013, 2014, 2019; Zine, 2019). Also, studies have examined policy and legal responses to protect victims and to prevent and prosecute HBV and HBK (Fournier, 2012; Korteweg, 2012, 2014; Razack, 2021).

While some literature exists in Canada, few studies have explored how service providers address HBV as part of the broader spectrum of VAWG (Abji & Korteweg, 2021; Abji et al., 2019; Blum et al., 2016; Korteweg et al., 2013). No research has focused on law enforcement

perspectives, particularly on whether police officers are equipped to intervene in HBC and FM incidents or what challenges they might encounter around conceptualization and responses to these cases. As mentioned earlier, Korteweg et al.'s (2013) study with 15 professionals in the VAWG sector in Toronto, Ontario, included the perspectives of two advocates with several years of experience in police services, one of whom recognized that men are also subject to violence, while the other stated that VAWG is a problem not only in South Asian communities but in all communities. Additionally, Blum et al. (2016) interviewed 34 service providers from the social service, settlement, health, education, and law enforcement sectors in Winnipeg, Manitoba, about service delivery considerations with HBV. Integrating the voices of people working in police services is valuable; however, much more needs to be understood about police perspectives and experiences to improve the service gaps identified by Blum et al. (2016).

Much of the scholarly literature on HBCs and FMs looks at police underprotection of victims (Aplin, 2019), overlooking female perpetration (Aplin, 2017), officers' attitudes and levels of training (Gill & Harrison, 2016), and multi-agency responses and priority services to support victims (Aplin, 2019; Gill et al., 2018). Studies of victim-survivor experiences of disclosures and police interactions are emerging from international studies, mainly in the United Kingdom (UK; Gill & Harrison, 2016; Hester et al., 2015; Mulvihill et al., 2019). Some of these studies have documented police decision-making with honour-based abuse (HBA; Aplin, 2019), police responses to female perpetrators (Aplin, 2017), and experiences of victims reporting "honour"-based violence/abuse (HBVA) to police (Mulvihill et al., 2019). For example, Mulvihill et al. (2019) interviewed 36 victims of HBVA to determine their levels of satisfaction after reporting experiences to the police and the types of support they were offered by the responding officer(s). They found three main factors that tended to influence the victims' overall

experience with the police: the responding officer's level of knowledge of the dynamics of HBVA, the officer's knowledge of operational assumptions and procedures, and the victims' knowledge and expectations of the police and justice system. However, these studies have demonstrated that the current response system varies, and not every officer is prepared to take action to protect victims. The police must do better to support women and girls who come forward for help.

In another recent empirical study on discretionary police practices, Aplin (2019) analyzed 100 case files from HBA investigations and conducted 15 interviews with specialist officers[7] in a large urban police service. The study revealed police perceptions of perpetrator narratives and that the officers experienced challenges in distinguishing perpetrator explanations (e.g., "truth" from "lies"). Aplin found that this dynamic could lead officers to adopt a victim-blaming discourse. She also identified the problems with crime recording and discretionary police practices around officers writing off or "cuffing" crimes because they wanted to reduce their workload or had little knowledge or training in HBA. She argued that language influenced how officers wrote up incidents. For example, threats to kill someone were not taken seriously and the incident was downplayed in a report, and the lack of accurate documentation disserved the victims as the police took no actions or safeguarding practices. Aplin's (2019) findings reinforced the need to recognize female perpetrators (e.g., mothers) in HBA cases, and recommended that professionals (police) consider them when investigating incidents. The study also found challenges associated with police partnerships with other professionals (e.g., schools and children's services) as they worked to protect child victims of HBA.

[7] All officers who participated in Aplin's (2019) study had experience investigating HBCs and FMs. This is different from my study, in which participants did not necessarily have any prior knowledge or understanding (see Chapter 2).

Aplin's (2019) research offered a new perspective on how individual police officers make sense of situations and their decisions when investigating and handling HBA. She recognized that there is a need to improve the police response, for example, by not overlooking female perpetrators of HBA and by improving service provision gaps to remedy the current situation where HBA is underrecorded by officers, underpoliced, and underinvestigated. Her findings build on those from a book by Roberts et al. (2014) on HBV and policing that provides a psychological and practitioner perspective on the necessary risk management and investigation strategies for police and other professionals to consider when investigating cases. Additionally, Janssen's (2018) book considers a historical-sociological and anthropological perspective. It is based on police work in the Netherlands to guide police officers and other professionals in their practical work to investigate HRV. Together, these books consider more complex understandings of the phenomenon and offer significant theoretical and practical contributions to the literature on police approaches (e.g., information-gathering techniques and collaboration with other partners) to safeguard and protect victims at risk. Following the lead of the UK and the Netherlands, similar work in the Canadian context can help inform policing practices and add to the international discussion on HBCs and FMs.

This study provides information that can influence policy and law enforcement efforts in Canada, which can be based on data and evidence collected in the Canadian context instead of relying on data from other countries with different laws and policies. I argue that it is important to draw conclusions from data in Canada as nuances exist, especially police involvement and intervention that requires support from other systems, such as child and family services. However, police agencies' priorities need to be frequently reviewed as they "must respond constantly to the changing social, cultural, political, and especially demographic circumstances

in which they operate" (Tator & Henry, 2006, p. 95). The importance of the circumstances in which they operate reinforces the need to draw conclusions from the Canadian context to inform the police response in Canada. The broader implications of this dissertation are important for improving the available support systems within Alberta and may influence law enforcement agencies across Canada to improve their practices.

As little research has been conducted to examine policing perspectives and understand how to address the phenomenon in Canada, my research builds on the foundational work done in other countries and seeks to understand how police in the Canadian context conceptualize and respond to HBCs within the broader context of VAWG and DV. This dissertation fills a significant gap in the literature by exploring how law enforcement professionals make sense of HBCs and FMs in Canada and how police can improve their response to victims.

Dissertation Structure and Overview

I have followed the paper-based dissertation structure and sociology department guidelines. The following is a brief overview of the sections that constitute my dissertation. As my dissertation indicates, police are not prepared to respond in situations of HBC and FM despite the level of training offered in the field. Police officers and civilians working in police organizations who are passionate about the issue try to do their job in tackling this form of violence without clear direction or standard practices in such cases. Instead, they use their own judgement and discretion on a case-by-case basis. The three chapters/papers[8] included in this dissertation, together, build on each other to make a compelling case for the need to do more about this emerging social issue because it cannot be left to an individual police officer's or

[8] I will use these terms interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

civilian member's actions. I argue that police organizations must rethink their DV policies and definitions to include HBCs and FMs as part of the VAWG continuum to avoid racism and xenophobia. This approach would support officers and civilian members in seeing it as a part of DV to handle such cases as the vignette presented. My research points to the level of frustration among both groups of participants, divisiveness, and uncertainty with decision making. Police organizations need to acknowledge the voices and discomfort among participants from this study to make changes, so individual officers have reassurance with investigations and civilian members can support their efforts with what supports are available for victims. Although this study focused on one province, the findings might be applicable to other policing agencies across the country to guide system level changes in policing to view HBCs as a form of VAWG.

As researchers, we also need to work with communities and not just rely on the institutional perspective in policing or the criminal justice system to address these forms of violence. If communities are supporting victims of HBCs and FMs who want to avoid criminalization, we need to capture these stories from the grassroots level and document community-based strategies or alternatives to policing when abusers are family members (see Dixon & Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2020). My research has practical applications in the real world beyond the research community. It should be shared widely in the DV sector to develop tools and best practices to help all professionals feel prepared to support people experiencing HBCs and FMs.

Overview of the Papers

The papers included in this paper-based dissertation add to previous research and present new insights into police perspectives in addressing these crimes by drawing upon CGT and the core theme of "uncertainty in policing practices" as an approach for understanding and

theorizing the topics these papers explore. Together, the three papers demonstrate how HBCs and FMs are multilayered and complex, factors that make them core concerns for the police. Additionally, my study participants may find the standalone papers useful, as each one can assist them in their practical work and offer future directions for policing agencies involved in this study. My thesis findings are likely to be of interest to researchers, practitioners, and policymakers working to support interventions in HBC and FM.

Before introducing the chapters with their own substantive standalone papers, Chapter 2 outlines the research design: my research strategy, the research sample, how I collected the data, and the ethical considerations I took into account. Because the methods are briefly summarized in each paper so that they can stand alone, there is some repetition. For example, I describe my positionality in both Chapters 2 and 4.

Chapter 3 discusses in detail the vignette method, methodological considerations, and the process of administering it. In that chapter, I share the full vignette, discuss how participants reacted to it, and unpack how my methodological considerations when constructing it likely affected its success. I also discuss this method’s strengths and limitations, and recommend how future research could explore HBC and FM training with vignettes. Overall, this chapter offers a reflective account of vignettes as a methodological tool for qualitative research data collection. The significance of this contribution is that it adds to limited knowledge about vignettes when applied in qualitative research and offers insights on participants’ understandings of a potential HBC and FM scenario. Furthermore, this paper explains how useful vignettes are as a complementary method to semistructured interviews to elicit perspectives on a sensitive topic.

In Chapter 4, I present the findings from the vignette that enabled me to explore how participants directly engaged with the topic. The scenario presented a situation similar to one

police might encounter on the job, describing a young girl, Nina, who is under surveillance because of her gender by a male sibling and other community members. The vignette indicates that she has breached a code of "honour," thus triggering an FM. The father disapproves of Nina's actions, such as wearing makeup, and is suspicious that she may have a boyfriend, whom he threatens to kill. As the narrative unfolds, further evidence emerges and Nina is encouraged to report the incident to the police. I explore participants' (police officers and civilians) reactions to the vignette, and the findings consider cultural sensitivity discourses and the impact of cultural and racist stereotypes. This paper contributes to the dialogue other anti-racist feminist scholars have engaged in around this topic. These scholars have critiqued the Canadian media's reporting of cases as "honour" killings and state that actors' use of cultural explanations (culture talk) constructs the image of Muslim women and girls as victims of oppressive cultures and "barbaric" men (Abji & Korteweg, 2021; Haque, 2010; Jiwani, 2014a; Korteweg, 2014; Razack, 2004, 2021; Zine, 2009). Their research challenges these dominant narratives of racism and the need to consider anti-racist strategies (e.g., how journalists frame events; see Razack, 2021). This paper extends their arguments as it demonstrates how police understandings of the vignette varied and that victims may also be subject to police stereotypes, biases, and assumptions about culture. Overall, this paper offers a methodological and practical contribution by reflecting on the vignette findings and providing insights into how police as an institution understands this form of VAWG.

In Chapter 5, I examine the political discourses that stigmatize immigrants and how a lack of policies affects police processes. In my findings, I explore variations in police understandings, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding HBCs and FMs. The core theme that emerged from the data and use of CGT analysis was

"confusion and uncertainty in policing practices" within police services, which hinders practical police actions. I highlight three other themes surrounding terminology, training, and new laws that contribute to the "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices" surrounding intervention in HBCs and FMs. This paper illustrates how the criminal justice system is an area where the Canadian government provides some attention to HBCs and FMs with the introduction of targeted policies. This paper contributes to policy discussions by uncovering the implications new laws have for law enforcement agencies. It also makes a definitional and practical contribution by discussing how this highly complex topic concerns police organizations as well as policy- and decision-makers in the provincial and federal governments.

Finally, I present conclusions that emerged from my research in relation to the existing literature. I consider the limitations of my study, as well as the broader implications, emphasize the need for future research, and suggest potential considerations. It is unacceptable that so many HBC and FM cases are still happening, and that little attention has been given to improve police responses. Despite some of the good work being done by individual police officers, as this dissertation demonstrates, there are major gaps in policing this crime and they require attention in order to protect victims. Therefore, I argue that law enforcement agencies must take these cases seriously by implementing policies and practices that enhance how police respond to HBCs and FMs. This process will involve improving training initiatives and offering guidance for police officers and civilians to feel well-equipped to act swiftly in these situations. In addition, resources and guidelines need to be in place for police to work collaboratively with other organizations to protect potential victims at risk of HBCs and FMs.

Most importantly, there is much more research to be carried out in the Canadian context to support the police and other professionals with interventions in HBC and FM. My research

findings can improve the existing training programs and allow for educational opportunities so the police and other professionals can better understand the phenomenon. The findings and challenges presented by participants in this study will provide a framework for future research.

This dissertation provides a snapshot of the experiences of police officers and civilian members working within police organizations with HBCs and FMs and brings a unique view of how police conceptualize this crime. Some apparent tensions exist as not everyone agrees with current police practices and policies—these discussions impact how HBC and FM are classified or dealt with within a police service. Based on the findings, specialist services in policing and in the DV sector do not exist to confront this form of violence. Thus, I suggest that police organizations frame HBCs and their solutions within the broader scope of DV and not separate from it, which reinforces racial discrimination.

Findings from this study demonstrate the organizational and practical challenges encountered by police officers and civilian members working in policing organizations. Police organizations need to implement measures to better support officers and civilian members with intervention and safety measures to protect victims. Law enforcement agencies must create strategies and policies, increase education and awareness, and improve training initiatives so they do not reinforce culture talk. Police organizations cannot rely on individual police officers' or civilian members' expertise to respond; the organization must support evidence-based practices.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter, I detail the methodological approach and research methods used to build rapport in gathering data on police officers and civilians who work in law enforcement agencies and their perspectives of "honour"-based crimes (HBCs) and forced marriages (FMs) within the context of domestic violence (DV). I first describe the constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach, research design, and methods used to carry out the research study. I then describe the data collection strategies used to build rapport with gatekeepers and to recruit participants, primarily semi-structured interviews and the use of a vignette, as well as methods of data analysis and my coding process. I also provide a section on researcher reflexivity to demonstrate some of the preconceptions and assumptions I held before conducting the research study. I reflect on my researcher positionality (race and gender) and how my cultural identity became a question of interest in the interactions with the participants. Additionally, I emphasize the co-construction of knowledge that occurred during the research process and how the research was of interest to the participants, thus demonstrating the need for more discussions in the field. Finally, I share how some participants provided me with their briefing reports and materials on the topic, and I briefly touch on how I was asked to share information on HBCs with some participants to assist them in their work on the ground (e.g., briefing reports, networking with other law enforcement agencies, and presentations).

Constructivist Grounded Theory Approach

There are multiple approaches in grounded theory, controversies around the process of generating theory, and several critiques of it discussed elsewhere (see Birks & Mills, 2015; Bryman et al., 2012; Charmaz, 2006; Mayan, 2009). There are several variations of grounded

theory methods including traditional Glaserian or Straussian approaches as well as Charmaz's (2006) constructivist paradigm. Grounded theory methodology (GTM) developed by sociologists Glaser and Strauss in 1967 is rooted in the symbolic interactionism paradigm, which focuses on the meanings of social interactions and the development of symbolic language from those meanings (Charmaz, 2006; Mayan, 2009). Grounded theory is therefore a theory that derives from the data collected and is a common approach used to analyze qualitative data (Bryman et al., 2012). Unlike other qualitative research approaches, GTM serves best to explain an understudied phenomenon when little is known about the topic (Birks & Mills, 2015).

Within the larger parameters of GTM, this research study utilized a CGT approach for data collection and analysis. Charmaz (2006) explains that through a constructivist perspective, researchers are part of the data collection process, and the analysis is constructed through their positions. A constructivist perspective thus emphasizes the role of the researcher in the research study. CGT was useful for the exploration of participants' experiences in conceptualizing, understanding, and responding to phenomena such as HBCs. This will be demonstrated later in the stand-alone chapters that follow. CGT (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006) was appropriate for this particular study because it allowed for an examination of HBCs where very little is known about this relevant social issue from the policing perspective. In the next section, I describe my philosophical position, which allowed me to adopt this constructivist approach to grounded theory methodology.

Philosophical Positioning

Constructivist grounded theorists believe that what people see and experience in the world is socially constructed (subjective epistemology) (Birks & Mills, 2015). I use CGT as a methodological approach to view reality and analyze multiple truths, perspectives, or ways of

knowing (Charmaz, 2006). CGT emphasizes how meaning is socially constructed through the researcher's shared interactions with participants, and I consider myself "a subjective active participant" in my interactions with the study participants (Birks & Mills, 2015, p. 52). Charmaz (2006) emphasizes that the interview process allows knowledge to be constructed between the researcher and participant. Both groups bring prior knowledge to the interview and in reflecting on the interaction. In other words, multiple realities and truths are being co-constructed by the researcher and participant relationship throughout the research process. I chose the constructivist paradigm because it allowed me to stay close to my position as a researcher, and I was able to acknowledge that I bring experiences and my understanding of HBCs and FMs to the research study. As Charmaz (2006) explains, my perspective and past knowledge may have influenced how I understood the data emerging from the study, and I wanted to use a research methodology that acknowledged this. As Birks and Mills (2015) and Mayan (2009) state, understanding one's philosophical position helps determine how to align oneself with an approach to grounded theory.

In the context of this research, I used Charmaz's (2000; 2006) constructivist approach because it allowed me, the researcher, to analyze multiple perspectives from the two groups of participants (police officers and civilians) to understand how meaning is constructed or accepted. For example, what does the term "honour"-based crimes mean for the participants in this study? The meaning is co-constructed through my research experiences and social interactions in the interviews with the participants together with my analysis of the data collected. CGT was a suitable approach since meaning or interpretations flow from the multiple realities that are grounded in the participants' social world and everyday reality.

Charmaz (2006) views the researcher's perspective as connected with the data. According to Creswell (2007), researchers interpret "what they find, an interpretation shaped by their own experiences and background. The researcher's intent, then, is to make sense (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world" (p. 37). Unlike practitioners of traditional GTM, the constructivist grounded researcher is aware of his/her own experiences and interpretations along with the study participants.' This interpretive approach is an integral process which focuses on multiple meanings and social processes that are co-created between the researcher and participants to develop concepts to interpret the phenomenon under study (Charmaz, 2006; Mayan, 2009).

A constructivist grounded approach was considered to be appropriate as it allowed me to gather information without a preconceived theory in mind. Therefore, the theory or core theme that emerged was induced from the data (Mayan, 2009). While acknowledging CGT can be used and modified with research designs without the aim to generate a theory, I applied its key principles to this study (see Birks & Mills, 2015). One major limitation of a constructivist grounded approach is that the process can be complicated and time-consuming, especially for researchers using it for the first time; however, I was quite familiar with the process and aware of its demands due to my previous research experience with grounded theory methodology (Birks & Mills, 2015).[9] Furthermore, CGT was useful, given that so little is known about the understudied phenomenon of HBCs since it has not been defined or conceptualized in detail on a theoretical level. As such, this research is only a tip of the iceberg, and it is necessary to promote

[9] I attended the *Qualitative Health Research Conference* (2016) to learn strategies for working with data from the second generation grounded theorist Kathy Charmaz. I also went to a workshop in applying grounded theory to data at the *Thinking Qualitatively Workshop Series* (2017). These opportunities allowed me to become more comfortable with using the key principles of CGT.

future research on policing perceptions and experiences of HBCs and FMs. Continuing this type of research will fill a gap in understanding and policing HBCs and FMs.

Research Design and Methods

As stated earlier, a qualitative research design informed by CGT approaches guided this project (Charmaz, 2006). In this section, I describe the measures I undertook to gain access to the participants. I also outline the procedures used to collect data from the participants.

Research Site

I purposely chose to conduct my research study in the province of Alberta because of the convenience of my social location here as a researcher and community advocate in the field of DV. First, I completed my previous graduate research on DV in the City of Edmonton. I also felt it was vital for me to have some pre-existing knowledge about responses to DV in the geographical region of my research. Through my involvement in the Edmonton community and my commitment to initiatives related to violence against women, I became aware of some of the work being done on HBCs in Alberta (e.g., training, community-based projects to create awareness, and screening tools to identify the problem).

I do recognize that the issue of HBCs is beyond the research site of Alberta as a province: police services and other protection services in the provinces of British Columbia and Ontario have dealt with "honour"-based killings (HBKs), and their unsuccessful responses have been included in the media reporting of high profile cases (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Dawson et al., 2011; Findlay, 2012; Fournier, 2012; Jiwani, 2014; Schliesmann, 2012; Virdi, 2013). Though a lack of financial resources prevented me from interviewing police services outside of Alberta, I was curious if Alberta had dealt with similar cases that did not appear in the media reporting of HBCs in Canada. I also wanted to understand if any proactive approaches were in the works rather than

hearing only the reactive type of policing usually captured in the media reports about HBCs. Focusing on Alberta as a research site was feasible. However, I argue that the work of other provinces and police services are crucial to understanding how Canada as a nation is tackling HBCs and FMs. What I also acknowledge is that conducting a study in Alberta is only a piece of the puzzle on policing this phenomenon in the Canadian context.

Participant Criteria and Recruitment Methods

Participants met two general inclusion criteria to participate in the study. First, they must be police officers or civilians working with or connected to an internal or external policing law enforcement agency in Alberta (e.g., Edmonton Police Service (EPS), Calgary Police Service (CPS), Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) "K" Division, Integrated Threat Risk Assessment Centre (I-TRAC), and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General). Second, agreement to participate in the research study must be voluntary. I recruited participants via several avenues: (a) gatekeepers within the agencies, (b) snowballing techniques, and (c) word-of-mouth.

Gatekeepers from the police services assisted with identifying and locating participants (e.g., civilian members in various positions and police officers of all ranks) for the study. The gatekeepers identified potential participants and then provided me with an electronic list or individual emails to contact the individuals directly to set up the interviews. In some instances, the gatekeeper would send an email to a list of identified potential participants introducing me and the research project. I noticed in these emails that the gatekeepers usually included in the subject line "Approved Research Project – Request for Participation" which likely made individuals receiving the request comfortable in trusting me as a researcher. Police are seen to be distrustful of outsiders, and there was a need to gain the trust of the potential participants. The

gatekeeper would also provide my contact information and ask those interested in assisting with the research study to contact me directly. Other times, gatekeepers would send an email to those potential participant(s) willing to speak to me and introduce them to me through an email. In all of these instances, once potential participants were identified, I would follow up with an email inviting them to participate in the research study (see Appendix A). In one example, the gatekeeper sent my invitation to a listserv announcement and posted the request on a bulletin board in the policing organization. I found the gatekeepers I met to be quite enthusiastic about being involved, and some introduced me to their colleagues. Establishing rapport with the gatekeepers was vital in my ability to gain access to the participants in each police service and for subsequent interviews (Charmaz, 2006). The gatekeeper shaped who was coming my way and how they felt about participating in the project.

I also relied on snowballing and word-of-mouth techniques to locate a sufficient number of participants. Snowballing involved individuals, including those who had participated, knowing of others who fit the criteria and referring them to the study (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).[10] Lindlof and Taylor (2011) provide a useful example of how this works:

> A snowball sample starts when the researcher locates someone who is willing to serve the dual role of an interview subject and guide to potential new subjects. After being interviewed, this person then recruits (or refers the research) to people from his or her circle of acquaintances who fit the criteria for the study sample.

[10] The downside of snowball sampling is that the gatekeeper in some ways leads who participates in the study. Typically, gatekeepers select people based on trust; however, this was mitigated not just by snowballing through the gatekeeper, but also by asking other people such as the participants to refer people to the study. Increasingly, some gatekeepers and past participants expressed a strong desire to assist with recruitment for the research study. Nonetheless, it is highly likely that the gatekeepers encouraged participation from certain individuals, which may have deterred others from participating. The gatekeepers could have been selective about to whom they forwarded my request, and this could have been problematic. Based on my previous work in the DV field in Alberta, I was able to form trusting relationships with the gatekeepers, and I felt comfortable asking them to assist with recruiting participants. Some of the gatekeepers assigned to work with me on the project were individuals I knew from before. Since I gained the trust of some of the gatekeepers, they would connect with me regularly to ask if the referral process was allowing me to interview individuals.

> Some of the people in the second group will refer the researcher to others who will make up a third group of interviewees. (p. 114)

The referral process as described by Lindlof and Taylor (2011) increased my chances of speaking to a wide range of participants representing different positions (e.g., advising policing strategies and training or front-line policing) and backgrounds (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, and age). The person with whom I already had contact (e.g., a past participant) received consent from other potential participants either to pass their contact information onto me or else to give these potential participants my contact information so they could contact me directly.

Word-of-mouth was another strategy by which I asked individuals I knew in policing to participate. Sometimes I would run into individuals I knew while arriving or exiting from an interview. The individuals would be curious about me being on the police site and approached me themselves to ask what I was doing there. I used these opportunities to share my research study and asked them to participate or refer potential participants directly to me. Once communication was established, I shared information with the individual to see if they would participate in the study (see Appendix A for recruitment script sent by email).

I received emails from willing individuals who warned me that they were not sure how much they had to offer as they had not had much exposure to HBCs. Others explained how they only dealt with one potential case that could be an HBC, and if that was suitable then they would be willing to participate. Some individuals asked that I follow up with a phone call or email to share more about the research study before they decided to participate. Other individuals would introduce themselves as having years of experience in the police service and share how "honour"-based violence (HBV) is a passion of theirs and how they wanted to be involved in the research study. It became evident that my participants questioned for various reasons what their participation would look like and if experience with HBCs was a prerequisite. I assured them that

experience with DV and HBV situations was not a prerequisite to participate in the research study. Instead, I emphasized that I was interested in hearing from anyone who had an interest in the phenomenon under study (HBCs including a wide range of practices such as FMs).

I kept the inclusion criteria intentionally broad as I did not want to focus on only recruiting those with experience. I was interested in individuals who may have taken specific training. I thought it would be interesting to hear if the training addressed HBCs and FMs. I also chose to recruit individuals without particular experiences with cases as they may later in their career experience HBCs and FMs. I decided to include participants who met these general criteria because they may reflect on past experiences or reflect on signs they had missed in potential situations.[11] It was likely that some of the participants in the study were not familiar with HBCs, but it was important for me to hear their reactions and perceptions to these issues. I reminded participants that what exactly is meant by the term "honour" is vague and that their perspectives are valuable as they may influence the work of policing through future training or recommendations that may have a practical result of protecting future victims. Thus, police officers and civilians at every level in various positions and units were eligible if they had an interest in the topic.

The strategies I utilized for recruitment were necessary because I wanted to increase my chances of speaking to a wide range of participants representing different positions (e.g., advising policing strategies and training or policing) and reflecting diversity (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, and age). It was necessary, therefore, for me to make an effort to speak to individuals

[11] In a few interviews, talking about HBCs and FMs made participants question the way they handled or dealt with past cases. Therefore, this could conjure up feelings of incompetence, or cause participants to question their actions. Several measures were taken to address and manage this foreseeable situation. The remedy to this was my reassuring the participant that because the area is murky, often with no clear direction from police administration, they did what was best at the time with the information available to them.

who do not share a self-identity as White when possible. Increasingly, police are revising their diversity and inclusion policies to become more diverse and reflective of Canada to build relationships in various communities. So, for example, current recruitment campaigns and hiring practices focus on racial and gender diversity as the representation in police services remains low.[12] Thus, I particularly wanted to speak to individuals who self-identify as women or from different ethnic/racial communities. I developed a considerable amount of trust and rapport over time with some of the gatekeepers as well as the participants who helped recruit by word of mouth, which allowed me to include some diverse participants in this study.

Since I was interested in the province of Alberta, it was essential to focus on both municipal and provincial police services. Thus, it was important to include the federal level police services covering provincial policing since the Alberta government has an agreement with the federal government. The "Provincial Police Service Agreement" allows the RCMP to provide police services to "towns, villages, and summer villages" with a population of 5,000 or less and "every county, municipal district and Métis settlement" regardless of the number of citizens.[13] There are ten independently operated police services in the province of Alberta which I will refer to as internal police services. Included in this count are seven municipal police services, three First Nations, and finally the RCMP which police throughout rural parts of Alberta.[14] I used purposeful sampling to choose a handful of police services in Alberta that I would reach out to

[12] For recruiting strategies and plans that reflect how some police forces like the RCMP are enhancing diversity in the workforce see: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/results-and-respect-the-rcmp-workplace

[13] For more information on the "Provincial Police Service Agreement" between the Alberta and Federal levels of government and the three types (provincial, municipal, and First Nations) of policing determined by population size see: https://www.solgps.alberta.ca/programs_and_services/public_security/law_enforcement_oversight/Pages/TypesPolicing.aspx

[14] For a list of the police services in Alberta visit: https://www.solgps.alberta.ca/programs_and_services/public_security/law_enforcement_oversight/Pages/PoliceServices.aspx

and ask for participation in the study. It was useful to include participants operating in both urban and rural police services as differences may exist in considerations of policing HBCs and FMs.[15] For example, it is important to understand the participants' perspectives and whether they identify this problem as happening in both urban and rural areas of Alberta. Thus, I included two police services found in mid-size municipal cities (Edmonton and Calgary) to capture urban policing. While these are mid size Canadian cities, they are the two largest police services.[16] I also included the RCMP "K" division to capture provincial policing and the perspectives of participants policing rural parts of Alberta.

I first successfully established working relationships with the three primary police services Edmonton Police Service (EPS), Calgary Police Service (CPS), and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) "K" Division. Then I reached out to others involved in law enforcement in Alberta, such as the Integrated Threat Risk Assessment Centre (I-TRAC) and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General. I initially used my previous police connections to establish contacts with EPS, CPS, RCMP, I-TRAC, and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General.[17] In 2015, I met and began to build rapport with key contacts within each of the police services I selected, informing them about the research study and asking for their cooperation.

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[15] Rural would normally be considered a community that the RCMP covers with a population size less than 5,000.

[16] See the following source that compares municipal police services across Canada and the number of police officers per 100,000 population: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2018001/article/54912/tbl/tbl03-eng.htm

[17] I established trust through some of my related work in the field of DV; I knew individuals from EPS and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General who either connected me with someone or assisted with the research study request. For instance, I served on several DV committees and attended various training sessions with some of the individuals I contacted. With the RCMP and I-TRAC, I was introduced to individuals by personal contacts who had connections. These introductions and past experiences allowed me to build rapport with law enforcement to gain permission before accessing potential participants.

The Minister of Alberta Justice and Solicitor General is responsible for the administration of the Police Act in Alberta and oversees enforcement in Alberta, including policing and police oversight, and is responsible for improving best practices, standards, and training for police services in the province of Alberta.[18] It was important, therefore, to include the perspectives from within the Ministry, given that it plays a role in ensuring policing domestic and family violence is adequate, efficient, and supported across the province.[19]

It was important also to include external policing agencies connected to both urban and rural police services, so I also asked for cooperation from professionals in the Integrated Threat and Risk Assessment Centre (I-TRAC) under the Alberta law enforcement response teams (ALERT), established by the Government of Alberta in 2007. A multi-disciplinary team that provides advice and support to police services, government bodies, and community organizations, I-TRAC is made up of civilian psychologists and threat assessors who are sworn in as police officers from various police services across the province, including the Edmonton Police Service, the Calgary Police Service, and the RCMP, in addition to the Camrose Police Service, the Medicine Hat Police Service, and the Lethbridge Regional Police Service.[20] When requested to do so, I-TRAC assists with police files from various police services in Alberta. I-TRAC's trained and certified threat assessors receive referrals to apply risk and threat assessment

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[18] For more information on the responsibility of the Minister and Police Act: http://www.qp.alberta.ca/1266.cfm?page=P17.cfm&leg_type=Acts&isbncln=9780779757589&display=html. The Ministry coordinates police training related to family and domestic violence across the province. See: https://www.solgps.alberta.ca/safe_communities/community_awareness/family_violence/Pages/default.aspx

[19] The Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General sets the effective standards and practices for policing across Alberta. Prepared documents by the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General include the 2020 intimate partner violence (IPV) police guidelines and a handbook updated in 2014 for police and crown prosecutors in Alberta. See: https://open.alberta.ca/dataset/64b3845b-7070-475b-885e-5594b7a8a88c/resource/21adcb0d-3dc2-46ce-9789-b46735e22b63/download/jsg-intimate-partner-violence-police-guidelines-2020-03.pdf and https://open.alberta.ca/dataset/f3319ecb-60b4-41d2-a335-2f05c8c50a3c/resource/a48368aa-3c26-4c80-8617-44cca7819308/download/2014-DomesticViolenceHandbook.pdf.

[20] Information about I-TRAC was found directly from this website https://www.alert-ab.ca/about-alert/teams/threat-risk-assessment/ and participants affiliated with I-TRAC.

knowledge and prepare reports in addition to case management plans with various high-risk situations. These threat assessors also assist with recommendations for investigations, charges, court orders, and victim safety strategies; provide expert court testimony for various types of hearings (e.g., bail sentences, child custody, and access hearings); participate in case conferencing consults, and deliver specialized training.

The specialized training offered to police services and other professionals working as service providers includes DV, stalking, and management of other targeted acts of violence. I included I-TRAC because in 2012 attention was drawn to focus on HBV and FMs with their publication titled *Forced Marriage and "Honour" Based Violence: Information for Police*. I wanted to explore whether I-TRAC had some experience or knowledge of this topic, especially given the research that went into the document at the time, and I wanted to be acquainted with the certified threat assessors' skills and understand their law enforcement experience to identify some of the risks or challenges with complex cases. Thus, professionals within I-TRAC were able to bring valuable perspectives to expand the existing policing culture knowledge for investigating HBCs within the context of DV.

With I-TRAC and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General, as specific external law enforcement agencies, the process was straightforward and informal. I was asked to share my candidacy research proposal with the civilians who were responsible for seeking permission from the appropriate authority figure or to grant it themselves if they had the authority to do so. Since I-TRAC and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General did not have standard research protocols or agreement processes in place, I was granted permission in July 2015 and informed via email from the individuals responsible for my research request to

proceed with the study. These civilians also assisted with recruiting other participants to participate in the research study.

On the other hand, designated units within EPS and CPS were responsible for approving all research study requests from researchers. My initial request for gaining access to these police services, EPS and CPS, was through some of my contacts. Before starting this project, I was approached in 2013 by the EPS Equity, Diversity, and Human Rights (EDHR) Unit to share my insights on HBV. I researched materials that informed a presentation that was to be delivered to inform police investigations and enhance detectives' knowledge of the topic. I remained in contact with the EDHR unit and told them about my plans for this research study. The EDHR contacts assisted with setting up a debriefing session with the appropriate individuals within EPS who handle research inquiries. We all met at EPS headquarters about the research study in May 2015. I was informed about the steps I would need to take to gain access to the participants and was asked to submit a research protocol and enhanced security clearance to a designated research unit before being granted access to speak to the police services employees. I sent the documents in July 2015 and received an email notification in August 2015 from the Manager of Strategic Planning, Evaluation and Research Unit within EPS. My project received approval from the Deputy Chief to move forward. After completing a few administrative tasks, I started to recruit participants.

One of my contacts provided me with the contact information for the Staff Sergeant for the Office of Inclusion, Development and Employee Engagement in CPS. I reached out in May 2015 to the Staff Sergeant to share my research study request via telephone and email. She suggested I connect with one of her colleagues, the Acting Inspector for Major Crimes Section in CPS, to become familiar with the section responsible for such inquiries. The CPS contact

responded in August 2015 and forwarded my email to the Crime and Intelligence Analytical Section (CIAS) that handles such requests. In August 2015 I was asked by the Manager of the CIAS to complete a research data request form to be assessed. The Manager informed me that they would expedite the process once the form was received as she was aware that I would be traveling to Calgary to conduct the face-to-face interviews. A few days later my research request form was reviewed, and I was informed by email that my research data request form met all the requirements and was “very thorough, and compelling.” I accepted the email for the official go-ahead to proceed with the data collection.

Once I received formal approval, a project liaison from each of EPS and CPS was assigned for the duration of the research study. These gatekeepers were keen on knowing how many individuals I wished to talk to and the time it would take, and then offered names of potential participants for interviews. These connections became valuable sources as I was able to establish the trust to continue to consult with them on an ongoing basis. As Lindlof and Taylor (2011) explain, a gatekeeper is “a person or group that has the authority to approve research access; in effect, they stand guard at the ‘gate’ that we wish to enter” (p. 98).

Canada’s federal policing agency the RCMP has fifteen divisions across the nation, including its headquarters located in Ottawa. The Alberta division of the RCMP is “K” division. An initial inquiry into gaining access to the RCMP “K” Division started in 2014. A personal contact introduced me by email to the Program Manager for the Relationship Violence Unit for RCMP “K” Division. I made arrangements to meet the Sergeant in November 2014 to share my future research study request and to learn about the process for recruiting within the RCMP “K” Division. I was asked to email my research candidacy proposal so the Sergeant could present it for approval by the appropriate ranks in Ottawa. I sent the documents in June 2015, and I

continued to follow-up on the process until November 2015. An email from the Sergeant in December 2015 confirmed that I could begin data collection as my research request was reviewed and accepted.

After I successfully obtained external approval from the police services and law enforcement agencies, I then started recruiting participants for my research study. It is important to note that my intent of collecting the data from various law enforcement agencies in Alberta has not been to create an element of competition or mistrust between them. Instead, the aim is to enhance communication across the various internal and external police services to understand the phenomena of HBCs. I also reminded every participant that their perspective on the topic is equally important, as I did not want to pit law enforcement agencies against each other. I shared that I see the ability to transfer knowledge from one organization to another as building a robust body of knowledge on HBCs and FMs in Alberta.

Data Collection and Procedure

Once potential participants were identified and informed about the study, I made initial contact by email or by telephone. Included in the Appendices are exact copies of the email sent to participants accompanying the consent form (see Appendices A and B). The recruitment materials (see Appendix A) emphasized that I planned to ask research participants a few questions about an imaginary scenario presented in a vignette in addition to items provided in a semi-structured interview guide. During this opportunity, participants asked any preliminary questions about the research study. I asked the potential participants whether they were interested in a face-to-face or telephone interview. After reviewing the materials, if they agreed to participate in a face-to-face interview, a mutually convenient time and place were arranged. If they decided to participate in a telephone interview, I sent the consent form via email and a

mutually convenient time was scheduled. Written informed consent was obtained from the participant by email before beginning the telephone interview. Once this consent was received, I followed up with an email. Participants who chose to participate in a telephone interview provided me with a home or work office number to reach them.

A day before the actual interview, a copy of the vignette and the interview questions were sent to all participants regardless of the type of interview arranged (see Appendix D). Participants were instructed to read the vignette before the interview and to review the six questions that follow. Pre-sending the interview guide and vignette to the participants could have caused the participant to steer the interview direction according to their agenda and their interpretation of the interview guide or vignette. However, I noticed times when a participant answered a question without me asking it, and this likely happened because they received items ahead of time and were somewhat prepared. Since I was interested in hearing views on a sensitive topic, participants not knowing the questions could have made them feel uncomfortable to respond. Also, the use of a vignette made it easier for me to understand the participant's views. I do recognize that participants could have spoken to others about the topics in the interview guide and vignette questions ahead of time. However, I was careful to send the materials a day before to make it impossible for them to prepare extensively. In my email, I informed the participants to simply read through the vignette and the questions that follow. I also reminded the participants not to feel pressured to prepare ahead of time for the interview questions. These steps allowed me to establish rapport before conducting the face-to-face/telephone interviews and also gave participants an opportunity to review the materials ahead of time. To provide a broad structure, so participants understood the purpose of the interview, I grouped the questions in the interview guide into four categories: socio-demographic and background questions, experiences, risk

assessment and intervention, and training and agency supports (see Appendix D). I used the same vignette questions for both groups of participants (police officers and civilians) and the same interview guide for the one-on-one interviews. Each interview gave participants the opportunity to discuss their views and experiences with HBCs and FMs.

At the time of the interview, I explained the purpose of the study and consent form. The consent form included a description of the study, clarification that participation was voluntary, and an explanation of risks and potential discomfort. I reminded participants that their responses would not affect their position of employment. Included in the consent form was the right to refuse to answer a question or respond to the vignette as well as the option to end the interview at any time or completely withdraw from the study without penalty (see Appendix B). After participating in the interview, none of the participants chose to withdraw from the study.[21] I also took time to explain the minimal risks or causes of distress. For example, I was cognizant that reading the vignette scenario may cause some participants distress or impact them emotionally when asked to discuss or reflect on past experiences related to this topic. I also was aware that the participants' responses might emotionally affect me as a researcher. However, participants saw minimal risks to be no worse than those faced in everyday existence, such as stories one might hear on the job. I also recognized that feelings of depression could also surface if a participant felt they performed poorly in responding to a past situation or might be triggered by

[21] Not all introductions by the gatekeeper or others worked. Three individuals decided to cancel the scheduled interview after seeing the interview guide as they felt they could not participate. Various reasons not to participate were given, although I did not ask for any, and some had nothing to do with the research study. One individual wanted to participate, but recently was terminated from the job. Another individual stated that he would not be a good fit or able to answer the research questions. I started to question why some individuals felt they had very little to offer from their perspective given that knowledge or experience with HBCs and FMs was not a prerequisite. I wondered if it was possible that these individuals themselves were not aware of "honour" in the context of violence. Nonetheless, I respected the choice, but it was difficult as a researcher to not feel as if I missed a particular viewpoint, given the position the individual held, that could enhance or inform the data from a range of participants' perspectives.

the sensitive material I provided (e.g., vignette and questions). Thus, I was prepared to refer a distraught participant to access the emotional supports (counseling) within his or her workplace and if necessary to end the interview. However, I did not actually have to take these measures.

Research Ethics and Considerations

Approval for the study was granted by the Research Ethics Board (REB1) at the University of Alberta in April 2015. The REB1 reviewed the details of my study, including data collection methods, voluntary informed consent, risks and benefits of participation, protection of participants, and data storage. As mentioned previously, I also received the required type of approval from the various police services and law enforcement agencies. Following the Research Ethics Board (REB1) guidelines, informed consent was obtained from all participants before allowing them to participate in the research study. All information was kept confidential, pseudonyms were assigned, and identifying information was removed to protect and maintain the anonymity of the participants. All data stored on my personal computer was anonymized and password protected. The raw data including audio recorded interviews, questionnaires, consent forms, and transcripts were stored securely in a locked filing cabinet for the duration of this research study. I password protected the data in the qualitative software program NVivo for the whole project.

Study Participants

In CGT the recommended number of participants is thirty to draw meaningful conclusions from the data (about sample size see Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016). Unfortunately, before the data gathering process, it was problematic to establish the precise number of interviews with each type of participant as identified above or what the time and length of these discussions would be. I aimed high with an estimated sample size of approximately fifty

participants and submitted this information for approval of my ethics application by the university. As the data gathering process occurred, I kept track of the number of interviews within the study sample. The number of required interviews with police officers and civilians became more evident once the study progressed and once theoretical saturation was reached. Typically, grounded theory dissertations may require more interviews, for example, forty, if no other data collection method is used (see Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016). Overall, I am quite satisfied with my ability to have obtained a significant number of participants (46) in two years especially given considerations of cost and time to complete this dissertation.

The 46 participants I interviewed included 32 police officers and 14 civilians across three different police services and two external law enforcement areas in Alberta. The three police services included the Edmonton Police Service (EPS), the Calgary Police Service (CPS), and the RCMP “K” division, while the two external law enforcement areas were Integrated Threat Risk Assessment Centre (I-TRAC) and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General. While I attempted to recruit an equal number of police officers and civilians, there were few participants in the latter category. As a result, many quotes come primarily from the sworn police officers given their representation in this study. Some of the police officers I had the opportunity to interview were seconded by EPS and CPS to work with specialized units within the RCMP “K” Division. Others were seconded to work with Zebra Child Protection Centre, ASIRT, and I-TRAC on special projects.[22] To protect the participants, I cannot disclose the precise number of

[22] Edmonton’s Zebra Child Protection Centre was founded in 2002/2003 to work in partnership with EPS’s Child Protection section and the Child at Risk Response Team (CARRT) as well as the RCMP and other partners such as the Edmonton Region Child and Family Services (CFS) to protect children who have experienced various forms of abuse (e.g., emotional, physical, and sexual). For more information about Zebra’s multidisciplinary approach and team see: https://www.zebracentre.ca The Alberta Serious Incident Response Team (ASIRT) investigates incidents or complaints against the actions of a police officer. Some of the police officers working with one of the police services included in this study were seconded to respond to complaints from the public. For more information on ASIRT see: https://www.solgps.alberta.ca/asirt/Pages/default.aspx

seconded police officers, nor the specifics of their work in the external police agencies, nor whether they were from EPS, CPS, or the RCMP "K" Division.

Some civilians were directly employed by the police services involved in this study. The two municipal policing agencies in Alberta—EPS and CPS—have a wide range of divisions or districts and community stations in both cities. EPS has approximately 1,531 police officers and 537 non-sworn or civilian employees and consists of six divisions (Downtown, Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southwest, and West) covering the Edmonton city limits.[23] CPS is comprised of approximately 1,900 police officers and 700 civilian employees and has eight districts in the city of Calgary (Districts: 1 – Ramsay, 2 – Rosscarrock, 3 – North Haven, 4 – Franklin, 5 – Saddle Ridge, 6 – Fairview, 7 – Country Hills, and 8 – Midnapore) in addition to the (Westwinds) headquarters.[24] I recruited civilians and police officers from EPS and CPS representing some, not all, of the various divisions or districts in both cities.

The RCMP "K" Division has approximately 4,200 employees including sworn members, civilian members, and public servants.[25] Geographically there are four main RCMP districts in Alberta (Central, Eastern, Southern, and Western); therefore, it was impossible to include representation from all the detachments in the RCMP "K" division for this research study.[26] Furthermore, the RCMP "K" division has over one hundred detachments located in rural areas of the province, making it impossible to choose sites fairly. I asked participants to reflect on their

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[23] For more details, see: http://www.edmontonpolice.ca/JoinEPS/WorkingAsACivilian.aspx and http://www.edmontonpolice.ca/ContactEPS/EPSPoliceStations.aspx

[24] For more details, see: http://www.calgary.ca/CPS/Pages/Working-for-Calgary-Police/Careers-with-Calgary-Police.aspx and http://www.calgary.ca/cps/Pages/Calgary-Police-Service-district-offices.aspx

[25] For more details, see: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ab/about-apropos-eng.htm The RCMP has two categories to identify non-police officers or civilian employees: Civilian Members and Public Service Employees (see: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/civilian-employee-careers).

[26] For more information see: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/detach/en/find/AB and http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ab/images/map.pdf

previous work experience in other detachments within the "K" division to represent other rural areas in Alberta. Participants reflected on their current and previous postings with the RCMP "K" Division, including Airdrie, Athabasca, Banff, Brooks, Chestermere, Devon, Drayton Valley, Evansburg, Edmonton International Airport, Grande Prairie, Hinton, Innisfail, Leduc, Morinville, Sherwood Park, Spruce Grove, St. Albert, St. Paul, Strathmore, Stony Plain, Valleyview, Wetaskiwin, and Wood Buffalo (Fort McMurray).

I interviewed a few civilians employed by external provincial government bodies like the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General which oversees coordinating training for police in the province. Other civilians worked with municipal government organizations like the City of Edmonton Citizen Services as well as non-profit organizations such as HomeFront because of their partnerships with EPS and CPS.[27] To maintain the anonymity of the study participants, I am unable to comment on the exact number of participants who participated from each of the organizations connected to these police services.

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[27] The City of Edmonton Citizen Services has a strong partnership with Edmonton Police Service (EPS) in which some community services social workers (civilians) assist police officers (constables) with DV files across the city. The social workers work in partnership with EPS and the Domestic Abuse High Risk Team (DAHRT) to end the cycle of violence. (Previously known as the Domestic Violence Intervention Team (DVIT) and Spousal Violence Intervention Team (SVIT), in 2016 DAHRT underwent a name change.) The team follows up on reported DV cases and provides prompt support for victims. The team is also responsible for completing the risk assessment to provide information regarding safety planning and additional risk factors and makes referrals or recommendations to other agencies to assist the victims. For more information on the DAHRT model see:
https://www.edmonton.ca/programs_services/for_family_individuals/family-violence-prevention.aspx

HomeFront is an organization in Calgary whose mission is to create safer communities for all by eliminating DV in the city, bringing together social services including law enforcement and criminal justice agencies. HomeFront collaborates with Calgary Police Service (CPS), Child and Family Services (CFS), Crown Prosecutors, Calgary Community Corrections and various community agencies. The Domestic Court Response Team (DCRT) is a unique team relationship between a HomeFront domestic caseworker, a CPS police officer, and CFS to provide outreach support in cases where calls for help made to the police have no charges laid. The specialized team follows up on incidents reported to the police to ensure that support, safety plans or referrals are in place for complainants of DV. Similarly, another Domestic Violence Intervention and Resource Team (DVIRT) is comprised of an outreach worker from HomeFront working alongside CFS, the Crown, CPS, defense counsel, and probation officers to support victims through the criminal court process. In these incidents, charges have already been laid and the case is before the justice system. For more information on what the HomeFront specialized teams (DCRT and DVIRT) do, see https://homefrontcalgary.com/

In qualitative research, methodological and ethical challenges include protecting participants, so their perspectives are not linked back to the organizations involved in the study. It is essential to understand some of the participant's experiences through the collection of detailed information. However, it is also necessary to not include all these details in research findings to protect the participant's identity. Thus, where possible I group the sociodemographic information of study participants to represent an aggregate picture of them. The challenge, though, is that the ranks within the RCMP differ from those of city police (EPS and CPS). The RCMP, unlike city police, does not operate out of policing divisions covering city limits through specialized units, but more so through various detachments located in rural areas of the province represented within the RCMP "K" division. The specific divisions or detachments and units in which individuals worked are not included with any quotations or reference points as participants would be identifiable. Some of the police officers or civilians I interviewed were in specialized roles within a specific division, detachment, or unit, so including such information could make them highly identifiable.

Since the risk of identifying participants still exists, I removed any information that increased the likelihood of identification for both groups (police officers and civilians), such as exact years of service, names of specialized units, titles of positions, and employment roles. For example, some participants indicated that they were the only police officer or civilian member operating out of a specialized unit with a specific job title (e.g., a coordinator or victim services advocate in a DV unit). Thus, I did not include the particular names or acronyms of the teams or units, including the designated DV ones. If the specific job title (e.g., school resource officer and threat assessor) is the same across all the police services, I included it if a participant referenced it in a passage. To prevent linking the individuals back to the police services, I cluster quotes

together and use general descriptions of frontline patrols, DV units, and teams without specifying individual team members. Nonetheless, it is important to note that a considerable number of specialized units were included and connected to the field of DV in the study, such as the DVIT – Domestic Violence Intervention Team and the Domestic Abuse High Risk Team (DAHRT) with EPS, or the Domestic Violence Team (DVT) with the DCU – Domestic Conflict Unit with CPS, to list a few. Participants in the study also came from other sections such as the Victim Services, Crime Prevention, and Diversity and Recruitment units found within all the police services. The names of the other sections represented by participants are not revealed as all identifiable information was removed. In some police services (e.g., EPS), promotions took place during the time of data collection, so individuals were moved from specific areas or specialized units and are less likely to be identified. The shuffle that occurred over the two-year period when interviewing helps protect participants who were involved in the study.

Table 1 below represents the number of police officers and civilians from each of the police services (EPS, CPS, and the RCMP "K" Division) and external law enforcement agencies (I-TRAC, and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General). I made an effort to try to recruit an equal number of participants from each of the internal police services (EPS, CPS, and the RCMP "K" Division). Though consideration was given to speak to an equal number of civilian members in policing, I found it difficult to recruit these participants with CPS and the RCMP "K" Division, and it was a slower process.[28] It is worth noting that the vast majority of

[28] The RCMP "K" Division did not approve my research study until December 2015, so I was unable to start the interviews until much later compared to the other police services. Thus, it was not until January 2016 that I started to recruit a few participants. In January 2017 I followed up on the requests that went out to members in December 2016 from the gatekeepers within the RCMP "K" Division. Once I received the list of those interested in participating, I followed up to contact them directly to set up the interviews. However, I still struggled to recruit civilians; hence, only one was included from the RCMP "K" Division. I made a few more attempts to recruit civilian members, believing that it was important for me to include their perspective. However, it was difficult, and the one civilian I did speak to was by chance. This participant reached out to me because someone informed him/her about my research in the area. The civilian asked for practical knowledge (e.g., risk assessments) about "honour"-based

the civilians were from the EPS, and this is likely because I was positioned in Edmonton during the research study. However, I was still able to speak to a few civilian members from CPS and one from the RCMP "K" Division. There was a total of 39 participants (28 police officers and 11 civilians) from the internal police services (EPS, CPS, and the RCMP "K" Division). I also attempted to collect data from a balanced number of police officers and civilians from the external law enforcement agencies (I-TRAC and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General) and was able to gain access to speak to a total of 7 participants (4 police officers and 3 civilians) from these agencies.

Table 1. Participants from Internal Police Services and External Law Enforcement Agencies

Participating		# of Police Officers	# of Civilians	Total # of Participants
Internal	EPS	11	7	**18**
	CPS	8	3	**11**
	RCMP "K" Division	9	1	**10**
# of Internal Police Services		**28**	**11**	**N=39**
External	I-TRAC	3	1	**4**
	Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General	1	2	**3**
# of External Law Enforcement Agencies		**4**	**3**	**N=7**
Overall Sample Size		**N=32**	**N=14**	**N=46**

crimes. I was able to support this participant's request, and in turn, I also shared information about my research study. I was surprised that the individual was open to sharing his/her experiences with me.

The 32 police officers' years of service in various law enforcement agencies included some previous international policing. The years of service for each of the 32 officers ranged from three to just under thirty years. A few participants in this group were retired police officers who once served with EPS, CPS, and the RCMP "K" Division and now were employed by the I-TRAC and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General.[29] Classified into two types for this study are the 32 sworn police officers – lower/junior rank (three frontline patrol officers, three general duty officers, and eight constables in specialized units) and upper/senior rank (seven sergeants including staff sergeants, five detectives, one investigator, four corporals, one detachment commander) officers. The 14 civilians' years of experience in the DV field ranged from a few months in a position to twenty-eight years at the time of the study. These positions included frontline victim service advocates, intake and threat assessors, outreach and crisis workers, social workers, psychologists, senior advisors, project coordinators, supervisors, managers of specialized units, and 911 call operators. Some of the positions included (1) assistance with policing DV, (2) assistance in writing or implementing DV policies, and (3) assistance in DV programs in Alberta.

I made an effort to recruit an equal number of women and men to participate in the study despite policing being a male-dominated area. Thus, I was able to elicit the experiences of the few women and racially diverse members currently working in the police force. Out of the 46 participants, 20 were men, and 26 were women. Regarding the diversity of the participants, the majority identified as White (38), whereas a few were South Asian (5), Indigenous (1), and mixed-race (2). The age of the participants ranged from approximately 25 to 68 years at the time

[29] I included the retired police officers in this group with the other active police officers. I chose to do this because the retirees still spoke about their experiences, with the topic, as a police officer in EPS, CPS, or the RCMP. The retired police officers also reflected on current duties with special projects in the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General related to policing activities and investigations with I-TRAC from a threat assessor point of view.

of the interview. Participants' level of education ranged from high school, some university classes, or completed diplomas, to an undergraduate or graduate level degree. Most participants shared that they had received certificates in leadership or police academy training (e.g., Depot within the RCMP). In Table 2 below I have summarized the socio-demographic characteristics of the interview participants with respect to their sex, race and ethnicity, age, and level of education.

Table 2. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Interview Participants

General Characteristics	N = Number of Participants
Participants recruited (n)	**46**
Police Officers	32
Civilians	14
Sex	
Males	20
Females	26
Race and Ethnicity	
White	38
South Asian	5
Indigenous	1
Mixed Race	2
Age Range	
25-35 years	9
36-45 years	21
46-55 years	13
56-65 years	2
66 years and older	1
Level of Education	
High School	3
Some Post-Secondary	2

* (Went to College/University, but did not finish)	
College Diploma	12
Bachelor Degree	22
Graduate Level (Masters and Doctorate)	7

Data Collection Strategies

Data collection occurred during 2015–2017 and represented municipal, provincial, and federal level policing across rural and urban Alberta. It took two years for data collection while I initially thought the minimum time I would require is a year. As Birks and Mills (2015) state, most grounded theory studies take twice as long as originally anticipated. The interview method to collect the data combined semi-structured face-to-face/telephone interviews and the use of a vignette which was an imaginary scenario.

Whether I interviewed participants from the internal police services (EPS, CPS, and RCMP "K" Division) or the external law enforcement agencies (I-TRAC, and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General) depended on research approval from the police service, the availability of the participants, and the stage of data collection. I interviewed both police officers and civilians working in the various police services and law enforcement agencies, including gatekeepers and key informants. This approach allowed me to assess how all the participants may hold different sorts of knowledge or various viewpoints. The participants referred to as informants were police officers or civilians who are more aware of the information behind the scenes or may have experience that is useful to this study. However, as Lindlof and Taylor (2011) state, some of these informants were also gatekeepers helping me gain access to the study participants. Key informants and gatekeepers provided insights on how the police service they operated within viewed DV, and this helped familiarize me with the agencies'

varying definitions as well as their organizational cultures. Police officers I spoke with shared their experiences on specific cases and the training or risk assessment tools they were aware of or used. The civilians also discussed some of the facts from cases where they supported a police officer, explained procedures or the ongoing need to have resources and training. Thus, speaking to both groups helped me gather more in-depth information which enhanced the understanding of HBCs and FMs from multiple perspectives, and these insights may improve best practices of policing this crime across the province.

Interview Method

Semi-structured interviews were the primary data collection strategy used in this CGT study. I developed an interview guide with broad, open-ended, minimally structured questions. I was careful with the construction of the interview guide and thought through how to frame the questions while avoiding my preconceived ideas or judgments. I followed Charmaz's (2006) suggestion of "creating open-ended, non-judgmental questions [to] encourage unanticipated statements and stories to emerge" (p. 26). Originally, I planned to use the modifier "so-called" before the term "honour" but as I thought through how this read, I realized that I was imposing a certain viewpoint with the open-ended interview guide, so I removed the modifier from all questions that used the term "honour." I was also careful not to define the concept "honour" as I wanted to explore the participants' views and hear things I had not anticipated, especially with their concerns around terminology, training, and this type of violence. Thus, the definition of "honour" was not given beforehand to the participants but defined through the interviews. I was cautious about forcing my preconceived ideas and notions about "honour" upon the data, especially since the interview guide was provided to participants ahead of time.

I started the interview with questions about the participant's experiences in law enforcement and the policing agency, and encouraged them to tell me a bit more about their position/role as a police officer or civilian. I asked some questions to collect socio-demographic information such as age, gender, level of education, and racial/ethnic makeup of the participants. I also asked if the participant worked in any other police service throughout their career including overseas because they might have gained prior knowledge or experience with the topic of "honour." I found it helpful to ask this specific question as many of my participants reflected on their experiences throughout their policing career rather than merely focusing on the current position, specialized unit, or police service they were currently representing. I asked how they heard about the research study and then continued the conversation into the vignette that I created. I prefaced our discussion of the vignette with the idea that there is no right or wrong answer and that I wanted to understand their perspective on the hypothetical situation. I asked participants to describe what they thought was happening in the imaginary scenario and how they felt, what parts stood out, what would influence a police response, whether they had encountered similar situations, and any other concerns or comments they have (see Appendix D for vignette and questions).

After asking the vignette questions, I proceeded to ask questions from the semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix D). Although I used the guide, the interviews naturally evolved in a conversational style, allowing participants to bring forward issues that they had encountered that were not in the guide; for example, female genital mutilation (FGM) and its connection to HBV came up. I would use these opportunities to ask participants about meanings, definitions, and the understanding of HBV, FM, and FGM. Instead of strictly adhering to the interview guide, my questions were adjusted slightly to make linkages between the ideas participants were

sharing. I applied the same flexible technique to the interviews where some of my participants brought materials with them. Some of these participants asked if they could refer to documents when responding to questions. For example, one police officer referred to a written report she/he assisted within the police service to reduce incidents of DV. A civilian member referenced training materials she/he had on hand during the interview to discuss the specific laws to address FM in Canada. Some participants (police officers) reached for risk assessment tools (e.g., PATRIARCH, a tool for assessing and managing risk for HBV) to explain HBCs. Others looked for information on the existing Criminal Code of Canada about FMs and policing practices in Alberta (e.g., "Domestic Violence Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecution").[30] Some participants were resourceful as they searched for specific information on the internet and on their computer files related to HBCs.[31] The materials the participants brought to the interview required me to follow their lead with the conversation, so I would pick up on the participant's lead and pursue questions that were not in the semi-structured interview guide. In these situations, I focused on my active interview skills to ask probing questions to elicit more information and to encourage the participant to elaborate, give meaning, clarify responses and details to the experience or situation they were describing. This balance between letting the participant guide the conversation and making use of the interview guide fits CGT strategies for interviewing (Charmaz, 2006).

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[30] This police officer pulled out the Criminal Code of Canada, a brown book, and started flipping through it. He was looking to see if FMs are against the law in the existing Criminal Code. He was not finding much and instead came across information on polygamy. He kept flipping through to find very little and said "wow okay" as he was in disbelief that there was not much to be found.

[31] With the telephone interviews, the participants would explain an idea as they searched information, usually personal files, on their computer about a specific topic such as training they attended on "honour"-based crimes or experience with one particular case.

In terms of content, I asked participants to share their insights on the definitions of DV or intimate partner violence (IPV) used within their police service and what was influencing the decision to use or not use the term HBV (see Chapter 5). I wanted to understand the use of term "honour" and the implications of how it is being used, as well as what informs the decisions to use or not use the term. Additionally, relying on open-ended questions, I asked participants to share how they understood the word "honour," allowing them to discuss their experiences and thoughts on risk assessment and intervention, training and agency support. Asking the participants to think about their first impression or experience with the term "honour" and whether that has changed over time, I encouraged participants to share how their self-identity, background, and personal beliefs influence their experiences and understanding of the phenomenon. I further inquired about any experiences they had in the workplace about understanding HBCs and how the police service they worked for tackles this form of violence. Finally, I invited participants to share any recommendations they had to improve the current response to the problem.

I completed four one-on-one telephone and forty-two face-to-face interviews, allowing the participants to decide on the method. The majority of the participants expressed their preference for the face-to-face interactions; however, due to constraints such as time and distance, I conducted some telephone interviews since it made it easy for some to participate in the research study. I recognized that I had a limited amount of time available to do this research and was also limited geographically. For example, while I was able to go to Calgary twice to conduct a number of interviews, I was unable to drive to some rural parts of Alberta. However, with the four telephone interviews, I was able to accommodate participants located in hard-to-reach, rural parts of Alberta as they too were unable to travel to Edmonton to meet me in person.

The telephone interviews were useful and still offered participants an option to participate. One participant asked me to allow a bit of time before calling, so he/she could get settled into the evening shift. The participant also explained how he/she might get called away; however, the time arranged was still the most convenient. The three other participants stated how they worked out of a satellite or home-based office, so they would prefer to participate in a telephone interview completed in one sitting.

The face-to-face interviews took place in some rural parts of Alberta (e.g., bedroom communities) and the cities of Edmonton and Calgary. These interviews took place at the participant's office (11), in an interview or boardroom booked within their workplace to accommodate the need for a quiet space (26), or in a seminar room reserved in the Tory Building at the University of Alberta campus (5). Furthermore, participants often introduced me to others in their work setting and shared how I was interviewing them for a research study. In these interactions, participants often expressed how excited they were about the interview and invited me to share information with their colleagues who might wish to participate. While the place where I interviewed the participants could have restricted anonymity in the research, I asked participants to specify a time and location to meet. Some participants favoured me arranging a place because their office space was not conducive to an interview. Some participants chose to be interviewed in at the university because they did not have access to a quiet space or office, and I accommodated this request. Others felt their office space or an interview room at their workplace would be ideal. Thus, I had little control over the participants sharing information with others, especially when I deferred to their preferences, but I also recognize that it led to snowball sampling, discussed earlier.

The interviews varied in time from 1.5 to 4 hours. Many of the invested participants shared experiences in great depth. Some participants warned me that they would have lots to say because they are passionate about the topic. Thus, some interviews lasted between 3 to 4 hours. When this was the case, participants were given the option around the 2-hour mark to continue with the interview, end the interview, or to schedule a follow-up second interview. When I sensed a participant getting emotionally exhausted before the 2-hour mark, the same steps were taken, especially with the telephone interviews that also became lengthy. The telephone interviews were completed in the scheduled time as all the participants wished to continue despite how lengthy they became. All participants finished the interview without scheduling a second follow-up interview. All of the participants also responded to the vignette and the research questions asked.

I digitally recorded all of the (42) face-to-face and (4) telephone interviews with consent from the (46) participants. Using the digital recorder with the face-to-face interviews allowed me to maintain the flow of the interview, to be attentive to the participant's body language, and to maintain good eye contact. The digital recorder also allowed me to feel at ease as I concentrated on active listening and hearing the voice of my participants (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). When I noticed the participant needed to take a break from the interview or when the interview was interrupted by others looking to speak to the participant about work-related matters, I stopped recording. Also, when participants wanted to speak freely about a topic or situation that was off the record they usually asked me to turn off the recorder. In these rare situations, I quickly responded by turning off the recorder and asking for permission from the participant before it was turned back on.

None of my participants were overly sensitive or worried about being recorded. Participants expressed how they were familiar with digital recorders as they often obtain

audio/video recorded statements. Police officers often shared the importance of using a recorder and how the digital devices had changed over the years or did not even exist when they started on the job. Lisa, a senior rank officer shared how an audio recorder allows for accuracy:

> Like, when I started with the [police], this didn't exist. [refers to the recorder being used in the interview]. This statement was… me slowing and you talking slowly so you can handwrite every word I said. As accurately as possible.

I also jotted down notes during some of the interviews to remind me to ask a particular follow-up question or to record important points made during the interview (Charmaz, 2006), having informed participants at the beginning that I would take notes. Some participants felt more comfortable than others about my note-taking. In rare cases when I noticed a participant was looking concerned or uncomfortable with my note taking, I stopped. These notes I scribbled down were the field notes I wrote during the interview interaction which allowed me to reflect on key ideas emerging from the process.

With one of the four telephone interviews, I used equipment that connected a telephone and computer directly through a secured voice over internet protocol (VoIP) line to record the telephone interview. This telephone equipment and the space to conduct the interview was generously supported by the Population Research Lab at the University Alberta. I found there were some technical problems with the VoIP line where the call dropped once, and the audio recording sound quality was a concern. Thus, with the remaining three telephone interviews the process was adapted and quite straightforward as I conducted the interview in my home office over the speakerphone, placing the digital recorder nearby to record the conversation. This approach allowed me to resolve the technical issues and improve the sound quality. I also was conscious of the audio-recording quality with the face-to-face interviews, so I placed the recorder in a position central to all participants.

Data Coding and Analysis

The data coding did not occur in a linear process, and this is because in CGT both data collection and analysis co-occur in an inductive way (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006). This nonlinear technique allowed me to move back and forth between the data collection and analysis in a cycle. While conducting interviews, I was coding and analyzing previous data collected, which then informed future interviews. This strategy allowed me to reconstruct questions or identify problem areas where I should have followed up. As I studied what worked and what did not work through the data analysis, it informed how I continued to collect data.

Transcribing

To keep the process moving and for the data collection and analysis to inform each other, I hired a graduate student to transcribe all 46 interviews verbatim. I reached out to a recommended graduate student transcriber from another province to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. I also informed the participants that data would be handled confidentially by the transcriber, who signed an agreement form (see Appendices B and C). A password protected Google Drive folder was set up to upload the audio files immediately after each interview for transcription. Before uploading the audio data, I removed all personal identifiers before transcription and assigned pseudonyms to participants (e.g., audio files were labeled with the participant # and given aliases). I also provided the transcriber with instructions for transcribing, including a set of notations to be used by the transcriber, for example, trailing periods (…) to indicate short temporal pauses. I provided detailed notes on each interview to clarify things the transcriber might hear in the audio recording (e.g., acronyms, special terms, or pseudonyms that I had assigned to other participants that the participant referenced in the

interview). The transcriber became familiar with the language and acronyms used by the participants in the different police services.

With the general formatting of the transcript, the transcriber was asked to transcribe verbatim to include participant “um’s” and silences that indicate pauses and to include any other emotions that came through in the audio recording. For instance, moments that were important to capture were emotions indicated in brackets such as [laughing]. Since all participants agreed to have the interviews audio recorded, the transcriber was able to listen to the audio recording for “accents, dialects, laughter, sighs, pauses, stresses on words, and so on” which were then noted (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 192). Listening for and hearing these expressions were important because these subtle points transcribed helped me with interpreting the participant’s response, especially with the telephone interviews where visual cues were absent. With the telephone interviews, the tone of voice, silences, and pauses were essential to capture as other non-verbal cues were missing.

Once I received the transcripts in the password protected Google Drive folder, I cross-checked them with the audio recordings, removed identifiers, and reviewed them for any errors. I corrected misinterpretations or any uncertainty about what the participant was saying. The transcriber bracketed these areas with a question mark [?]. Other areas the transcriber highlighted in red were also reviewed by me whenever there was an indication of doubt with spelling. I also re-listened to the audio recordings of each interview to ensure the transcripts I received were accurate and to ensure that any real names of individuals mentioned during the interview were re-coded for anonymity. Throughout this process, I was able to familiarize myself with the main content of the interviews including emerging concepts and themes. Additionally, I reviewed the inaudible material that was flagged in brackets like so, [inaudible 03:30], making an effort to

transcribe several of the inaudible passages but only in instances where I was confident that I understood what was said. Background noises or interruptions sometimes made it difficult for the transcriber to fully and accurately transcribe some sections identified as inaudible.

Coding of Themes

Data analysis is an inductive process guided and driven by the themes that emerge until reaching thematic saturation (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006). Given the significant number of interviews, many themes emerged during data analysis. A substantial amount of data was collected, and it became a time-consuming process where I felt a bit overwhelmed. I knew I could focus on merely coding the data needed to address the research questions in my study. However, the coding process allowed me to immerse myself in the data to condense the pieces that were emerging, and sorting through them had benefits (see Charmaz, 2006). I decided to code enormous amounts of data which I may end up recoding or reorganizing later since not everything I collected was relevant to my current research questions. I plan to use the themes not examined here in future work. I was well immersed in the data analysis, as I coded the interviews inductively, which allowed me to avoid predetermined ideas or categories being forced upon what my participants were saying (Charmaz, 2006). I noticed when I reached thematic saturation as the information I continued to gather did not change what I was exploring with the existing data.

I coded the data using a modified CGT approach where I presented the findings as categorical themes from the data (Birks & Mills, 2015). I did not apply Charmaz's (2006) coding cycles to develop a theory grounded in the data. Instead, I considered how my research questions and the understanding of the phenomenon of interest, in my case HBCs, influences the coding choices I made. I aligned myself with the coding methods that were appropriate for my study

(e.g., initial coding) and the epistemological research questions I had asked to explore each participant's perspectives on policing HBCs within the context of DV (Saldana, 2016). Thus, my aim was not to attempt to generate a new theory about the phenomenon but to focus on using the CGT coding processes to provide insight into policing perspectives on HBCs. As I describe later, an effort was made, although unsuccessful, to apply theoretical sampling which is unique to grounded theory methodology and an essential process in developing rich, grounded theory (Birks & Mills, 2015). However, I still applied the coding process used in Charmaz's (2006) CGT methodology to the core category "confusion and uncertainty" that emerged. I do not include the various codes I assigned to the data. Instead, I discuss the measures I took to manage the data and to sort out the emerging codes into themes. Exploring the coding process I undertook is important to understand before I present the major category "confusion and uncertainty" as an approach for understanding and theorizing the topics that my three substantive analytical papers explore.

Transcriptions were coded using CGT techniques and analyzed for themes which were facilitated by a qualitative software program NVivo 11. I began data analysis after conducting the first interview and continued while subsequently collecting data. This concurrent and simultaneous process allowed me to rethink and reframe how I was asking some interview questions. For the first few interviews, I re-read and coded the themes manually before inputting the data into the NVivo software program for analysis, as there is value in being immersed in the data more exhaustively (Birks & Mills, 2015). Once I had done some preliminary coding manually and developed a good understanding of the data, I coded electronically. However, learning to use a software program is a useful skill to develop as it can be less onerous and time-consuming than manually coding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). I attended a training session to use

NVivo while collecting the data to familiarize myself with the program. I found this software allowed me to manage and analyze extensive amounts of data efficiently. I was able to use the program to assign nodes (codes) to segments of the transcript text and retrieve these text passages easily. As I generated codes in NVivo, I used the description space to reflect and expand on the meaning of the category label that linked to the data. This NVivo feature was helpful as I continued to analyze the data and rationalize choices I made about coding similar segments of the transcript text. Additionally, I also coded the data for demographic and attributed categories (e.g., sex, race and ethnicity, age, education, and religion) and type of participant (e.g., police officer and civilian). The software program assisted with the data analysis, codes included in a category, the number of segments coded, tracking memos, and storage of my detailed field notes taken during and immediately after interviews (Birks & Mills, 2015). I did not code my field notes or memos; instead, I drew from these sources as I re-read them for occurring themes and analytical comments to guide my analysis.

Data analysis and coding in NVivo was applied to the vignette discussion and the interview questions that followed. I coded the data that emerged from the vignette separately in NVivo from the interview questions using the same process of grounded theory coding, which I describe next. Thus, different themes were identified from the vignette discussion and interview questions.[32] This process revealed that participants often referenced the vignette scenario when responding to other questions in my interview guide. I was careful in the subsequent interviews to not let the vignette method and questions control all the data I received from the interviews. I kept track of the time and attempted to limit this discussion when it seemed extensive because it was important that data collected from the vignette and interviews direct my analysis jointly.

[32] I used nodes to organize themes from the vignette separately from the interview questions in NVivo.

Having access to the two different modes of data collection and forms of data analyzed strengthens this study (Charmaz, 2006). The vignette set the stage for the topics discussed later in the interview and also complemented the interview method, and this will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

CGT involves a constant comparison method of coding and analyzing the data through three main phases: initial (line-by-line coding that also incorporates *in vivo* and process coding),[33] focused (intermediate coding), and then theoretical coding (advanced coding) (Birks & Mills, 2015; Bryman et al., 2012; Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016). Following Charmaz's (2006) guidelines, initial coding was done in the early stages of the research to break down large segments of data. This stage of the coding process involved moving quickly through the analysis of the first few interview transcripts where I manually identified codes. I labeled each line of data with a short word written in the margins to capture the critical pieces of data. With the subsequent interviews, this level of coding was not necessary. I constantly compared incidents and codes to examine categories, concepts, and patterns found in data which was useful when participants were discussing the same idea (Birks & Mills, 2015). During the initial coding cycle I also made use of *in vivo* codes that were exact words taken directly from the participants' language (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016). In the software program NVivo, I was able to keep track of the codes that were inspired by the participants own words and phrases to assign texts or passages as "in vivo code." As Saldana (2016) states, it is important to honour the participant's words and stay attuned to the analysis developing from their

[33] The constant comparison method involves comparing participants "accounts or experiences, comparing codes, comparing categories, comparing the data with the existing literature, and so on" (Saldana, 2016, p. 48). I used memos to reflect on and write about emerging themes and applied the constant comparison method. "The root meaning of in vivo is "in that which is alive," and as a code refers to a word or short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record, "the terms used by [participants] themselves" (Strauss, 1987, p. 33 as cited in Saldana, 2016, p. 105).

perspectives. When it was appropriate, I was reasonably grounded in the data rather than being focused on assigning my meaning to a code. For example, one of the participants used the word "old-school mentality" to describe his/her meaning of the view and actions of people who have not adapted to the western culture. I could have used the descriptive code "values and beliefs" to summarize the passage. *In vivo* codes allowed me to restrain myself from the overuse of descriptive codes which is a common error made in data analysis (Saldana, 2016). According to Charmaz (2006) initial coding "should stick closely to the data. Try to see actions in each segment of data rather than applying preexisting categories to the data" (p. 47). Thus, I tried to apply more action-oriented codes through another method called process coding where gerund-based words ending with "ing" are applied to the analysis (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016). I reworded and reworked through some of the codes proposed in the initial coding phase.

As themes started to become apparent in the data, focused codes were used to sort through the frequent initial codes that were emerging. I synthesized, integrated, and organized these codes into the development of categories to explain the themes from the data (Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016). Sometimes I made decisions to split a code into two new codes and kept them under the same categorical theme. Other times I created subcategories to a category. Some codes were merged, while I added others from the data I was still collecting. I compared data to place similar passages from the interviews into the same category that explained a concept or theme, and then I defined the categories' properties (Charmaz, 2006; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Saldana, 2016). Some passages in a transcript received multiple codes also known as simultaneous codes (applying more than one code to the same passage of text) (Saldana, 2016). Since data was coded into several categories, NVivo helped retrieve these data passages easily.

Finally, theoretical coding was employed in the later stages and involved analyzing the focused codes to state the relationships between the categories and concepts (Charmaz, 2006). "Theoretical Coding progresses towards discovering the central/core category that identifies the primary theme of the research" (Saldana, 2016, p. 236). The focused codes assisted with the identification of the emerging core theoretical category which connects to other categories. Theoretical coding gives a clear explanation for "what is going on in your data" and the main concern (Birks & Mills, 2015, p. 121). As my theoretical coding advanced, the meaning of the core category developed through memo writing, which I describe later. The central or core category of this study is "confusion and uncertainty." Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 detail the findings of how other categories and sub-categories related to the core category, as it became apparent that there is a lot of "confusion and uncertainty" which is a significant concern for participants.

Theoretical Sampling

Another sampling strategy that I made an effort to apply when identifying key participants to collect data from next is theoretical sampling, a technique which is relevant to CGT approaches (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006). Theoretical sampling requires recruiting participants with a diverse range of perspectives in order to explore, refine or confirm themes that emerge from the data. Thus, theoretical sampling is different from the purposive sampling strategies used to recruit participants initially. The theoretical codes derived from the data guide the next sampling strategies to advance the findings in order to fully develop a substantive middle ground theory.

Theoretical sampling can cause the researcher to return to either the same group or a new group of participants (Charmaz, 2006). Information gleaned from the researcher's focus on the theoretical codes might present apparent gaps that need to be fine-tuned or compared. To apply

this strategy, the researcher conducts a second in-depth interview with the first set of participants or reaches out to another source of participants (Bryman et al., 2012). I tried to employ theoretical sampling to collect data related to emergent issues. To conceptually develop the categories that were emerging, I made an effort to reach out to the gatekeepers to find participants who could help me understand these issues. This approach was taken to clarify themes and because other participants suggested that I speak to school resource officers (SROs) and detectives in domestic homicide units, to include them in the study.[34]

There were times when I attempted to employ theoretical sampling but was unsuccessful in my recruitment efforts. As Birks and Mills (2015) note, theoretical sampling becomes of interest, but lack of access to interview others may prevent evolvement. I wanted to respond to a gap in my analysis with some of the concepts that were emerging, but my efforts failed as I was unable to speak to detectives in domestic homicide units. I also was unable to interview police officers in two of Alberta's international airports, Leduc (RCMP) and Calgary (CPS). I was curious to conduct a few interviews with police officers in these settings as some of my participants expressed concerns about FMs taking place abroad. Some participants questioned the lack of police intervention from officers posted in the airport setting in suspected cases or FM situations, especially when a young female might be traveling abroad with family. When I reached out to the potential participants referred to me from past participants or gatekeepers, I expressed how I was curious to hear if police officers posted at the airport had experience or would be prepared to intervene with HBV and FM situations. Unfortunately, the individuals I reached out to expressed that they did not think they would be of much help to me as they had limited experience with HBV and FMs, as this type of crime is not something they have run into

[34] Some participants emphasized how schools are important hubs where school resource officers (SROs) are connecting with young teens who could be at risk for HBV and FMs.

at the airport. I did not want to coerce individuals into participating in the study, but I specifically found it interesting that HBCs are not as apparent for those posted in the airport setting.

I still wanted to investigate further the themes of “forced marriages” and intervention at the airport to be able to elaborate on this concept as it emerged from a few interviews. For instance, some of my past participants reflected on one specific case at an international airport in Alberta that involved protecting a young girl from such a situation. In this specific case, police officers played a crucial role in successfully intervening to prevent her from a FM overseas and connected her to appropriate supports. I found it strange that the airport police were not aware of these situations while other police officers had been involved. I wanted to know more about how this happened. Collecting more data and exploring some of these emerging themes would have allowed me to investigate further the interventions at the airport as well as the key concepts shaped from the initial interviews where participants shared this experience.

Although I was unable to recruit purposively participants who could comment on the emerging information gathered from the past participants, I learned quickly through my efforts that it is likely that police officers in this setting have limited knowledge or details of such situations. This is a gap I was still able to fill in my analysis. However, if I had been successful with recruiting police officers at the airport, it would have been valuable to interview this specific group to understand whether they are watching for these situations and if/why they lack the training required to expect potential cases and then intervene. The point I wish to illustrate is that police in the airport setting play a role in mediating potential cases of HBCs and FMs. Perhaps the police in the airport setting have yet to recognize the high levels of risk as past interventions in Alberta have shown that young females are vulnerable to being taken out of the country by a close family member and pressured into a FM experience. Some of my past

participants demonstrated and expressed concerns about the airport setting, but questioned the level of awareness or unawareness of police in these areas. It was still pertinent to my study to make an effort to recruit participants who could speak to this emerging issue, but it proved to be challenging. After several unsuccessful attempts, I decided not to follow this lead to explore the topic further as it would exceed my time for completing this study. Instead, I relied on the accounts that emerged from the past participants during previous interviews.

Field Notes and Memo-Writing

Field notes and memos were kept separately in NVivo as recommended by Birks and Mills (2015). I created a template to record my descriptive field notes which were observations I made during and after the interviews, noting brief details such as referred participants by another participant or gatekeeper and participants'social behaviour or communication style, e.g., the use of metaphors. I also recorded the time and duration of the interview, physical or social setting where the interview was conducted, what the physical environment was like, and any unanticipated interruptions. Details about the non-verbal cues included facial expressions shown during the face-to-face interviews which would not be captured through the transcriptions. With the telephone interviews I was unable to capture non-verbal cues, but I included the communication style.

Immediately after an interview, I recorded my comments about the interviews, and then I typed out my handwritten notes taken during the interview into the template. I also recorded my critical reflections with the interview where I highlighted any emotions or reactions I was having with the interview process. I captured any feelings or impressions, ideas or questions or concerns and the type of informal conversations that took place with participants and other individuals

before or after the interview. I found myself referring back to these field notes when reviewing the interview transcripts since they contextualized the interview process.

As Birks and Mills (2015) note, “grounded theorists are reflexive researchers” and writing memos informs the research process as the researcher actively engages with the data (p. 52). Memos were written at various times, for example, during data collection and analysis. I wrote a memo as soon as the thought came up during data collection and analysis (Saldana, 2016) and would often reflect on the interview experience and write memos to improve how I asked questions. For example, I reflected on one experience early on with the first few interviews when a participant suggested I reword a question. The civilian was honest that the wording of this question was problematic as police officers may take offense. I used this experience to rework the question into my interview guide and reflected on the suggestion by memoing. I also used operational and analytical memos to keep track of how I made decisions with the interview technique and after additional questions were added (see Birks & Mills, 2015), further recording any insights and thoughts I had about the research study as I engaged with the data coding process in the initial stages (Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016). Memos were written in NVivo as a way for me to record and revisit my analytical thoughts, but also served as an audit trail to track my ideas about emerging ideas from coding the interviews (Birks & Mills, 2015). I listened and read the interview transcripts, and at the same time, I used the annotation feature in NVivo for coding memos to reflect on the data analysis immediately as I was coding. For example, I would highlight a section of the transcript and then comment on that specific point to explain why I coded it the way I did.

I made sure to date stamp each stand-alone memo and included short descriptive titles only so I could later retrieve earlier memos through an NVivo search to revisit my thoughts.

When I revisited my thoughts, I would send the previous note on the specific memo to the bottom and scroll up to enter the new date and build on the ideas. I mainly used stand-alone memos I created, while ones I could link to sources were rarely used (e.g., interview or literature). Memos served as a written record of reflexivity and allowed me to actively engage with the research experience to think about the data (see Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2016 for how memo-writing is a crucial step in data analysis and theoretical construction for CGT).

Researcher Reflexivity and Positionality

In this section, I discuss researcher reflexivity and positionality as it influences the research process. I feel it is essential not to ignore my feminist position as a researcher, a voice which may have undoubtedly influenced the research, but I was sensitive to remain grounded in the data while hearing the perspectives of the participants. As a researcher, I do not have to be free from my perspective before using a constructivist approach (Mayan, 2009). I find it important to present a self-reflection of my beliefs as a feminist researcher and how they may have influenced the research process from data collection to analysis. For instance, the social construction of HBCs is an issue I am passionate about, and the problem is of concern to me as a feminist academic who has the privilege to conduct such a study.

Before conducting this research study, I was concerned about interviewing men, especially given my position as a female researcher. I thought I would continuously be negotiating interviews because of gender dynamics or the power difference this might create in the researcher-participant relationship (Charmaz, 2006). I assumed that my female gender would impact the interview itself by making it difficult for males to respond. I also thought the policing culture within which the interview was located would play a factor. Presumably, a male

researcher might have an easier time interviewing this population, but might face other challenges such as not being able to discuss a sensitive topic. I feared that my encounters with the male participants as opposed to the females might be different and to some degree might affect the responses. For example, male respondents may respond differently than their female counterparts, and they might also respond differently to me as a woman than if I were a male researcher. However, to my surprise, I did not feel challenged during the interviews despite the policing sub-culture being a male-dominated field based on power relations, race, and gender. Gender did not pose problems with male participants. Instead, I noticed it was easy to discuss the topic openly.

I was also concerned about my own identity impacting the research process. It is apparent that I am a woman of colour with brown skin. I thought by using the telephone interviews I could protect myself and that participants would not reflect on my identity which could impact the way participants discussed culture/religion with the topic of HBCs. In the four telephone interviews, I was able to maintain this hidden position as a researcher. Telephone interviews allowed for the distance between the researcher and participant as my own racial identity could have impacted the findings. On the other hand, I found many participants in the face-to-face interactions were curious about my identity and often asked about race and ethnicity. My identity became part of the interview interactions and how I answered questions about myself. I wondered if participants were surprised when I showed up to the interviews and if this was because my name did not point out my specific East Indian heritage. I often was asked general questions about myself, including what my background is and where my family is from. Usually, these questions were asked both during the interview and afterward once participants trusted me with their responses to the questions I was asking them.

At first, I struggled with how to answer questions about my identity from the participants. As time went on with the interviews, I stopped counting how many times participants asked about my identity. I shared how I self-identify as a South Asian woman born and raised in Canada. I explained my Punjabi culture and heritage being tied to Northern India. I came to realize that my answering such questions did not impact the researcher-participant interaction but rather allowed my participants to gain more trust in me as a researcher. Even though my identity was apparent during the face-to-face interactions, I was still able to collect valuable information from the participants.

As I previously mentioned, the majority of my participants (38) were White with some (5) South Asian males and females. I felt it was easier for me to speak to the South Asian participants about certain topics such as "arranged" versus "forced" marriage as opposed to the White participants. These South Asian participants trusted me and acknowledged that we shared the same identity, referencing cultural ideologies and noting that I probably could understand their concerns around community policing and the concept of "honour." However, this is not to say that the White participants, who also trusted me, did not understand these concepts. Despite my initial concerns, most participants shared any knowledge they held about my cultural identity and ethnic make-up. Sometimes participants would openly speak to me about specific topics such as culture, race, racism, spirituality, and religion. For instance, a few White male and female participants shared how they have insider knowledge of the Punjabi culture which they have experienced through their networks in and outside of the workplace. Some of the White participants would reference personal situations with friends in their network when explaining the concepts (e.g., arranged marriage) and then apologize if they were incorrect in their limited understanding. I would say that there was no need to apologize and reminded them that their

understanding was much better than no knowledge of the concepts. However, despite my perceptions of how my race and ethnicity impacted the face-to-face interviews, there is no real way of accurately knowing how it influenced the data I collected around a sensitive, yet racialized topic in the Canadian discourse.

I am also aware of my assumptions, values, and biases as a researcher with respect to the issue (see Charmaz, 2006). For instance, I was open to sharing my thoughts on the topic with the participants when asked what I think of the phenomenon. After all, I constructed the research questions and vignette which was shaped by the existing literature, but also the media reports of specific HBC cases. However, to counter my biases, I stayed as close as possible to the participants' own words and interpretation when using CGT methodology. The inductive coding process prevented me from imposing my ideas on the data. As Charmaz (2006) states, many researchers are quite familiar with their area of research and immersed in the literature, but have to remain value neutral even given their prior knowledge of the topic. Thus, I was aware of my own beliefs and the literature I had accessed related to my study. I had to be careful not to force preconceived ideas or concepts upon the data I was collecting. By adopting a constructivist perspective, I acknowledge that, unlike the original forms of grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and later versions, the researcher is part of the research process. As previously mentioned, data and knowledge are co-constructed by the researcher-participant interaction (Charmaz, 2006). For example, the researcher and participant often share ideas during the interviews. I made a note of these instances where participants asked for my interpretation or perspective when they were explaining a particular concept or situation. Additionally, I recognize that my explanation may have shaped the interaction and influenced that data.

I would add that prior to and departing from the interviews, I was very aware of the developing researcher-participant relationship and the connections that I naturally formed with some of the participants I interviewed. Once I started to collect the data, many of my research participants felt comfortable asking me to share materials with them ahead of time. As Charmaz (2006) notes, this process is common in grounded theory methods and shapes the data collection to further the analysis. For instance, I had telephone conversations and exchanged emails with a few participants before the interview. In these conversations, the individuals would admit that they were hoping I could help them by providing them with some information, research, and practical tools available to police HBV in Canada. These individuals were interested in looking at information and literature in more depth as a way to present information to the police service they were working with for the idea of a more coordinated response to HBV and FMs. I was invited to bring these materials to the interview, and after the interview, some participants would write down book titles I would share with them such as "*Honor-Based Violence: Policing and Prevention*" written by Carol Anton Roberts, Gerry Campbell, and Glen Lloyd.

According to Charmaz (2006), the researcher may start to collect materials that they had not anticipated gathering from participants. In the process of interviewing, a few of my participants openly shared materials with me such as briefing notes they prepared for policies and procedures, reports and strategies, and presentations they received at specific training to address DV, HBV, and FMs. Immediately after some interviews, participants would direct me to their offices and share with me documents they once produced but were unable to do much with as their concerns about HBV went unnoticed in the police service. These documents and other information participants were aware of related to training were emailed to me after the interview. The participants had constructed some of these documents they were sharing with me, and I have

treated these documents as data coming from them. When sharing these documents with me, the participants made it clear that they were sharing this information to assist my project. This communication made me realize how the research topic was of interest to participants even before participating in this study, and that we need to invest time for more discussions to take place in police services. I also received emails after the interviews in which participants would connect me with others in non-profit organizations developing screening tools or conducting projects on HBV.

During the interview, participants asked where I work and why I was interested in studying this specific topic. I shared how my interests in the topic of HBCs stemmed from my past research experience with DV. I built rapport with participants by being honest and forthcoming about how I was a graduate student interested in their experiences and perspectives. I stated the purpose of the research and my plans to disseminate the findings. It is also worth noting that I experienced challenges with one female senior rank officer who seemed skeptical of my intent as a researcher. I could sense that the female participant was evaluating the level of trust before the interview and how much she could share. She asked me what my perspective was on the topic and then went on to say that she did this to gauge how much she wants to share with me in the interview. I was cognizant of my perspective in which I do not see HBCs as being different from all other forms of violence such as DV and family violence (FV). I was aware that my position in the interviews and analytical process, including my role as an academic researcher, shapes my thinking. As soon as I informed her that I was aware that there are multiple points of view of the phenomenon, including my perspective, she started to open up to me a bit more. Once I established more rapport and trust with this participant, I turned on the recorder to start the interview. I refrained from note taking and tried to listen to the pieces she shared

actively. I recognized that she was a senior rank officer who did many interviews with victims, so she was likely aware of the interview process. She seemed unaware of certain things like risk assessment tools, which surprised me given her level of experience in the police service. Although I expected a bit more from the interview, I accepted her reluctance. She might not have freely expressed her views and likely held back information given her investigative skills.

Upon hearing my purpose for researching a sensitive and complex issue, the majority of the participants seemed to feel comfortable sharing information with me. I was fully aware that some of my participants may be reading academic articles which would lead them to become familiar with some of my prior work in the field as well and my position on the phenomenon. My past involvement with the topic, included co-publishing an article on this specific issue, speaks to my existing knowledge on HBCs. One participant shared during the interview that she was aware of some of my media interviews concerning DV. Another participant mentioned that she had attended a few DV presentations I had delivered in the community. I had not even considered how participants would be aware of some of the activities I carried out with past research in the area of DV. I openly shared in these situations that I wear multiple hats, and being an applied sociologist makes it impossible for me to separate activism from the role of a researcher.

I also asked the participants to share with me their reasons for being involved in the study. Some participants acknowledged my involvement in the DV field and stated that they were participating because they were aware of my previous research work. As Sarah, a civilian, explained:

> [laughter] Um, your email was passed on to me, um, I'm familiar with, your previous research, which was domestic violence in South Asian community, um, and that addressed another very important gap, I think in information we had, um, and we've been able to use it to, ah, plan and provide services to the South Asian

community, um, so I'm hoping this research is going to be just as useful to me, in terms of, ah, resources for domestic violence victims and what's needed.

A few participants shared how we had met before, and they were pleased to support me in my academic research. They felt the research study is important for the field and that there is a huge benefit in what I was doing. Others wanted to help if they could because there is a need for more education research into HBCs because there is not enough within and outside of policing. Others expressed excitement about participating because they were always fascinated or intrigued by HBCs. Some participants were concerned with the conversations they were having with police agencies in Alberta about HBCs, so they were willing to assist me with the research. These participants felt I was creating a space for their voices to be heard in advocating for more to be done. Bryan, a senior rank police officer, trusted me to express his frustration when asked why it is important to participate in a study on HBCs.

Wendy: Are there any other reasons why you feel it’s important to participate in a study like this?

Bryan: Yeah, because I really don’t think enough is being done with the subject and, yeah, it frustrates the hell out of me, that enough isn’t being done, really. There’s people that don’t like the name, so it’s nice— to me, it seems to have come around at the right time, because I would— a recent call asking for some, my advice, for an external agencies, so, you know, it’s maybe just coinc— it’s obviously just coincidental that your surveys— or your research, is coming up at the same time, but, to me, it just reminded me of why I enjoyed this in the first place and trying to get that information out there, so, I just think it’s really— to me, it’s really important to be able to at least give my angle and answer any questions that you’ve got.

Wendy: When you say external agencies, is that an external policing agency? Within Canada?

Bryan: Yeah, and within Alberta.

Similarly, Trina a civilian, expressed concerns by saying, “I’m interested because I want to make sure our police, police officers are providing culturally safe, and fair and equitable

police services." Nonetheless, participants valued being able to participate in offering something, to learn more, to be informed by and be informing the research. Furthermore, participants expressed how they appreciated the work I am doing, and they would like to read or have a copy of the research findings. To alleviate any concerns, I was open and honest about my plans with the data I was collecting. I felt the sense of accountability to share the findings with participants and the privilege I had to carry out this research. I appreciated when participants could sense my passion for applied research and specifically to improve our understanding of policing HBCs. As Judy, a civilian explained,

> I hope it will really go places, you know? What I appreciate is that it's… you have a practical heart and you really want this research applied. It's not just—I get that it's way more, for you, than jumping through a hoop to get a thesis done.

At the end of the interview, some participants reflected on the interview experience and process. Often, participants would say "I hope I was of assistance to you," or "I hope I have given you what you were looking for." I would respond by saying that their contribution was valuable and touch on how each perspective improves our understanding of a complex problem. I shared how the findings might lead to policy changes or other outcomes that the police services could benefit from.

Some participants emailed me after the interview to say how thankful they were towards my dedication to this issue. These participants reflected on and evaluated the interview process. The participants would share how it was a pleasure participating in the interview given that they could sense my passion, insight, and dedication to the topic. The reflections would include comments about me being willing to listen to them for hours, reminders that I am on the verge of doing something unique in this area of work, and assurances they were honoured to have a small part of it. These interactions and email exchanges heightened my awareness of the relationship

between my participants and me, especially those that had a similar interest in the research topic. I quickly became aware of how my research study was of interest to participants who were passionate about the topic, and this allowed them to connect with, or connect me to others, sharing their materials and the process they were trying to use to further the conversation in the police service. Through these interactions, I began to experience how I was seen as a researcher and how I shaped the participants' actions to share their ideas or contacts with me.

Overall, the chosen research methods (interviews and a vignette) helped me establish trust and rapport with most of the participants even when initially met with distrust. In the following chapter, I set the stage for the vignette and describe how this approach was successful. Chapter 3 is comprised of the findings that emerged from the vignette discussion.

CHAPTER 3. USING A VIGNETTE IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH TO EXPLORE POLICE PERSPECTIVES OF A SENSITIVE TOPIC: “HONOUR”-BASED CRIMES AND FORCED MARRIAGES

Abstract

This paper examines how a vignette presented to participants during qualitative research interviews was successful in gathering information from participants, in this case the perceptions of 32 police officers and 14 civilians regarding “honour”-based crimes and forced marriages within the context of domestic violence. To my knowledge, this is one of the first methodological papers that presents the process of using a vignette with police on a sensitive topic such as this. This paper offers a reflexive account of some of the methodological considerations I made when constructing the vignette which likely impacted its success. I introduce the vignette to discuss how participants reacted to it and then present the themes that emerged to show how it was understood. I then emphasize how first responders were engaged in the interview process with the vignette material and how this allowed for a rich, in-depth discussion on an understudied topic. Finally, I discuss the strengths and limitations of this method, and future research.

Keywords: vignette, qualitative research, constructivist grounded theory, “honour”-based crimes, forced marriages, and police

The vignette is an imaginary short story with hypothetical characters and used differently, depending on research designs, in both quantitative and qualitative studies to elicit participant's perspectives on a topic (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Finch, 1987; Kandemir & Budd, 2018; Sleed et al., 2002; Wilks, 2004).[35] The vignette approach has been useful for social research in various disciplines such as anthropology, education, nursing, psychology, social work, and sociology. However, few scholars have discussed the development, use, and learnings from employing the technique in qualitative research studies (Barter & Renold, 1999; 2000; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Hughes, 1998; Hughes & Huby, 2002; 2004; Kandemir & Budd, 2018; Rizvi, 2019; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000; Sleed et al., 2002; Wilks, 2004). Thus, this paper contributes to the existing literature about vignettes as a methodological tool for data collection in qualitative research by describing how participants engaged with the scenario.

This study explores the implementation and usefulness of a specific vignette as a complementary method to semi-structured interviews with police officers and civilians in Alberta. After sharing how participants were invited to respond to the vignette, I reflect on the success of this method as it yielded rich and meaningful data. First, I introduce the vignette, which relates to the central topic of domestic violence (DV), "honour"-based crimes (HBCs), and forced marriages (FMs). Then I outline the vignette construction, design, and application used to collect the data. After discussing the methods and data collection, I share how participants openly responded to the written narrative and vignette method with semi-structured interviews that allowed for a more in-depth analysis into participant's perspectives and assessment of the scenario. Finally, I discuss strengths, limitations, and directions for future research.

[35] I use the term vignette interchangeably with scenario, situation, and storyline.

Vignettes

The literature on vignettes notes that one requirement when using this technique is that the scenario should be constructed so it is somewhat believable when presented to participants (Barter & Renold, 1999; Bryman et al., 2012; Finch, 1987; Hughes, 1998). "It involves presenting respondents with one or more scenarios and asking them how they would respond if confronted with the circumstances depicted in the scenario" (Bryman et al., p. 95). The written narrative format I used was tailored to similar scenarios police experience given the nature of their profession in policing DV.[36] I situated the vignette in the greater scope of DV and invited participants to reflect and share their insights by 'thinking aloud' (Hughes & Huby, 2004) about their interpretation of the following vignette:

> Nina, age 17, is seen by a close family friend kissing her boyfriend on a movie date. Usually she is careful to tell lies, such as "I am going to work," to hide the relationship. Her father often asks the brother to follow her places, and he constantly checks on her whereabouts.
>
> When the family friend reports the kiss, Nina's father confronts her for the behaviour and then blames Nina's mother for failing to keep an eye on her own daughter. The father starts yelling about his daughter wearing makeup and running around with boys, and claims that this western lifestyle brings shame. Nina's brother agrees with their father and threatens to kill the boyfriend. The father slaps Nina across the face saying, "What kind of daughter are you; how will I face the community? You have disrespected me and disgraced this family. I wish you were dead."
>
> Out of fear Nina escapes to a friend's place where she is encouraged by the friend's parents to report the incident to the police instead of eloping with her boyfriend. When the police arrive at her family's home, the brother says there should be no concerns as the family is discussing preparations for his sister's wedding. The mother calls Nina's cell phone and begs her to come home to avoid further community accusations. The mother tells her to end the current

[36] The format of vignettes can vary and is guided by the research topic. For example, audio, visuals, and video recordings are one way to present information although written narrative texts are cost and time effective and more widely used applications of vignettes (see Barter & Renold, 2000; 1999; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Hughes, 1998; Hughes & Huby, 2002; 2004; Sleed et al., 2002; Wilks, 2004). I decided that a short written narrative format would fit my research topic, sustain interest, allow the vignette to be accessible, and be appropriate when presented to research participants.

> relationship because her father is planning her marriage to another man from a conservative family. Under pressure, Nina agrees to the forced marriage, and tries to defend herself by saying everything is based on rumours.

The vignette depicts a situation where a father acts abusively towards his daughter and what he considers *dishonourable* behaviour. He perceives her acts as being damaging to the family "honour" and reputation in the community. The young female leaves the violent home and escapes to a friend's place where she expresses concerns about what is happening at home. She is encouraged by the friend's parents to report the situation to the police. Meanwhile, her father responds by fulfilling his duty to restore the family "honour" by arranging a FM. The vignette ends with a series of questions, outlined in the methods section, regarding how police would intervene. The purpose of the vignette is to examine participants' attitudes concerning the type of violence outlined. The perceived context allowed me to explore participants' views on the situation as they influence the duty to respond. Participants had to decide how they would investigate and respond to Nina's call for service so that she could be supported.

Police officers and civilian members policing in a multicultural society in the twenty-first century have to be highly trained and educated to deal with similar situations to the vignette, regardless of the type of violence or the victim's cultural background or ethnic makeup (see Chan, 1997, on improving police and ethnic minority community relations). Police are first responders to criminal offenses and conflicts in the family or community. Incidents like the vignette remain under-reported as past research has indicated some victims are reluctant to approach the police with similar situations (Hall, 2014). Currently, we lack the data on how frequent these cases are partly due to a lack of awareness and investigation of these issues by the police (see Chapter 4). There is little research that has examined the police perspective of HBCs and FMs within the Canadian context. Therefore, I used the vignette to allow first responders to

engage with the storyline to express their thoughts and what they would do to lead investigations. I also used the vignette to elicit police attitudes towards their responsibility to follow-up with an appropriate response. I was interested in the level of awareness of and attitudes towards similar situations, and if the police are prepared to investigate.

Vignette Construction, Design, and Application

In this section, I discuss the decision to use the vignette as a complementary data collection strategy and choices I made with its development. I selected the vignette method for data collection because it is an effective way of gathering information from participants when combined with other data collection methods like interviews, focus groups, and surveys (Barter & Renold, 2000; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Finch, 1987; Hughes, 1998). In qualitative research, vignettes may be used in triangulation with other research techniques, especially semi-structured interviews. Previous research has indicated the value of a multi-method approach in qualitative research designs used to collect the data (Barter & Renold, 1999; Bryman et al., 2012; Hughes, 1998; Rizvi, 2019; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000).

Vignettes are also used in qualitative studies to examine attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs with difficult and complex topics such as aging (Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000), date rape (Sleed et al., 2002), disabilities (Rizvi, 2019), drug injections and HIV/AIDS (Hughes, 1998), injecting drug-users and treatment services (Jenkins et al., 2010), family obligations to assist kin (Finch, 1987), parenting (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014), and violence among children and young people in care homes (Barter & Renold, 2000). In a recent study, Robinson et al. (2016) employed hypothetical scenarios to survey police officers' perceptions of violent and non-violent domestic abuse incidents in the US and UK. To my knowledge, this is the first study to use a vignette method to elicit policing perspectives on HBCs and FMs within the context of DV in Canada.

A number of attitudinal studies have also employed a range of hypothetical scenarios on threats to transgressions of "honour" codes, forced marriage, homosexuality, infidelity, and "honour"-based killings (HBKs). Much of the existing research has been carried out with university students and the public, mainly to explore male and female perceptions in comparison to individualistic versus collectivistic cultural attitudes towards "honour"-based violence (HBV) and HBKs in various countries across the globe (Caffaro, Ferraris, et al., 2014; Caffaro, Mulas, et al., 2016; Dietrich & Schuett, 2013; Khan et al., 2018; Lowe, Khan, Thanzami, Barzy, & Karmaliani, 2018; Lowe, Khan, Thanzami, Barzy, & Karmaliani, 2019; Mosquera et al., 2002; Shaikh, et al., 2010; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Most of these studies used a factorial vignette design (see Hughes & Huby, 2004) to perform statistical analyses, where participants answered questions using Likert scales. All of these studies included the hypothetical scenarios except three: Khan et al., 2018; Shaikh et al., 2010; Vandello & Cohen, 2003, which generally described the written text, but did not include the vignettes.

Including the vignettes in the appendix and referencing any learnings in journal publications is an excellent practice to improve research on the method and in this area. Some DV studies have included the vignette used to collect data when discussing the perceptions of South Asian women (Ahmad et al., 2004), social work students (Black et al., 2010), health professionals (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014), and police officers' (Robinson et al., 2016) perceptions. Qualitative researchers should consider reporting methodological concerns and participants' reactions to vignettes (Kandemir & Budd, 2018; Rizvi 2019; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). There is still a need for a discussion on how scenarios were constructed, implemented, and whether they are useful in research studies on DV, HBC, and FM. Like any method,

reflections on the development, implementation, and utilization of the vignette will advance the approach in future qualitative research studies.

In this paper, I discuss how a vignette was also an appropriate method to fit with the interview structure, encouraging participants to discuss issues easily and to explore a sensitive topic. The use of a vignette in this qualitative study served to gather information about participants' knowledge and understanding of a sensitive topic. Vignettes solicit participants' perceptions, beliefs or attitudes about a wide range of issues presented in a scenario (Barter & Renold, 1999; Finch, 1987; Hughes, 1998). According to Barter and Renold (1999), a vignette serves at least three purposes, one of which is "to allow actions in context to be explored, [second] to clarify people's judgements, and [finally] to provide a less personal and therefore less threatening way of exploring sensitive topics" (p. 1). I knew I could not just directly ask research questions about attitudes regarding HBCs and FM as some participants might be less willing to answer. The vignette, in contrast, would enable discussion in a non-threatening way to allow participants to openly express their attitudes and disclose any information that they might not otherwise reveal.

In qualitative studies, data sources for vignette construction may include findings from previous research, pilot interviews from an earlier phase of the study, real-life perspectives or events, actual scenarios, and literature reviews (Barter & Renold, 2000; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Rizvi, 2019; Wilks, 2004). I developed the realistic vignette storyline based on my previous knowledge of high profile cases highlighted in the Canadian and international media discourse, referring to HBKs since 2000 such as Amandeep Atwal, Aqsa Parvez, Banaz-Mahmod, Jaswinder (Jassi) Sidhu, Shafilea Ahmed, and the Shafia murders. The vignette was guided by the relevant literature on HBCs and FMs as well as literature on how to use vignettes

in qualitative interviews (Barter & Renold, 1999; Bryman et al., 2012; Jenkins et al., 2010; Finch, 1987). For instance, Barter and Renold (1999) and Bradbury-Jones et al., (2014) offer useful tips on how a vignette should be constructed and administered, and how to decide on the appropriate number of vignettes in a research study. Following these recommendations, I employed a snapshot scenario as opposed to developmental vignettes, also known as staged vignettes, that build on each other (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010; Wilks, 2004).

Due to time restrictions in my semi-structured telephone interviews, I preferred to use only one version of the vignette along with six open-ended semi-structured questions that followed the scenario,[37] which participants received beforehand for reading.[38] This ensured that the vignette could be easily understood without being too complicated for both groups of participants (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014). Unlike the anonymous telephone interviews with 47 participants in Ahmad et al.'s (2004) study, I connected with the potential participants in my research before the interview to facilitate the conversation and to explain the process with the vignette. I wanted to ensure that the vignette was not too complicated for the participants to follow or read through a day before the scheduled interview.

Details of the Vignette

I was careful with the design of the vignette and the details I included to frame the storyline. For example, I considered it important to think through variables such as the

[37] I aimed for the vignette to become a part of the interviewing technique, and I avoided administering more than one vignette version or story with different characteristics, for example, age and gender (see Finch, 1987) to both groups of participants. It would have been difficult to use a series of vignettes that are connected and lengthy given that additional time and intense concentration would be required during the interviews held over the telephone. I also followed the advice found in the relevant literature on how variations in the vignette can cause confusion (Finch, 1987) and interview fatigue, e.g., participants becoming emotionally exhausted or tired (Hughes & Huby, 2004).

[38] I emailed the vignette to participants a day before to limit potential communication with others, and invited questions to clarify any instructions with the vignette. It is possible that participants shared and reviewed the vignette with others (e.g., colleagues and past participants) before participating in the study.

behaviour, age, gender, and the name assigned to the hypothetical character Nina. I focused on alleged actions described in the media reporting of HBKs in North America. I included the term "rumors" to highlight community monitoring, gossip, and suspiciousness about illicit behaviour that tarnishes family "honour" although it may not have occurred. For instance, some young girls and women in Canada have been murdered by their father, brother, or mother for inter-racial dating, wearing makeup or western clothing, kissing in public, removing the hijab, and other actions that are associated with seeking freedom (Olwan, 2014). I tried to capture some of these behaviours and experiences such as dating, forced marriage, rumours of being in a relationship, the secrecy, and hiding actions from past instances when developing the storyline of the vignette. I also considered how practices like FM link to notions of perceived "honour." HBCs include threats of violence, murder, and FM to restore a family or community's reputation, which is why I included them all in the vignette.

I deliberately included the age of 17 when introducing the protagonist Nina as many young girls are at risk for this type of violence, and murder victims in Canada have often been under the legal age, for example, Aqsa Parvez (16), Amandeep Atwal (17), and the Shafia sisters Geeti (13), Sahar (17), and Zainab Shafia (19). There is little awareness and understanding of the pressures police and other service providers experience when trying to support young girls with appropriate services for this age group (Blum et al., 2016). As a result, I created the vignette with a young age group in mind. I also included information such as gender dynamics while leaving out the race, ethnicity, and social class markers. I chose to center the vignette around a female character to see how the inclusion of gender shaped participants' perceptions and views of acts of violence directed towards young girls and women. In Canada and globally, young girls and women are more likely to experience the type of violence described in the vignette (Aplin, 2017;

Khan, 2018). However, young boys and men can also be at risk for similar forms of verbal abuse and coercion acts into marriage, especially in the context of homosexuality (Lowe et al., 2019).

I also carefully selected the protagonist's name as I was interested in whether participants focus on the situation to fill in details like race and ethnicity. Similar to other researchers, I considered assigning a culturally sensitive name when using the vignette (Ahmad et al., 2004; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Lowe et al., 2019; Rizvi, 2019). Choosing the name *Nina*, I spelled it this way deliberately as opposed to *Neena* as the spelling choice varies across regions (East and West) and ethnic origins, and the spelling *Nina* is relevant cross-culturally. I did not want to reflect to the reader that the behaviour occurs in certain cultures.

I limited the textual information I provided by splitting the information into three short paragraphs so that participants could easily follow the situation. In previous research, there is no agreed-upon word length or number of paragraphs to be included for vignettes as the practice varies (see Barter & Renold, 2000; Finch, 1987; and Hughes & Huby, 2004 for a detailed discussion on the strengths and limitations of shorter or longer vignettes). The vignette was 264 words in length allowing the participants enough time to engage with the situation, keeping it interactive to hold their interest (Barter & Renold, 1999; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Hughes & Huby, 2004). I provided descriptions of certain key elements (e.g., western lifestyle, rumours, forced marriage) in the vignette storyline to allow the participant to reflect on the issues behind the text provided.

I recognize that some of the text might have influenced participants' responses to the questions I asked. However, this language was open to varying interpretation, and I chose words carefully to highlight the vocabulary the media has used when portraying actual cases of HBCs and FM. Unlike the media, I chose not to use words like "honour" in the text as I worried about

labeling the scenario and leading the responses. I also avoided identifying the situation as solely a case of DV, HBC, or FM as I did not want to cause discomfort or influence how participants viewed and defined the type of violence. Also, participants might be unfamiliar with these terms. I did include the term FM as the specific tone and word choice framed how the incident, whether DV or HBV, led to this event. Thus, participants were encouraged to conceptualize violence using their vocabulary. I was able to see how participants would highlight certain words used (e.g., threats) in the vignette description and apply certain language to describe the violence or label the situation (e.g., family dispute, "honour," or DV). I also wanted to understand if and how the term "honour" gets applied to the vignette. As I note in the chapters that follow, there are real-world implications of how the term "honour" is or is not used and what informs that process. This approach of using the term "honour" or avoiding it by focusing on alternative terms connects to how participants understand the issue.

Research Method

The study was conducted with law enforcement agencies in Alberta from 2015 to 2017. The focus of this paper is on the vignette method, and how it promoted discussion in a larger research study through one-on-one interviews carried out with police officers and civilians to examine their perceptions of HBCs and FMs within the context of DV.

Participants and Criteria for Inclusion

I recruited participants through gatekeepers in law enforcement, snowball sampling, and word-of-mouth techniques. The sample consisted of (1) police officers or civilians connected to a policing service or law enforcement agency in Alberta, and (2) employed in the province of

Alberta in a rural or urban setting.[39] I did not include a set number of years for experience in policing as part of the criteria for either group (police officers or civilians) to participate in the study, and I assured participants that previous experience or knowledge of the research topic was not required for two reasons. First, the general criteria allowed police officers and civilians willing to volunteer to participate in the study an opportunity to engage with the topic with or without any prior experience or knowledge.[40] Second, this was an opportunity to learn more from those in policing and how they might respond to cases.

The Sample

Data was drawn from 46 participants (32 police officers and 14 civilians) within law enforcement agencies across Alberta. The sample included 32 police officers employed at CPS (8), EPS (11), RCMP "K" Division (9), I-TRAC (3), and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General (1). The 14 civilians were employed by CPS (3), EPS (7), RCMP "K" Division (1), I-TRAC (1), and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General (2). The participants' socio-demographics are grouped together to protect confidentiality. The participants included 20

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[39] It was important to include police officers and civilians working in rural areas and bedroom communities as victims can also be found in these areas. Additionally, I found that police in rural areas tend to connect with police and other organizations in urban centers as cities tend to have more resources compared to small towns.

[40] I did not require knowledge or experience of HBCs and FM and investigations as a prerequisite to speak to me. In using a vignette method and constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approaches (Charmaz, 2006) I let the conversations with participants inform and guide my work and allowed participants to interpret the scenario in their own words. Using the vignette method described below was feasible as it allowed me to explore an understudied and sensitive topic with an inductive approach. In their research with children and young people on perceptions of violence, Barter and Renold (2000) found the vignette as a data collection tool to be useful because it allows participants without experience to voice their opinions on an issue. Similarly, Hughes & Huby (2002) state that vignettes do not require participants to have in-depth knowledge of the topic and may be used to conceptualize meanings about the situation presented to them. Since I constructed the vignette, I tried my best to abide by CGT approaches to not force my views and perceptions on the scenario or research study (e.g., prior experience being a prerequisite). This decision to not make knowledge or experience of HBCs and FMs as a prerequisite allowed me to remain open when collecting and analyzing the data from participants with some or no understanding of my research topic. It was important to get a sense of what participants with knowledge or experience would do in comparison to those who found the situation unfamiliar because they did not have relevant experiences. Thus, the qualitative approach to use a vignette for data collection became a tool for me to create awareness of my research topic and to encourage participants, with or without knowledge or experience of the topic, to express their views.

males and 26 females with a range of ages (25-68), with ethnic origins predominantly White (38), South Asian (5), Indigenous (1), and mixed-race (2). Participants had completed education from high school (3), taken some post-secondary classes (2),[41] or completed a college diploma (12) to an undergraduate (22) or graduate level (7) degree. The 32 fully-sworn police officers are organized by lower/junior rank (14; three frontline patrol officers, three general duty officers, and eight constables in specialized units) and upper/senior rank (18; seven sergeants including staff sergeants, five detectives, one investigator, four corporals, one detachment commander). Generally, the 14 civilians' positions varied from frontline victim service advocates, intake and threat assessors, outreach and crisis workers, social workers, psychologists, senior advisors, project coordinators, supervisors, managers of specialized units, and 911 call operators across the law enforcement agencies in Alberta. The job titles, positions, roles, division, detachments, and specific investigative units will not be disclosed to protect confidentiality. Pseudonyms are also assigned to protect the participants' identities.

Administration of Vignette

The Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta approved this study. Participants provided written consent before the interviews took place. In total, I conducted 46 interviews of which 4 were telephone interviews and 42 face-to-face interviews. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The vignette discussions ranged from 20 to 30 minutes in length, including time to debrief with participants.

The vignette was used to focus the interviews to be context specific and was fitting for this particular study as it allowed both types of participants, police officers and civilians, to reflect on the same scenario, as per Barter and Renold (1999): "Vignettes also offer the

[41] These participants had taken some university classes, but did not finish with a degree.

possibility of examining different groups' interpretations of a 'uniform' situation" (p. 3). I decided to give both groups the same vignette and open-ended questions, as I wanted to have the opportunity to compare and contrast perceptions across the two group of interviewees. Additionally, police officers may express different perspectives in comparison to a civilian when interpreting the vignette context. This allowed me as a researcher to understand how multiple perspectives can co-exist with the responses provided by both groups "to the characters or context of a vignette" (Kandemir & Budd, 2018, p. 6). The interpretation of the incident impacts how participants view and define violence, which is important as there is no consistent police responses or ways of treating these cases (see Chapter 4 on varying interpretations of what is happening and the types of responses to the incident itself with or without the use of the term "honour"). Interpreting multiple views and varying perspectives from both groups on the same phenomenon is necessary for deeper understandings of a challenging topic. Thus, it was essential to hear varied and different reflections from the participants in response to the questions I asked.

When speaking to the civilians, I noticed the vignette questions needed to be tweaked and adjusted to the participants' position/role; for example, for victim support advocates or managers of a specialized unit, certain questions did not apply. Depending on the participant I interviewed, police officer or civilian, I refined the questions asked as I recognized that the level of work differs among the two groups.[42] Analyzing the data simultaneously while collecting it did allow me to compare and contrast the data from both groups. This process also led me to tweak or

[42] Although I never felt challenged by my outsider status to the police culture and gaining access to participants, I still paid attention to it. I could sense how naïve I was to their worldview at times during the interview, and since I did not want to come across as ignorant, I asked for clarification with acronyms or responses. When offered, I did take tours of the workspace and ride-alongs to job shadow police officers. After the interview, some civilian members invited me to their workspace to observe how their work is done (e.g., 911 dispatchers and social workers). These unique hands-on experiences allowed me to gain a sense of policing, the role of police and civilian members, the police occupational culture, and the frustration with their professional culture, bureaucratic rules, and pressures as discussed in the literature (Chan, 1997; Reiner, 2010).

make any changes to the use of the vignette questions. My interview guide, including the questions following the vignette, also evolved as I conducted interviews and some questions were modified or added as the study progressed (see Birks & Mills, 2015). These steps allowed me to explore additional areas that emerged from the discussions. Participants were also given the option not to answer some of the questions if that was preferred. No participants withdrew from the study.

The six open-ended questions I asked with the vignette allowed participants to suggest what was happening with Nina and how they might respond to the situation or a similar call for service.[43] I opened the vignette by asking participants to describe what was happening in the scenario with Nina and how they felt. Next, I asked them what parts stood out for them. Then, I asked them to discuss how they saw the police responding to the scenario and similar situations which influenced their responses, as well as the investigation of such incidents. I also asked participants to reflect on other similar situations and any other concerns they had with the scenario. I used probes to allow the participant to elaborate on responses. My observations from the use of the vignette method in this study help to contextualize the findings presented in the next chapter. In the next chapter, I focus on the vignette-derived findings and participants' responses to the six questions.

Data Management and Analysis

Participants' responses to the vignette method were gathered and analyzed using the constructivist grounded theory (CGT) methodology as described by Charmaz (2006). CGT was selected to understand the phenomenon inductively given the lack of existing research on this

[43] Vignette studies have found open-ended questions to be useful as opposed to fixed-choice responses or a set of predetermined statements (see Finch, 1987; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Wilks, 2004). The open-ended questions allowed for variations in responses as participants interpreted the vignette in multiple ways.

topic from the police perspective, which allowed me to gain an in-depth understanding of the themes emerging from the data in an understudied area.[44] I chose the CGT approach as it fits with the vignette method to help understand how participants would respond to the hypothetical scenario. CGT was essential with the exploration of themes and practical meaning-making process; in this case, the type of intervention made available to support the characters in the vignette. More specifically, a CGT approach with the vignette method allowed me to prompt a discussion to recognize complex decision-making and investigative processes (Barter & Renold, 2000) influenced by participants' definitions of violence and other factors. I was concerned with how participants interpret and draw subjective meanings from the vignette situation (Rizvi, 2019; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). Participants may comment from their viewpoint, the vignette character's, or a third person (Hughes & Huby, 2004; Rizvi, 2019). I wanted to hear how

[44] Grounded theorists have debated when to engage with the literature review to prevent preconceived ideas being imposed on the emerging data (see Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Charmaz (2006) covers how classic grounded theorists Glaser and Strauss suggest delaying the literature review until after the data analysis. Surprisingly, Charmaz (2006) only offers strategies to writing literature reviews and does not include a series of steps to follow with the literature review. Without clear directions as to when to conduct the literature review, novice researchers can get lost in the process. However, my previous project with grounded theory has increased my familiarity with how to conduct literature reviews, and I found myself engaging with the literature on an ongoing basis throughout the entire research process. Doctoral study made it difficult to avoid existing theories prior to data collection and analysis, so it was difficult to steer clear of the literature directly related to my topic in the early stages of the research process. Passing the candidacy stage was dependent upon me producing a research proposal and developing my research questions to situate my work in the related literature (see Charmaz, 2006). This was important as it allowed me to identify the gap in the literature, and provide justification for conducting my study. Thus, I could not postpone reading in the substantive area prior to data collection as I needed to meet the institutional requirements and apply for research ethics approval. While I required some knowledge of the research topic and vignette method for these steps, I also came to the research with a practical lens. I had engaged extensively with 1) projects focusing on DV and HBV prior to entering this study, 2) a wide range of literature covering debates including media reporting of this specific crime in Canada, and 3) research presented at several workshops and conferences by experts in the field. Thus, previous scholarly knowledge and practical experiences may have biased my exploration of data. However, I followed Charmaz's (2006) suggestion to minimize the influence of prior knowledge on the emerging data by using a reflexive process (e.g., memos) to account for any preconceptions and biases I held. In my research proposal, I did include existing theories that could assist with analyzing the data, but I did not impose a specific theoretical framework. I also avoided spending a significant amount of time reviewing the policing literature until the completion of data analysis. In practical terms an early review of the literature allowed me to contextualize my research within existing knowledge in order to identify the knowledge gaps that exist in policing "honour"-based crimes and forced marriages. Nonetheless, I still made an effort to "remain as open possible" with the vignette discussion (Charmaz, 2006, p. 17). Using this position allowed me to stay grounded in the research data without forcing preconceived notions on the findings.

participants felt after reading the scenario and how they would address similar cases through their position.

In CGT, data collection and analysis occur concurrently, taking a nonlinear process. As described within CGT approaches, I applied the constant comparative method for coding and analyzing responses. This method of analysis was most suitable for the current study as I aimed to identify potential emerging themes, including any similarities and differences, across the two groups of participants. Utilizing the constant comparative method, open, focused, and theoretical coding followed to allow for the potential core category, overarching themes, and patterns to emerge from the data (Charmaz, 2006). I used NVivo 11 qualitative software to organize the emerging codes and my reflexive and analytical thinking processes (e.g., memo writing and a record of my field notes). I started with open coding where a short code is applied to describe what is happening in the data.

As codes emerged, they were synthesized together to allow for focused coding to occur. During focused coding, I created a codebook in a word document by cutting and pasting the in vivo codes, highlighting the participant's own words and codes I assigned to the vignette data. The codebook allowed me to visually analyze the initial codes to identify the hierarchical categories of themes and subthemes that linked the codes together. This process involved comparing and refining the codes, and characteristics of each (e.g., writing descriptions under each code) to ensure the coded data fit when organized into themes. My aim was not to develop a theory but to use the principles of CGT for data collection and analysis. No new themes emerged after I achieved theoretical saturation at the 46th interview. Once a full understanding of the themes and linkages emerged, the data analysis was complete.

Findings and Discussion

In this section, I reflect on how the vignette method with the storyline, hypothetical characters, and language used allowed participants to discuss a sensitive issue in an engaged manner. I argue that researchers need to listen carefully to the 'participant' voice with the use of the vignette method, as the interviewee is also assessing and reflecting on the construction of the scenario. I provide an overview of how both groups of participants openly shared their ongoing feedback with the vignette design while giving meaning to the scenario. I also review and clarify some of the methodological decisions made with the design of the vignette when discussing the feedback I received from participants. I will discuss and explain how participants made sense of the vignette as it is important to reflect on their reactions to the content. The reflections serve as a road map for other qualitative researchers thinking to use the vignette approach.

The qualitative analysis uncovered how participants engaged with the situation and experiences of the characters in the vignette. The five themes include "Positioning," "Being Transparent," "Portraying Reality," "Containing Enough Information," and "Filling in the Details" with the vignette. Through the discussion that follows, I use excerpts from the transcripts to illustrate some of the themes and methodological concerns with vignettes. In doing so, I highlight how using vignettes not only helps researchers gather information about a topic, but also offers an opportunity to gain insight on how to improve the vignette.

Positioning

Overall, the location and timing of the vignette provided a successful way of eliciting responses through a rich, in-depth discussion with both groups of participants within a short period. At the time of the interview, I informed participants that I would first ask socio-demographic and background questions before steering the conversation towards the vignette.

The positioning and introduction of a vignette are important, as it can serve as an ice-breaker when introduced early or later with interview questions (Barter & Renold, 2000; Finch, 1987; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Kandemir & Budd, 2018). I intentionally placed the vignette at the beginning of the interview after I established rapport with the participants. I introduced the vignette after participants comfortably shared their background and experiences as police officers or civilians. Participants seemed highly engaged as they read sections of the short vignette out loud when providing their responses to the situation. Any time participants reiterated the vignette material, brackets followed to signal the following: [read from the vignette], [quoting vignette], [ends reading], [ends reading once more], and [resumes reading]. Thus, the implementation of the vignette unfolded as intended, and participants felt comfortable referencing pieces of the vignette both during our discussion of it and in response to the unrelated, semi-structured interview questions.

In the interviews, some participants would naturally return to the vignette on their own, and I recognized that the vignette discussion may have influenced some of their responses to the other questions. To create some distance between the vignette and other questions, I used probes such as "leaving the vignette," "looking past the vignette, are there any cases you can reflect on," and "thinking past the vignette." These probes allowed me to ensure that the data I collected was not just guided by the vignette method.

Being Transparent

The vignette impacts the researcher-participant interaction and creates space for a two-way conversation to co-create and share knowledge. In CGT, the reflexive researcher also plays an integral part in the research process and construction of knowledge (see Chapter 2). From the outset, I informed participants about my position in constructing the vignette, written description,

and brief glimpse into the situation that sparked police involvement. Although I did remind participants, at the time of the interview, that the vignette was not a real situation in my study, many participants felt it was and continued to wonder if it was a real-life scenario. This is evident in the excerpt below when Kyle, a senior rank police officer, asked:

> **Kyle:** Um… is this based on a real incident?
>
> **Wendy:** No.
>
> **Kyle:** [Be]ause it, ah… doesn't sound all that unusual. [Laughter].
>
> **Wendy:** It's been constructed based on the literature and some of the cases that have happened across Canada, but also internationally as well. So I've turned to some of the literature in the UK as well. The methodology that I'm using is actually quite useful in the sense that it allows you to think about how the researcher and the participant are co-constructing knowledge.

I responded by openly sharing my identity as a CGT researcher which influenced some of the methodological decisions for how I constructed the hypothetical scenario. Although the vignette had no reference to specific DV, HBC, or FM cases, but its specific tone and elements led my participants to think of actual cases, which I discuss later.

I also reminded participants that there is no correct or incorrect answer to the vignette questions, as this was an opportunity for me to hear their viewpoints (see Finch, 1987; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Rizvi, 2019; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000 for a discussion on no right or wrong response). In the interviews, I found myself saying many times that "there is no right or wrong answer here. I am interested in what you think about Nina's situation." I found that this encouraged my participants to continue to share their thoughts with me or sections they highlighted in the vignette. This is evident following a reaction after a response from a civilian member, Sarah, who commented about her doubt in responding: "I talk off the top of my head, and I'm sorry, I'll craft something better." I replied with "it sounds good and appropriate" to

make her feel less nervous. As the interview continued, I recognized her apologetic comments lessened although her non-verbal behaviour and body language told otherwise, so I said: "[t]here's no right or wrong answer here." She replied, "No, I'm just trying to give you something that's not so out there, that, it's useful for your research [laughter]." Sarah was aware that I was not going to evaluate her responses, but she still wanted to formulate a decent answer.

The CGT approach allowed me to take into account the mutual co-construction of knowledge, the emergence of ideas, and the researcher-participant relationship that formed through the vignette discussion. I built rapport and mutual trust with participants through the fruitful discussions over the vignette which allowed them to feel safe in taking part in the interview. This allowed participants, some of whom expressed hesitation at first, to feel comfortable to disclose any thoughts, opinions, and emotions they encountered with the vignette. In my experience, discussing how I constructed the vignette, without a preference for specific responses, strengthened trust and the participant's willingness to talk freely from their position.

Portraying Reality

It is evident that elements of the scenario were well received and interpreted as mirroring an image of reality. For instance, a civilian member, Trina articulated how the vignette was "very realistic." As indicated in the earlier discussion, the literature emphasizes that vignettes are to be viewed as realistic and believable when used (Finch, 1987; Hughes, 1998).

Kyle, a senior rank police officer, shared how he unpacked the vignette by thinking through training he received on HBV to identify risk factors. He stated:

> Kyle: Yeah, I mean, this is ah the PATRIARCH actually. The PATRIARCH [risk assessment] training uses a vignette that's very similar.
>
> Wendy: Is that the one with the elder, the son, and the family [where] some mental health issues are going on?

> Kyle: Yeah, there's, the specifics of it, I know the vignette as I read through it was similar. And, I mean, the honour-based violence stuff that's coming out, I mean we've got that. We've also had honour-based violence training by, a victim. Who's come through and talked to us, once or twice. […] I mean, this is not you know, even reading through the news, this is not an uncommon scenario, and that's why I asked if it was based on this particular one [from the PATRIARCH] because it's a situation where, and even, in the case of the Shafia case, ah there's some similarity to that as well. You know, young female, under-controlled, by, or, by her father allegedly under-controlled. Gets involved in a relationship that he doesn't agree with. And then, is punished for it in some manner. In this case, the outcome's a little better than the Shafia case. Thus far.

Kyle recognized that the vignette colludes with the FM piece which offers a different ending compared to the Shafia case and stories of other young women murdered in the name of "honour" in Canada. This excerpt also captures how the vignette appears similar to cases used in the PATRIARCH risk assessment tool training. I was able to respond to Kyle's observations because I had attended the PATRIARCH training after developing the vignette for this study.

The PATRIARCH tool, developed in Sweden, has been validated with Swedish police to improve investigations (Belfrage et al., 2012). Dr. Henrik Belfrage, Dr. Randy Kropp, and Dr. Stephen Hart have offered PATRIARCH training in Canada and internationally. The case examples utilized for the training come from actual assessments of HBCs where scenarios are summarized to identify perpetrator risk factors and victim vulnerability factors, where the level of risk might change drastically. Later in the interview, Kyle elaborated on how:

> […] the PATRIARCH [is] an interesting one [with] so much applicability. But I find [that in] a lot of cases, that the PATRIARCH is so heavily focused on, on the actual honour-based stuff that sometimes it misses other things. But, the interesting thing about most violence or risk assessment tools in violence is that there's a lot of, overlap. […] Escalation appears in this tool; it also appears in the B-SAFER [Brief Spousal Assault Form for the Evaluation of Risk] and, the SARA [Spousal Assault Risk Assessment].

The case examples used in the PATRIARCH training and the vignette I constructed are low risk scenarios with behaviours that could escalate quickly to high risk and dangerous

situations leading to HBKs. In other words, HBKs are not the only form of HBCs. As discussed above, I included some perceived acts of dishonour by a young female daughter. I also emphasized the female hiding the relationship, escaping the family threats, being coerced into a FM, and trying to seek help. The PATRIARCH checklist could apply to the vignette used in this study to assess risk levels for patriarchal violence where "honour" is the motive (Belfrage et al., 2012). Thus, the vignette combined with the PATRIARCH tool could bridge the gap between research and practice to collect more specific data on interventions and risk assessments when training professionals on HBC and FMs, so the attention is not only actual HBK cases.

Some participants shared how the vignette had clear resemblance to an international case included in training they received. Angie, a junior rank police officer, expressed:

> **Angie:** […] it just sounds very similar to, some training that I've gone on, some of the scenarios that I've heard before. Just very, similar. […] The story that it reminded me most of was the incident in England. I'm going to forget the young woman's name, that ended up being murdered by her, I think it was cousins. Oh… it'll come to me.
>
> **Wendy:** Banaz [Mahmod case]?
>
> **Angie:** Banaz, yes. Yeah [the vignette] had a bit of a ring to that, so, and I believe that was East Indian culture, I believe. But, definitely, thinking of the Middle Eastern, culture.
>
> Elizabeth, a senior rank police officer, also suggested that:
>
> when I read, this [vignette it] actually mirrors quite similarly to […] an honour-based killing that was investigated, actually, in London, England, that the bobbies, actually, the Scotland Yard came and they presented to us and it was funny because it struck a chord, as I was reading it, because it was exactly that she'd been at the movies and she was seen kissing a boy who was Kurdish.

In all these examples, police officers and civilians who were familiar with national and international HBK cases through training sessions could see similar coverage of complex issues in Nina's situation. When constructing the vignette, I made sure to include elements similar to

actual cases, such as the Shafia case, which had significant Canadian media coverage (see Chapter 4). Hughes & Huby (2004) stress that if "situations presented in vignettes appear hypothetical rather than realistic then responses may be answered in a similar, hypothetical fashion" (p. 40). During the interview, some participants commented on their familiarity with cases or events they heard of resembling the vignette. Due to the complexity and seriousness of the situation, participants elaborated on how they could see this happening in Alberta. For example, one civilian member, Nancy, commented on the situation by suggesting that it was very "common" to police in comparison to what the public understands.

> **Nancy**: Ah yeah, it's an interesting situation. [Laughter]… good vignette you've come up with. But, you know, I see it happening in real life. You know, we see files like this […] not the exact same situation, but I do see that we do deal with everything like that. And how it's probably more common than people think.
>
> **Wendy:** You say it is more common than what people think, can you tell me a bit more?
>
> **Nancy**: I think people just, when you're not dealing with— just the regular public who has no experience with this, at all. Like, they think it's probably rare for, you know, forced marriages or, maybe people think arranged marriages.

Some participants shared their past involvement with investigations or real-life situations they had heard about which had similar elements. One senior rank police officer, Andrew, explained:

> I've also dealt with similar type situations. Where there's cultural pressure for a young lady, or a woman, to act in a certain manner, and when they don't, there's the violence or threat of violence that happens as a result. Hasn't been, like, a forced marriage situation but, just the cultural belief of how a female should be acting.

The vignette allowed participants to comfortably disclose similar incidents and situations, including their closest involvement with investigations, and those they heard of from others in

policing. This approach encouraged participants to share examples from their past experiences which influenced what they would do or not do.

I am not suggesting that the vignette was not meaningful to participants who indicated that they had little to no experience with specific cases. The use of the vignette did allow participants without prior knowledge or experience to become familiar with potential situations they might encounter. Some participants expressed how the scenario was believable and that they too could see similar situations happening in real life. When I asked if the police would deal with the FM piece, Nathan, a senior rank police officer, replied: "[…] ultimately, we would. Whether we're directly or indirectly involved, I don't know. It's a very good question. It hasn't happened to me. And given that question, in a real scenario, I'd struggle with this because I'd be like, oh boy. Good question."

Nonetheless, the vignette approach provided a starting point for participants to think out loud about how it made them feel, their response, and how police need to become aware of this type of violence which also evokes emotion. Angie, a junior rank police officer, shared with me how she would handle a similar case like the vignette. She stated, "I think it would be a little more anxiety provoking just in that, I haven't especially had many cases like this, if any, really. So, you know, always the not knowing, are you doing it right? Are you doing the right things? […] that you can be doing? You know?"

Similarly, Elizabeth, a senior rank police officer, expressed: "[w]ell, I'm a daughter. And I can't imagine how I would feel if my dad said I wish you were dead. So I just think we have to look at the totality of this, like, there's a lot of emotion [which] makes things messy." As can be seen in these passages participants reflected from their point of view and openly expressed their emotional responses which included gaps in their knowledge of HBCs and FMs.

Nonetheless, participants were able to respond to the hypothetical scenario which was less threatening (Barter & Renold, 1999; Jenkins et al., 2010; Finch, 1987) than directly being asked about their perspectives on or responses to HBCs and FMs. The vignette offered a way for me to ask questions about the topic without participants feeling pressured to disclose any involvement with similar cases. However, similar to the literature (Barter & Renold, 1999; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Jenkins et al., 2010) I found that the use of the vignette did invite personal experiences and reflection. I was able to prompt a discussion with Kyle, a senior rank police officer, who shared how his wife hid their relationship. He referenced:

> […] the fact that here [in the vignette it] says, she's usually careful to tell lies. That's an interesting statement, in that, why she feels she needs to lie. Certainly, my own experience had been, my wife used to lie when we were dating, about when she was going out with me. She's going out with friends or so forth because I didn't belong to her religion [The Canadian Reform Church. A Dutch Church]. And her parents were vehemently against that. […] I eventually found out that her family […] belongs to this group. […] You know, there are some parallels to the honour-based violence thing. […] She gets away from her family and experiences freedom. […] I met her, and we started dating. […] She kept it a secret. That's her option. I had no idea. I think actually there was one point where she said she was going out with me, and then, her parents had a fit about it because I wasn't part of her church. So then she started lying about it. It was ugly when we got engaged [laughter].

The scenario offered both police officers and civilians a safe way to discuss parallels between the vignette and their own experiences with past HBK cases, prior training, and personal situations.

Containing 'Enough' Information

I also made an effort to ensure that the vignette context contained enough information to tap into the participant's perspectives. When asked to reflect upon the vignette some participants expressed concerns with the vagueness of the scenario. However, Barter and Renold (2000) state that "... although vignettes need to contain sufficient content for respondents to have an

understanding about the situation being depicted, it is beneficial for them to be vague enough to 'force' participants to provide additional factors which influence their judgment decisions" (p. 310). Therefore, I kept the vignette ambiguous enough to allow participants to conceptualize the situation using their own terminology so I could capture additional insights from their viewpoint (see Barter & Renold, 1999; Finch, 1987; Wilks, 2004 on 'fuzziness'). The selective information and absence of specific details shaped how the participants perceived the scenario as they decided how to follow up on Nina's initial police report. The ambiguity also allowed participants to bring in ideas and practices from the police culture they work within to address the questions asked about the vignette. A few participants drew on their experiences on DV cases, past experiences with similar situations, and training that contained elements of HBCs and FMs to assist in their response.

It was clear that participants were still looking for more detail with the vignette text (see Hughes, 1998) and stated that if they had this information, they could provide depth and comprehensive analysis of what was happening with the main character Nina. Cathy, a civilian member, searched for more details as she expressed the following:

> I wasn't sure, you know, under pressure Nina agrees to the forced marriage, ah, what does that mean, like where is this happening? I really wanted more information about that [laughter]. And, that's sort of an area of questioning I would go under, to who, why, like if it's, under pressure, then, you know, you'd want to present options. Ah, she's 17, she can make her own decisions if that's what she chooses I mean if she chooses not to, but, um, making it safe for people, and, giving options I think, would be important so that stuff stuck out, it really stuck out for me.

Participants also shared how they hoped for more details to be able to identify where they should focus their attention when investigating the situation; for example, what happens next? Does Nina agree and give consent to the FM? Are other daughters at risk of an FM? Participants expressed concerns about the vulnerability of other female siblings. Leah, a senior rank police

officer, said “[…] it doesn’t say if there’s any sisters, […] you know? It just talks about the one brother. But, I’d be concerned with any of the females in the house in particular.”

Similarly, Emily, a senior rank police officer, said “[w]ell, it’d be interesting to know if there’s any other daughters in the family. […] So if there’s, any other daughters in the family, I would also […] be interest[ed] to speak with [them].” Riya, a senior rank police officer, echoed:

> Well, as I said before, like, [the vignette] doesn’t give you much information. So, you know, I would like to have known more background. I would have liked to know if they’ve had other daughters that have been married off, you know, forced marriages. Would like to know [the] background of the son, what, you know. So, there’s not a lot of information. But it definitely does cause me concern for her safety, you know?

Due to the limited details provided, participants had to imagine how the situation would unfold and what they expected would happen with Nina if she went ahead with the FM. Several participants predicted that her husband would mistreat her, and they anticipated that she would enter an abusive relationship with an intimate partner. Nicole, a civilian member, expressed how “[…] being forced into a marriage is not going to be, you know, the place where it sounds like she’s going to be necessarily happy, either.” Leah, a senior rank police officer, echoed “ […]if she goes through with this [FM], so now she’s going from, [brother and dad] being abusive to maybe this guy being abusive. And probably a fairly decent chance of it. And so, you know, here’s a life of being trapped in this marriage that, if not abusive, may be quite loveless.”

Nonetheless, the vignette was a product I authored, and it still allowed participants to elaborate on some of the foreseen challenges faced by Nina. I also understood that the process I used to shape the text could be ambiguous, and looking back perhaps I could have made some things explicit in the situation. I could have included the age of the boyfriend and brother. Sheldon, a senior rank police officer, shared that he would consider “[…] how old the brother is?

That would be interesting, too." Likewise, Jackie, a senior rank police officer, said "[…] I don't know how old this brother is. He could be 12."

Additionally, details on Nina's relationship status and how long she had dated the boy she kissed at the movie theatre were not included. Leah, a senior rank police officer, commented on how "we know nothing about how long she's been with this boyfriend." I intended to keep the vignette concise, so I also did not identify who made the phone call to the police or who the person was that reported Nina's actions. Including more details may have changed the interpretation of the vignette and the reactions received from the participants.

The vignette presented a snapshot of a given situation and did not offer much information on what happens next, but it allowed participants to consider potential responses. Many of the action-oriented responses to the questions I asked (see Chapter 4) were dependent on other factors (e.g., whether Nina cooperates with the police) and "it depends" responses which participants shared with definitions of violence (Barter & Renold, 2000; Finch, 1987). Also, since participants had limited material to work with they wanted to gather more information from Nina and other individuals they were concerned with in the scenario. Cathy, a civilian member, said, "[…] initially I thought about Nina, and, potentially the mother [because] there's a lot of controlling behaviour going on. You always question, what else is happening? Wanting to get in and find out more information [laughs]. […] [I have] concerns, over the brother." Claire, a civilian member, also shared similar views with the brother's behaviour. She explained,

> Well, like, they kept it vague on purpose, so, of course, in my head, I want to know more. And I want to ask more questions, and I want to get into the brother's comment, at the end, and whatnot. And the vignette was set up, obviously, very ambiguous, so, it could be a case I could see getting— coming— having this come across my desk and going this can either be something really low-level risk or very, very high-level risk. So, those were the first thoughts that were going through my head.

The family's background was deliberately left out when I constructed the vignette and selected the protagonist's name, as I did not want to suggest that these acts are associated with particular communities or cultures. Riya, a senior rank police officer, pointed out how "[…] we don't know what the background is for the family. We don't know how long they've been in the country. We don't know what, or if— maybe they were born and brought up here. So, if they're born and— if she's the second generation of her family, already born and brought up here." Likewise, Jackie, a senior rank police officer expressed:

> I think knowing the orientation. Knowing the home country. 'Cause I think, was there a reference to— maybe there wasn't reference to a home country. Maybe I just assumed that. I'd like to know how long they were in Canada for. That would have been important. And her parents could have been born and raised here for all I know. Like, I have no idea, right? I'd like to know how large the family unit is. Does she have any brothers or sisters? Younger or older. If she has older sisters, what happened to them? There are all different, does she have older brothers? What happened to them? How were their marriages arranged? How did their marriages take place? Were they allowed to choose? Were they not? Is it a consequence of her behaviour that they're now forcing her in, or is it, did the older brother or sister, did they meet someone who is a, like you know, what is the word I'm thinking of. Acceptable? To the family? And they were allowed to marry that person? Like, I don't know. Like, all these things would have been really helpful to give context to everything that's going on. What's the race of the boyfriend? Absolutely. This close family friend. I'd like to know who that one is, too. It's, that would be good.

Similarly, another participant, Eve, a civilian member, noted that the vignette did not reference the boyfriend's ethnicity. She explained, "I'm most concerned about the daughter's safety. The boyfriend's safety. Definitely. We don't— I don't' think it says in here. What ethnicity or anything, that he is. So, there's definitely his safety."

The above passages indicate that participants were aware that Nina and the boyfriend may or may not share the same cultural background, and that might be a concern. Mason, a junior rank police officer, explained elements of cultural safety when he told me he was "[...] scared for the safety of the boyfriend. Is the family, now, going to go after the boyfriend? [...] Is

the other family going to be upset, now, because now their family's not going to be marrying her? [...] [I]t's the trickle-down effect. How many people will be upset?" It is evident that participants felt worried about the boyfriend and the level of risk he might be in from Nina's family and his own.

While I composed the vignette to include various characters, for example, mother, father, brother, boyfriend, and Nina the protagonist, this study predominantly focused on the experiences of one particular group – women who are at more risk of this type of violence. However, as the comments above illustrate, participants were trying to gather more information to identify the level of risk others were in as it influences their decisions and actions. My decision to focus on one vignette and present the protagonist as a female allowed me to determine whether participants concentrated on the other characters especially men as being at risk. More knowledge and research on secondary victims is needed as surprisingly several participants conceptualized the boyfriend, brother, and mother at risk for a variety of reasons. Thus, as I argue in Chapter 4, the police must be prepared to protect and support all victims of this crime.

Filling in the Details

The absence of facts in the vignette led participants to fill in the details which revealed important information for how police may lead an investigation or ask specific questions. I noticed some participants inserted details into the vignette when responding to the questions I asked (see Finch, 1987; Kandemir & Budd, 2018; Sleed et al., 2002 on filling in the details). Participants assumed Nina had a younger sister, and this created a different narrative. For example, a senior rank police officer, Sheldon, shared with me how he was concerned about a sister and a planned wedding as the vignette discussed preparations. He had mistaken the

preparations for Nina's wedding as the sister's. Likewise, Melissa, a civilian member, referred to how "Nina, she's going to lose— I don't even know, her sister, her sister might come around. I don't know, it depends on her sister's husband and their family. Like all the extended relationships. I don't know." Timothy, a senior rank police officer, also explained,

> […] her family background is important — we know that she [has] got a brother and a sister, so where is she in the pecking order? Within ages in the family? [Moreover], lots of questions to ask, [the] background— if this is a younger brother, is it just the one boy? Because [it is important] to get a feel for the cultural hierarchy within the family, the patriarchal feelings.

While there was no indication in the written narrative of any female siblings, participants for some reason would refer to a sister.

These reflections at first may demonstrate how an investigation by the police might be misled based on assumptions made or misunderstandings; however, at the same time, it explains how police are thinking about handling the potential impact the scenario has on the number of unknown siblings. Referencing the sister suggests that participants were relaying to me how they were concerned about Nina's actions, directly or indirectly, having an impact on other siblings, particularly any young girls in the family. This finding supports good reasons for why other siblings, especially young girls and women in the family need to be interviewed by the police.

It is possible that my phrasing of the vignette situation suggested that Nina had a sister which caused some of the misconceptions. However, the participants exercised their investigative skills by not leaving out the possibility of other victims being at risk. This suggested they were aware that there can be multiple victims in a family and that it is essential not to miss or overlook this possibility when presented with similar cases. If I included details about a sister in the vignette, it is likely that participants would have touched on it. However,

leaving this information out revealed how knowledge was constructed reinforcing that other young girls and women might be at risk.

Responses to the vignette included the different meanings participants ascribed to the situation, thus enhancing understanding of how participants conceptualized the violent behaviour. The findings revealed how language also influenced the participants' interpretation of and responses to the textual vignette even though there was no reference to a DV situation and HBC. During the vignette discussions, some participants emphasized elements of the written text, mainly focusing on certain words that influenced how they interpreted the vignette and gave meaning to the situation. Participants shared what came to mind when they read the following words aloud: "western lifestyle brings shame," "threatens to kill the boyfriend," "conservative," and "forced marriage." These words elicited different responses and led participants to fill in details while reflecting on how they would respond based on an assessment of their role as a police officer or civilian. The following excerpt, from a junior rank police officer, speaks to this point and how language can trigger perceptions and a particular understanding of the violence:

> **Emily:** And I definitely am concerned about this, the language of, "I wish you were dead." There are elements of this vignette that definitely suggest that it could be an honour crime. It could be related to that. So that would need to be considered.
>
> **Wendy:** So what elements are those?
>
> **Emily:** Well, [father] seems [to be] concern[ed] about how this is going to be seen within the community. And it seems like, and, I'm careful about the patriarchal violence thing because it is really specific to patriarch [laughter]. But that, that seems to be what's happening here. With the father and the brother and, so I'd be concerned about making sure that she has support and a safe place to stay. Then you've got the family stating that there are no concerns. And then you've got this concern as well about possibly a forced marriage. Which, I understand, there's new legislation about forced marriages. So that's another thing that needs to be looked into and investigated.

While I was mindful of the language I used in the vignette development, I learned some methodological lessons with the vocabulary. I could have left out some of this contextual information in the scenario such as “western lifestyle” and replaced it with “lifestyle” brings shame as the “western” word may have lead or triggered certain responses (Hughes & Huby, 2004). Nonetheless, it is important to reflect on how participants reacted to the language I used in the vignette which influenced elements they paid more attention to or gaps they filled in.

I learned through the interviews that some participants did react to the words used to describe the situation which led them to focus on culture, identity, and belonging. As indicated in the earlier discussion, my careful consideration with the spelling choice of the name Nina did not prevent some participants from trying to identify her cultural or ethnic identity. Many participants still openly made comments about the protagonist’s name to me in the interview. John, a civilian member, expressed “when a file lands on your desk, the first thing you’re going to attend to is, probably, ethnicity by virtue of name and/or specifics. That’ll put the first flag up, right? It’s a domestic situation and it involves somebody of a certain group. […] I filled in the blanks.” Two senior rank police officers inserted similar details into the scenario,

> **Nathan:** I immediately, after reading this, just based on the scenario, based on the information presented, I […] thought that it was East Indian. Indian culture. And, I mean, it could be a different culture. Absolutely. But, ah… that’s, so, it’s interesting you ask me did I, would I want to know that. Well, I didn’t, because I already, in my mind, formulated that it was an East Indian family. Without even knowing that.
>
> **Wendy:** And, I guess, what led you to form that thought?
>
> **Nathan:** The name. [And] the actions and the statements of the brother. The actions and statements of the father. The actions and statements of the mother. The arranged marriage. Yeah. That’s— because, I’m not super worldly, but, I don’t know too many other cultures.
>
> **Timothy:** Well. I would say that there’s obviously some cultural problems, here. With some honour stuff, going on. Being that we’re not actually told where Nina

> is from or her father, and Nina's quite a generic name these days. But just following from the family dynamics, there's obviously— she's having to answer to her father. Um… gets [the] brother to follow her, so there's obviously some patriarchal issues going on here. And just from my experiences, following some sort of norm. Obviously they refer to it as the "western lifestyle" which [has] some cultural differences. They're using shaming, community, respect, disgraced, to the family.

These comments exemplify cultural concerns as details and specific language from the storyline were referenced. Similarly, Leah, a senior rank police officer, explained "[…] the 'western lifestyle', you know, made me think [of] religion. There's something at play, you know? When you talk about words like 'shame', and 'bringing shame', and stuff like […] 'western lifestyle,' it makes me think of, […] East Indian? Middle Eastern? I don't know."

Thus, participants were racializing the protagonist as they tried to identify Nina's background and where she comes from. Some participants presumed she was from an ethnic minority group as they made comments about her name. Specific cultural backgrounds (e.g., "East Indian") or country of origin (e.g., Pakistan and Middle Eastern) were referenced. These comments framed Nina as a racialized immigrant woman. This can also be seen in the following quote from Cristeen, a civilian member, who commented: "[…] I mean, it doesn't say what the background is, but I'm going to assume that it's an immigrant family."

Moreover, in the following excerpt, one participant made assumptions about cultural identity and alluded to differences between Canadian values and other societies. Neel, a senior rank police officer, emphasized "[…] you have a family with [an] ethnic background. If I am to see this, as a family from, in this case, I believe it's Pakistan, it says? If I'm not sure, well, let's say if it's a Pakistani or Indian family. [The] family moves over here with their values from that country." Cultural stereotypes shaped his perceptions of the actions as common practices found in other cultures (e.g., South Asian or Middle Eastern) and not Canada.

When I asked participants if it is important to know details, in the vignette, such as culture, race, and religion? Ruth, a civilian, replied: "I think they'd be very important." When I asked how they would be really important? She replied: "I mean, when you learn about certain cultures, you learn about their common traditions and customs and family guidelines, rules. Roles, within the family. You know, their, their perception on dating, those kind of things, right? In western society, so. All that stuff is really important." This comment exemplifies the need to understand different cultures, socialization processes, and family dynamics when responding to an incident. In an interview with Barbara, a senior rank police officer, she replied:

> I'm curious. But it doesn't change their beliefs. [Do] you know what I'm saying? So I'm curious what, what they are, but no. As far as the facts, […] that doesn't matter. It's just that the belief systems that they have. Because they're, they're skewed belief systems, I believe, anyway. I guess, you know that they just develop in their internal family over the years. You know what I mean, it's just like, you know, the Crown doesn't advocate violence, you know?

Barbara's comment encourages police to focus on an anti-racist approach to assess behaviours depicted in the vignette which are of concern, as opposed to culture blaming discourses.

This can also be seen in the following excerpts. Trina a civilian member, shared:

> I guess what might be important, when you start to learn and want to know, […] if you're, potentially investigating, again, I'm not a police officer. But, things like what do we [know], you know, a family friend, so, is this through your church community? […] So, I don't really think that at this point, [you would] be able to analyze this, you don't need, like, a race, religion, whatever. You're just, you're talking about the behaviours, right? You're looking at the behaviours and, behaviour change and behaviour actions and stuff like that. But I guess, once you start to go further into investigating it, again, from like a cultural safety perspective, too, there's certain things that you want to know and learn about to be able to develop rapport, to be able to, you know, create themes for investigation for interviews, like, that sort of stuff. Like, you could be a frickin' Catholic, white, 8th generation family. You still need to learn about that family, those families code of conducts, the community code of conduct, all that sort of stuff, right? So, those pieces are gonna be, I think, are important. But it's not like they're any more important if there's say, a South Asian, Sikh family. Versus a, like, white,

> Catholic, born again Christian family. Right? It gives you information, but, both of them would give you information.

Similarly, Steven, a senior rank police officer, explained:

> I don’t think it matters what their culture or race [is]. It just matters on what their views on, on honour and stuff like that is. And shame brought to the family. I think if we […] stereotype someone just on their religion or race or whatever, then that’s when you run into issues, right? You have to ask the right questions and then see what they’re, and normally it’s from her, [Nina], that you’re getting it from, right? […] And just be open and not make your own assumptions on what’s going on. Right? You have to be open to what they’re telling you, not what you’re coming into the situation as. So yeah, […] it didn’t bother me that [there] [was] no indication that there was any race or religious background on [the vignette] because that really didn’t matter to me.

Steven also believed that the police must approach the situation by understanding culture from the group’s point of view without judgments. His comment serves as an example of the concept of cultural relativism. Eve, a civilian member, also shared how “even if we weren’t to know what religion they were, just reading this as is, the concerns are high. So, if you add in the religion, would it escalate it even higher? I don’t think so, because this alone is enough to have a high risk file.” She perceived the vignette, irrespective of religious affiliation, to be dangerous and the risk to be extremely high. Moreover, it is clear from the above excerpts that some participants did not try to fill in details because culture does not cause violence. Patriarchy exists in all cultures regardless of culture, race, and religion. Thus, the vignette allowed some participants to emphasize how behaviours need to be addressed and assessed for risk without making assumptions to ascribe them to a particular culture, religion, or community.

Conclusion

To conclude, there is value in using a vignette as my participants shared how valuable it was to participate in the research study that utilized a unique method to unpack a complex and nuanced topic. The participants interacted with the storyline to share their feelings and the

emotional impact it had on them. They seemed to be highly engaged with the content as it held their interest allowing them to make sense of a situation while they worked through their understandings of HBCs and FMs within the context of DV.

The vignette also increased some participants' knowledge and awareness of HBCs and FMs. For example, the vignette served as a useful tool with participants who did not have in-depth knowledge or experience of the topic. By utilizing a vignette design, I was able to capture the participant's responses (see Chapter 4) in a way that is useful for studying a difficult topic as we need to understand how police officers and civilians without experience might respond. HBCs and FMs is an important topic to study, and the vignette could aid in the development of relevant prevention and intervention efforts to similar situations.

Strengths and Limitations

Although this study did respond to a gap in the literature surrounding a critical analysis of applying a vignette in qualitative research, especially in regard to police responses to situations of HBCs and FM, there are a few limitations to be noted. However, the shortcomings are outweighed by the lessons I learned from implementation which can be applied in future studies.

First, some scholars have critiqued vignettes for not fully capturing reality or portraying real situations, thus raising concerns about the validity of the research findings (Finch, 1987; Hughes, 1998; Wilks, 2004). As noted earlier, for the participants – police officers and civilians – the text was realistic and reflective of the cases they had or could potentially encounter. However, the one vignette used in my study does not represent the majority of the HBKs or capture the full range of reasons why women are murdered in the name of so-called "honour" in Canada; it is merely one practical example of the experiences some women face.

Second, although vignettes are useful, their weakness is that they will not capture what participants do in reality or predict future actions with a similar situation in real life (Bryman et al., 2012; Jenkins et al., 2010; Wilks, 2004). The findings presented in this current study only examine what the participants said they would do, and thus do not capture what might be done in practice (see Chapter 4). Hughes and Huby (2004) assert that no research tool or method can accurately portray real-world scenarios, but Barter and Renold (1999) argue the opposite as they examine how vignettes can mirror how participants act in reality. In this study, some of the police officers' responses to the vignette were based on similar real-life experiences on the job as they reflected on past experiences and actual interventions. Nevertheless, given the sensitive topic, some participants without experience may have still felt the need to respond to the vignette in a socially desirable way, and thus may not have been honest with their responses to the questions I asked (Barter & Renold, 1999; Hughes, 1998).

Also, despite how careful I was with how far in advance participants received the vignette information, some may have still discussed the material with others before participating in the study. It is also possible that those individuals who already participated in the study informed other participants on how they responded to the vignette questions.

Third, though researchers usually pilot vignettes before administration unless it is not feasible (Hughes & Huby, 2004; Kandemir & Budd, 2018; Rizvi, 2019; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000; Wilks, 2004), I did not pretest ahead of time to see whether the vignette was realistic and appropriate for both groups of participants. Thus, I made no adjustments to the hypothetical scenario. If I piloted the vignette with a police officer and civilian not included in the sample, it could have improved the structure and context with additions or removal of language such as

"western" lifestyle as described earlier. Thus, since I did not pretest the vignette and follow-up questions, they may suffer from researcher bias.

Implications for Training

Overall, despite these limitations, the use of the vignette created an opportunity to understand police intervention. As previously indicated, training is required to increase awareness to identify and address these crimes. Police must recognize that situations like Nina's could be potentially dire, that a thorough investigation has to take place, and supports need to be available. This study could affect how police decide to implement training around HBV and FMs, and while the PATRIARCH risk assessment tool helps, it requires specialized education and training that is not accessible for all police officers and civilians. Recently there has been a strong focus on training police and intervention in this area. I believe based on the findings from this study that the vignette could serve as a valuable tool for education or future training opportunities by providing a rich learning experience for eliciting and promoting an understanding of conceptualizing the phenomenon. Existing training on HBC and FM could incorporate the vignette, adopt it, or develop a similar hypothetical scenario.[45] Training with a vignette would be beneficial as the method would allow police officers and civilian members to think through intended actions and interventions. Using scenario-based cases allows for education and training to be interactive. Additionally, the tool might increase motivation for participation in training. As many participants in this study expressed, HBCs and FM training is not mandatory although it should be.

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[45] According to Wilks (2004) the vignette could be modified or a new one could be developed based on the emerging themes and theoretical sampling within grounded theory approaches. I argue that modifying the vignette to focus on the emergent themes from this research study could help gather data that is missing from this project. For example, in Chapter 2, I discussed how difficult it was to employ theoretical sampling to include other perceptions that are of interest.

Additionally, designing and developing an interactive educational session on practical police work skills and improving attitudes towards responding to similar situations may eliminate the level of uncertainty expressed by both groups, civilians and police officers. This type of education, awareness raising, and training might also be useful for other relevant practitioners who may encounter similar real-life cases where intervention is required.

Future Research

Future research should explore how HBC and FM training with the vignette method may increase front-line recognition and proactive strategies or responses. The vignette could be a new inclusive and innovative way of gathering data in future qualitative research with front-line professionals,[46] victim support organizations and activists, academics, researchers, government, and policymakers. Comparing vignette responses across the different groups might also facilitate future collaboration and discussions for an interagency coordinated response. Gaining an in-depth understanding of how other professionals respond to situations with a range of behaviours like those in the vignette may increase awareness. Thus, having a coordinated response to intervene can prevent HBKs and also encourage those at risk to report experiences early on. I hope that this study's vignette stimulates future research and conversations to offer intervention training among other first responders (e.g., school teachers and social workers), researchers, and professionals on understanding the phenomenon.

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[46] Front-line professionals could include police, threat assessors, and other emergency services, healthcare workers, education professionals, children and family services, and social workers.

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CHAPTER 4. POLICE UNDERSTANDINGS OF AND RESPONSES TO A COMPLEX VIGNETTE OF "HONOUR"-BASED CRIME AND FORCED MARRIAGE

Abstract

Police understandings of honour-based crimes (HBCs) and forced marriages (FMs) vary in terms of an individual officer's level of expertise, knowledge, and experience in handling such situations. This study applied constructivist grounded theory approaches to analyze individual interviews with 32 police officers and 14 civilians in Alberta police agencies operating in urban and rural settings. Specifically, this paper seeks to answer how police officers and civilians who work in police agencies experience, make sense of, and understand HBCs. Participants received a hypothetical vignette about a young woman who had reached out to the police. The vignette illustrated various forms of abuse by the woman's father, the involvement of other actors (mother, brother, and family friend) and the culmination in an FM. After reading the vignette, participants were asked to respond to six questions. The analysis revealed that both groups (police and civilians) recognized the need in the vignette for intervention, while experiencing uncertainty about how to respond. The findings showed that not everyone in policing would be able to identify reliably the need for police intervention, and that investigations could proceed differently depending on the investigator's levels of knowledge and awareness of HBCs and FMs. Police have achieved some successful interventions, but still lack sufficient guidance on how to respond to these crimes. Clear, appropriate policies regarding which cases need to be directed to specialized domestic violence units for follow-up are needed. A significant finding points to the importance of considering cultural sensitivity discourses as well as the impact of cultural and racist stereotypes when responding to situations like the one outlined in the vignette.

Keywords: “honour”-based crimes; forced marriages; vignette; constructivist grounded theory approaches; policing; perceptions of the police

In response to growing concerns over “honour”-based killings (HBKs) and over inadequate interventions in the initial responses to such cases from Canadian police, school officials, and child protection services, this paper details the findings of a research study that examined how police respond to “honour”-based crime (HBC) and forced marriage (FM; Keeping, 2012; MacIntosh & Keeping, 2012).[47] I use HBC as an umbrella term to include FM and HBKs as forms of gendered violence within the broader spectrum of violence against women and girls (VAWG; Mucina, 2018). I highlight the gendered context of HBCs, as the rates of victimization are higher among girls and women, although boys and men can also be victims (Korteweg, 2012). “In the conceptualization of family honour that informs honour-related violence and honour killing, honour inheres in women but is the property of the family, including the women of the family” (Korteweg, 2014, p. 188). In this view, women are responsible for maintaining “honour,” and the family must punish them if they are viewed as having injured the family’s “honour.” Behaviours associated with a woman’s sexuality or body can lead families to trigger the process of an FM or to commit murder (HBK) to restore family “honour” (Gill, 2009; Gill et al., 2012; Gill et al., 2018; Idriss, 2018; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010).

HBCs are often carried out by the victim’s family members (fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles) and community members may play a role in executing an FM or HBK. These crimes are premeditated, planned, and motivated by the commitment to defend family “honour” (Gill, 2009; Korteweg, 2014). MacIntosh (2012) pointed out that “the extent to which [FM] is associated with ‘honour’-based violence merits further investigation” (MacIntosh, 2012, pp. 49–50). Such an

[47] The quotation marks around the term “honour” are intended to reflect the problematic nature of this term; without them, the term could be perceived as justifying violence or murder as honourable (see Aujla & Gill, 2014; Korteweg, 2014).

association may be seen in the case of 16-year-old Aqsa Parvez in Toronto, who “was very likely facing [an FM] when she was murdered” by her father and brother (MacIntosh, 2012, p. 49).

As a feminist scholar, I conceptualize FM as a form of VAWG. FM violates human rights and is considerably different from an arranged marriage[48] (Chantler, 2012; Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Gill & Anitha, 2011) in that an FM is entered into without the full and free consent of one or both parties, and duress is involved (Anis et al., 2013; Chantler, 2012), including emotional or physical threats and coercion (Anis et al., 2013; Esthappan et al., 2018). FM is a hidden problem: its warning signs are often missed by professionals (see Anis et al., 2013; Chantler & McCarry, 2020).

Thus, given the nature of explanations of FMs and HBKs, it is important to ensure that service providers in Canada react with informed actions rather than naïvely refraining from action, especially in the case of police officers who face a challenging task as first responders and investigators. Police play a crucial role in responding to these complex calls for service and are often the last resort for victims when other professionals have failed to intervene appropriately. I argue that police can do their work effectively only if they are aware of the challenges victims experience in seeking help from law enforcement, and must learn from the ways victims have been denied adequate protection by other professionals (e.g., school counsellors, school teachers, social workers, child and youth protection workers) who have failed to understand the risks those victims faced. Korteweg (2014) stated that:

> Often we see that in cases of honour killing service providers misrecognize the danger—girls are told that their brothers will not kill them when they tell school teachers in fear or social workers call in entire families to discuss family problems (p. 187).

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[48]In an arranged marriage, the families introduce the couple, who then decide for themselves whether to accept the arrangement.

Service providers may misinterpret or struggle with the complexity of these cases and may find themselves ill-prepared to grasp the challenging issues (e.g. identifying multiple intersecting levels of risk). Awareness of these issues and their implications for improving supports may aid law enforcement agencies to improve their practices and formal systems.

Looking at findings from a larger study that explored how Alberta policing agencies conceptualize, understand, and respond to HBCs within the context of domestic violence (DV), also called family violence (FV)[49], this paper specifically focuses on the following research questions from that study: "How do police officers and civilians who work in police organizations experience, make sense of, and understand HBCs?" and "How do policing agencies intervene to prevent, protect, and investigate an HBC?" It seeks to fill a research gap by drawing on in-depth subjective interviews with participants who discussed how they would respond to a situation described in a written vignette. Although hypothetical, the vignette was constructed based on facts from real cases (Aujla, 2020). I designed the scenario to explore how participants perceived certain behaviours that escalated into an FM threat and how they believed police should respond.

The Scope of the Phenomenon

Canada does not maintain official national statistics on HBC and FM, although policy reports estimate that a dozen cases of HBK have taken place across the country since 2000 (Keeping, 2012; Muhammad, 2010; Papp, 2010). A survey of 32 agencies (30 in Ontario and 2 in

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[49]DV, like its near-synonym family violence (FV), refers to violence in the home. DV and FV include not just intimate partner violence, but any pattern of abusive behaviour (e.g., physical or psychological) in any familial relationship (involving, e.g., partners, parents, children, or siblings). I use the term DV broadly to refer to one or more abusers exerting control over a victim in an intimate partner relationship or other family relationship (Aujla, 2021).

Quebec) showed that they dealt with 219 cases of FM between 2010 and 2012, with 202 of the victims identifying as female, 13 as male, 3 as transgender, and 1 unknown (Anis et al., 2013). Of all the victims, 81% were between the ages of 16 and 34, 8% were older, and 10% younger, with 1% unknown (Anis et al., 2013). The FMs occurred across different communities, including many cultures from several continents and various religious backgrounds.

Unlike the United Kingdom (UK) and Scotland, Canada and Alberta did not track or release police data on HBC and FM at the time of this study (Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Gill, et al., 2018; Hague, et al., 2013; Hall, 2014). The Calgary Police Service (CPS) did collect such data for a short period prior to the study; approximately 40 "honour"-based violence (HBV) victims came forward in 2012 (Quebec Council for Women, 2013). However, it is largely unknown how frequently or to what extent Canadian police see HBC and FM cases. The few cases reported in Canada have included girls being confronted about boyfriends, removed from school, and flown back to their country of origin (MacIntosh, 2012; MacIntosh & Keeping, 2012). FMs may also be underreported because some victims do not understand what is happening (see Chantler et al., 2009; Chantler & McCarry, 2020); moreover, families may also attempt to cover up HBKs by reporting them as suicides (Hall, 2014; Korteweg, 2012; Roberts, 2017). This paper does not attempt to establish the prevalence of HBC and FM in Alberta; instead, it highlights challenges for police in situations similar to the one described in the vignette.

In Canada, the majority of HBK victims are racialized women, and HBC and FMs are mainly reported in certain communities (e.g., South Asian and Kurdish; Chantler et al., 2009; Gill et al., 2012; MacIntosh, 2012). However, HBC should not be regarded as intrinsically a cultural problem (Olwan, 2013) since it occurs in a range of cultures (Chantler, 2012; Gill et al.,

2018; Hall, 2014): it does not support the designation of any particular culture, ethnicity, or religion as “barbaric” (Gill, 2006; Hall, 2014; Jiwani, 2014; Olwan, 2014). All cultures are complex and nuanced, and most—including Euro-Canadian culture—have been impacted in various ways by patriarchy and misogyny. Abuse and violence manifest differently in different cultural groups because of patriarchy (Aujla & Gill, 2014). As Korteweg et al. (2013) argued, VAWG is shaped by many individual and structural forces that intersect with culture, which “informs all forms of violence in all groups that make up society” (p. 4). HBC is one manifestation of VAWG and is the focus of this particular research project.

Racism and discriminatory practices can result in animosity between the police and racialized communities, whose members may feel too vulnerable to report their concerns. Racialized immigrant women suffering DV are doubly victimized when they encounter discrimination from the police service (Aujla, 2021; Belur, 2008). Such institutionally racist practices makes victims “vulnerable to accepting abuse and retracting their statements” because they lack trust and confidence in the police (Belur, 2008, p. 440). The available research indicates that victims of HBC and FM are usually reluctant to report their experiences to the police, give statements, or criminally charge or testify against family members (Blum et al., 2016; Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Gill, 2009; Gill et al., 2018; Hall, 2014). Previous negative experiences in countries of origin also influence certain communities’ perceptions of police intervention (Chan, 1997). These barriers to reporting cannot be separated from the multiple and interlocking oppressions victims experience from police officers’ attitudes, racial stereotypes, and ethnocentrism that result in missed or unsatisfactory interventions (Aujla, 2021; Hague et al., 2013; Hall, 2014).

Shortcomings of Interventions that Failed to Protect Victims

A discussion of police failure to protect victims of HBC, mainly in the Shafia case, has been noted in the literature (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Korteweg, 2012, 2014; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Olwan, 2014). In 2009, the bodies of the three Shafia sisters and that of their father's first wife were found in the Rideau Canal in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. All four had been murdered by the Afghan father, his second wife, and the brother (Olwan, 2013; Schliesmann, 2012): the father had disapproved of the girls wearing makeup, skipping school, and dating boys (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Muhammad, 2010; Schliesmann, 2012). The victims had feared for their lives, opposed the violence, and actively reached out for support from the police, teachers, youth protection services, and other social service agencies (Fournier, 2012). In covering the murders, the media criticized professionals for mishandling the case and ignoring potential indicators of the emotional and physical violence the girls were experiencing, including attempts to run away, depression, and self-harm (see Jiwani, 2014; MacIntosh & Keeping, 2012; Olwan, 2014). A careful analysis of evidence at the murder trial concluded that:

> Both social services and the police have been blamed for the Shafia murders and for their failure to act in the interest of the children who had appealed to them for protection and care. To explain their inaction, state services have noted that while trained in confronting patriarchal violence, they had no experience with the particular type of violence to which the Shafia girls were subjected. (Olwan, 2014, p. 224)

Research on this case and others has assessed interventions and noted that school counsellors and social workers often do not adequately respond to victims' needs or are reluctant to involve the police (Blum et al., 2016; Keeping, 2012; Korteweg, 2014). These professionals and the police have been criticized for their adherence to stereotypes, inadequate responses, and failure to protect vulnerable victims (Keeping, 2012; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; MacIntosh & Keeping, 2012). In addition, research has shown that victims experiencing HBV and FM are

likely to run away, to self-harm, or to attempt suicide, demonstrating the severe implications of HBC (Belfrage et al., 2012; Chantler, 2012; Chantler et al., 2009; Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Hague et al., 2013; Jiwani, 2014; Khan, 2018; Khan et al., 2018).

Law enforcement agencies need to be prepared to respond adequately to victims who come forward to report their HBC experiences. Some researchers, mainly in the UK, have examined victim and survivor interactions with police and encouraged the improvement of services to ensure safety from HBV (Gill et al., 2012; Idriss, 2018; Khan et al., 2018) and FM (Idriss, 2018). While strategies have been implemented in the UK to assess risk, train police officers, raise public awareness, and collect national police data to support victims of HBC, police remain inconsistent in responding to HBV (Gill & Harrison, 2016; Idriss, 2018) and scholars continue to focus on the need to improve the criminal justice system response (Gill, 2009; Gill et al., 2012; Hague et al., 2013; Hall, 2014). Existing scholarship has focused on the variations in victims' and survivors' lived experiences of HBV (Gill et al., 2018; Khan et al., 2018; Withaeckx & Coene, 2014), FM (Chantler et al., 2009; Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Esthappan et al., 2018; Gill et al., 2018; Jaspal, 2014; Samad, 2010). Interviews with women impacted by these acts of violence help us better understand the experiences of reporting them to the police, whose responses vary unpredictably and may even do further harm (Gill et al., 2018; Idriss, 2018; Mulvihill et al., 2018). Victims of HBCs may suffer for years before they seek help; if, when they eventually do so, police do not assist them, victims are less likely to reach out again and more likely to return home to their abusers (Aplin, 2018; Gill et al., 2012; Idriss, 2018).

Little practical information is available regarding how police can prepare to detect red flags and support victims of HBC and FM (Roberts et al., 2014). Research suggests that police

should avoid assuming that all individuals from the same culture will adhere to the same "honour" codes or norms (Roberts, 2017; Roberts et al., 2014), and should consider the perceptions and meaning of "honour" for victims, offenders, and witnesses in their risk management strategies (Roberts, 2017). This is important because individuals who accept "honour"-based norms might be uncooperative, and perpetrators may mislead police into accepting their interpretation of the situation (Aplin, 2018). Police may not recognize how the "honour"-related beliefs of victims, offenders, and witnesses impact their investigations. Police perspectives on these crimes are rarely examined; relatively few police officers, and those mainly in the UK, have been included among the frontline professionals interviewed in research studies (see Aplin, 2017, 2018, 2019; Gill et al., 2012; Gill & Harrison, 2016; Gill et al., 2018; Hague et al., 2013; Idriss, 2017, 2018). It is crucial for policing professionals to grapple with how best to investigate HBC cases and meet victims' need for protection.

Research Design and Methods

A constructivist approach to grounded theory was best suited for this study because I was interested in gaining new insights into the meaning-making process police use to make sense of an understudied phenomenon (Birks & Mills, 2015; Creswell, 2013). Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) is different from other versions of grounded theory since it views reality as socially constructed in multiple ways and allows for reflexivity during the research process (see Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006). CGT focuses on multiple meanings and social processes that are co-constructed between the researcher and the participants to interpret the relevant phenomenon (Charmaz, 2006). Importantly, it considers researchers to be "part of the world we study and the data we collect" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10). My knowledge, assumptions, and preconceptions informed the research questions I asked and how I approached data collection and analysis. As a

second-generation Punjabi Sikh woman from the South Asian diaspora, my identity and experiences shape my research process and academic interest in this topic, which I came to through my research and advocacy work on VAWG. Various conferences and workshops challenged me to think critically through an anti-racist feminist lens. My views did not align with training that emphasized cultural explanations for HBC and HBKs, as these further racialized and stigmatized girls and women for the violence they experienced. Even the very term HBK reinforces racism, as opposed to terms like "femicide" and "patriarchal homicide," which focus on the gendered violence of the crime (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Grewal, 2013; Korteweg, 2014). After all, Canadian women of all ethnicities are victims of DV and homicide (Razack, 2004). In addition, what is "dishonourable" in one family may not be so regarded in another family from the same community (Hall, 2014; Korteweg, 2014). "Honour" is a socially constructed system, and its meaning varies according to individual interpretations, social context, and complex meaning-making processes in different communities (Gill et al., 2012; Idriss, 2018; Withaeckx & Coene, 2014).

As an anti-racist feminist sociologist, I situate my study within my preconceived notions a police culture under which systemic racism exists in all societal institutions. Although a complete analysis of racism in policing is beyond the scope of this paper, the brief discussion that follows reveals how privilege and oppression operate in the process of "othering." Scholars have examined racist policing practices and culture, specifically how police often treat individuals differently based on their cultural or racial backgrounds. Police officers are socialized into a sub-culture in which biased policing occurs, and share membership in an institution that reinforces White supremacy, racial bias, and discrimination towards Indigenous, Black, and racialized communities (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Henry & Tator, 2010; Tator & Henry, 2006). As

Chan (1997) argued, "police are acting as agents of an essentially racist or oppressive system" (p. 28). Individual police officers and civilians working within police services may not be racist, but they are part of a powerful institution that has oppressed racially diverse groups in Canadian society. Belur's (2008) study on policing in the UK demonstrated how racialized victims of DV encounter discrimination and institutional racism. She explained that DV is overlooked in discussions of institutional racism and policing, particularly when victims are part of racialized groups. Nevertheless, police interventions are needed until society develops better options for combatting gendered violence across diverse cultural communities.

Policing is a male-dominated field based not just on the need to maintain public order but also on power relations mediated in part by race and gender. I was aware of my identity as a woman of colour entering the police milieu, and it was apparent that my race, ethnicity, and gender as well as my civilian status, made me an outsider. This required me to think about whether participants might not trust me, which could potentially have impacted the interview dynamics. I expected that I would mainly be speaking to White male police officers and civilians, and that power relations and racial differences could potentially make it challenging to conduct cross-racial interviews. I had to consider the race and gender dynamics as well as the research process and design so that participants would feel comfortable sharing their perceptions and experiences. CGT is a flexible process that enables researchers to use multiple methods to collect data (Charmaz, 2006), and I constructed the vignette as a method of complementing the semi-structured interviews. The vignette allowed me to establish rapport with my participants and explore the meaning they attributed to it (see Aujla, 2020 for details about the development of the vignette, its use of language, and why all reference to culture and ethnicity was omitted).

The vignette allowed me to obtain data and insights on a sensitive topic, which may not have been possible without gaining participants' trust (Aujla, 2020).

Data Collection

This paper focuses on the qualitative data findings from six semi-structured in-depth interview questions that participants answered after the presentation of a vignette related to HBC and FM. Having received approval from the Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta and from the law enforcement agencies, I began recruiting participants from police services in different regions of Alberta using gatekeepers, snowball sampling, and word-of-mouth techniques. Knowledge of or exposure to HBC and FM was not required. Potential participants were identified by gatekeepers, who in some cases made a general announcement of my appeal for volunteers and in others contacted potential participants directly or furnished me with their contact information. For example, one gatekeeper sent out my invitation as a listserv announcement and also posted the request on a bulletin board in the policing organization. In all of these instances, once potential participants were identified, I would follow up with an email inviting them to participate in the research study. After recruitment, participants shared the study with colleagues they thought might be interested in participating.

I made initial contact with potential participants through email and telephone. In an email message, I informed potential participants about the study and included a consent form and instructions for reading the vignette, along with an interview guide. Participants could choose to participate in the interview by telephone or in person. Telephone participants returned signed consent forms via email before the scheduled interview time. In-person participants provided written consent during their face-to-face interviews. I informed each interview participant that they could opt out of answering any questions or decline to respond to the vignette. However, the

vignette technique and its application were central to the interviews, and data collection would have been affected if not everyone wanted to discuss it. In the event, all participants did read and responded to the vignette, which helped me understand the cultural framing and the racist and privileged perspectives that some participants held. For example, some participants were quick to stereotype marginalized communities and blame certain cultures for the violence depicted in the scenario. The rich data that emerged show that the vignette method was successful (see Aujla, 2020). Participation was voluntary, and I assured participants that their responses and involvement would be kept confidential so as not to affect their employment.

Between 2015 and 2017, I conducted 46 interviews with 32 police officers and 14 civilians from five law enforcement agencies across Alberta in rural and urban settings. The officers were employed by Calgary Police Service (CPS; 8 participants), Edmonton Police Service (EPS; 11), Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) "K" Division (9), Integrated Threat and Risk Assessment Centre (I-TRAC; 3), and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General (1). The civilians were employed by CPS (3), EPS (7), RCMP "K" Division (1), I-TRAC (1), and the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General (2). Pseudonyms are used in this paper to ensure participant confidentiality and to preserve anonymity. Sociodemographic information is grouped (police officers and civilians), and quotes are identified with the assigned pseudonym and type of participant (police officer or civilian). With direct quotes, I do not disclose the law enforcement agency (e.g., specific division, detachment, unit) or position the participant represented.

This study's sample of police officers and civilians was diverse, aside from ethnicity, in contrast with the lack of diversity generally found in policing (Henry & Tator, 2010). The sample included White (38), South Asian (5), Indigenous (1), and mixed-race (2) individuals. In 2019,

there were 68,718 sworn police officers in Canada, of whom 8% identified as a visible minority and 4% as Indigenous; female police officers numbered 15,268 (22%), and their representation in all ranks has continued to increase (Conor et al., 2020). Police services such as EPS and the RCMP have made progress with their efforts to attract female recruits. Despite the growing number of women entering law enforcement, however, there is still evidence that retention of female officers is still a challenge and that policing remains a male-dominated profession (Government of Manitoba, 2014). Even though there are still fewer female police officers than male, I was able to recruit 20 male and 26 female participants, who ranged in age from 25 to 68 years, although a majority (37) of them were 36 or older. The participants were highly educated: their level of education ranged from high school (3) to some post-secondary classes (2), completed college diplomas (12), or undergraduate (22) or graduate-level (7) degrees. Most police officer participants had received certificates in leadership or police academy training.

All participants had worked in policing for several years. The 32 police officers had three to nearly 30 years of service, including some international policing experience. Some came from the lower or junior ranks (3 frontline patrol officers, 3 general-duty officers, and 8 constables from specialized units); others were of upper or senior rank (7 sergeants including staff sergeants, 5 detectives, 1 investigator, 4 corporals, and 1 detachment commander). The 14 civilians had experience in DV and policing that ranged from a few months to 28 years. The civilian positions varied (e.g., frontline victim service advocates, intake and threat assessors, outreach and crisis workers, social workers, psychologists, senior advisors, project coordinators, supervisors, managers of specialized units, and 911 call operators) across the law-enforcement agencies.

All of the interviews were face-to-face except four conducted by telephone to reach participants in rural parts of Alberta. The face-to-face interviews took place in Edmonton and Calgary, or their surrounding communities, in spaces where participants felt comfortable: at their office (11), in an interview room or boardroom within their workplace (26), or in a seminar room at the University of Alberta (5). After the 46 interviews were completed, theoretical saturation was reached, and no new data were collected (Charmaz, 2006). The interviews varied in length from 1.5 to 4 hours. I opened the interviews using the vignette technique as a data collection tool, and discussions about it lasted 20 to 30 minutes. I also asked participants a number of unrelated but complementary research questions, data from which will be published in future papers.

The Vignette and Accompanying Questions

A vignette is a short descriptive story with hypothetical characters in a scenario to which participants are invited to respond (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2014; Finch, 1987; Hughes & Huby, 2004). Participants were asked to read this vignette and respond to the hypothetical call for service:

> Nina, age 17, is seen by a close family friend kissing her boyfriend on a movie date. Usually she is careful to tell lies, such as "I am going to work," to hide the relationship. Her father often asks the brother to follow her places, and he constantly checks on her whereabouts.
>
> When the family friend reports the kiss, Nina's father confronts Nina for the behaviour and then blames Nina's mother for failing to keep an eye on her own daughter. The father starts yelling about his daughter wearing makeup and running around with boys, and claims that this western lifestyle brings shame. Nina's brother agrees with their father and threatens to kill the boyfriend. The father slaps Nina across the face saying, "What kind of daughter are you; how will I face the community? You have disrespected me and disgraced this family. I wish you were dead."
>
> Out of fear Nina escapes to a friend's place where she is encouraged by the friend's parents to report the incident to the police instead of eloping with her boyfriend. When the police arrive at her family's home, the brother says there should be no concerns as the family is discussing preparations for his sister's

> wedding. The mother calls Nina's cell phone and begs her to come home to avoid further community accusations. The mother tells her to end the current relationship because her father is planning her marriage to another man from a conservative family. Under pressure, Nina agrees to the forced marriage, and tries to defend herself by saying everything is based on rumours.

Participants received the written narrative and accompanying questions a day before the scheduled interview and were given specific instructions not to feel pressured to prepare, but to expect to answer the questions below. During the interview, some participants were given time to reread the vignette before responding to the questions. Participants were invited to think out loud as they offered their responses to the following questions:

1. Describe your initial thoughts about what is happening in the scenario.
2. What parts of the vignette stood out to you, and why?
3. How would the police respond to the scenario, and what influences this response?
4. How comfortable would law enforcers (police officers) feel in investigating and reporting similar situations?
5. What experiences or situations have you heard of that are similar to the one presented in the scenario? If so, tell me more about this.
6. What else concerns you about this scenario? Any other comments?

Data Analysis

All 46 interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim for coding and analysis. I reviewed all transcriptions for accuracy and analyzed the data using the guiding principles of CGT (Charmaz, 2006). I entered the written data (transcripts, field notes, and memos) into NVivo 11 and began organizing the initial codes from the vignette into emerging conceptual categories as I continued collecting data (Charmaz, 2006). This iterative cycle and non-linear coding process was flexible, making it possible to pursue topics and themes as they emerged. I

reexamined my earlier data to develop additional questions or insights while still conducting interviews with participants.

Themes were identified and labeled with in vivo codes—that is, using the exact words or phrases provided by participants—which gave meaning to the data and prevented me from imposing my own ideas on the codes, letting the data speak for themselves. I used constant comparative techniques (Charmaz, 2006), as outlined by grounded theorists, to compare and contrast the data across the interview transcripts before finalizing the coding scheme. Throughout the data analysis process, I remained grounded in the data, reviewing the relevant literature later to make connections. The data analysis and interview processes took place simultaneously, so they informed one another. Through this inductive approach, my aim was not to develop a theory, but to use the CGT coding approach to understand the connections within my data. CGT acknowledges that literature and existing theories can help explain concepts or categories that emerge from the data. The coding process allowed me to identify four main themes that demonstrated how participants interpreted and responded to the vignette scenario.

Because of the prior knowledge I brought to the study, the lens through which I interrogated the data and interpreted the emergent themes originates in anti-racist and feminist theoretical frameworks. I drew on critical race feminism, also known as Canadian anti-racist feminist thought (Dua, 1999) and Canadian feminist antiracism (Razack et al., 2010), as a conceptual framework to analyze the findings and to theorize from an anti-racist perspective. The central focus of critical race feminism is race, which contributes to feminist theorizing of gender oppressions as it interrogates broader issues of migration, integration, settler colonialism, discriminatory immigration and citizenship policies, and racism (Dua, 1999; Razack et al., 2010). Critical race feminism scholars have examined violence against racialized women, and

noted that dominant discourses of “othering” in mainstream society shape racist stereotypes. For example, in the post 9/11 era, Arabs and Muslims have been subject to Islamophobia and institutional racism by state, media, and criminal justice systems that see them as alien to Western culture (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Jiwani, 2014; Razack, 2004).

Scholarly work has deconstructed the Canadian media and state discourse, which portrays immigrant communities as “backward” and as outsiders importing “barbaric” practices into the country (see Jiwani, 2014; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Korteweg, 2014; Olwan, 2013, 2014). I add to this work by analyzing the emergent themes in policing and paying attention to how racism in policing reinforces marginalization and “othering,” similar to the state and media discourses that perpetuate stereotypes. I examine the gaps in knowledge and cultural understanding that underpin the problematic institutional responses of the police to HBCs and FMs. My research builds upon the foundational work done by other sociologists, social workers, and activists in the DV sector to challenge the dangers of culture talk and to approach culture as a meaning-making process (see Abji, et al., 2019; Korteweg, 2012, 2014; Korteweg, et al., 2013; Razack, 1994).

Findings

The findings speak to the ongoing challenges police have to grapple with in situations like the one presented in the vignette. Four main themes emerged consistently.

Theme 1: Preparation through Experience and Exposure

Participants discussed at length how prior knowledge and understanding shaped their perceptions of the vignette and influenced how they understood it. The majority of the participants discussed Nina’s experience through their understanding of cases they had followed in the media, relevant training, and past involvement in or awareness of similar situations.

Except for two police officers, all participants had some working knowledge and awareness of the topic. Participants recognized that police response to the vignette was challenging, were reminded of past cases with missed opportunities for intervention, and feared that police would continue to overlook the possibility of early intervention in future cases.

When examining the vignette, participants tended to reflect on the Shafia murders, other HBKs, specific HBV, and FM cases (whether carried out or only attempted) they had assisted in or heard about in their work. Some participants recalled details about Canadian and international cases, such as who was involved and how the victims were killed. The vignette allowed participants to openly reflect on the painful nature of past incidents and their desire not to hear about another case of professionals failing victims. A civilian member, Judy, explained:

> Those Shafia girls had been signal[ling] [for help] to the community in a lot of ways and nobody realized the extent of the danger they were in. If you or I interviewed her, we would know. That, um... she would not be safe going home. And there was ample information there... ample... but people weren't well enough trained in diversity to pick them up. And that's, like that's the biggest thing. Is understanding these so-called honour-based issues. And the depth that they go to.

Judy highlighted the problem with interviewing girls in front of their parents: victims often retract their statements, reconcile with family members, and return home, only to later be murdered. Judy's concerns around the seriousness of taking action suggest that service providers are not looking or listening for evidence that might indicate the level of risk facing young girls. She also stressed that not being trained in diversity means professionals are more likely to gloss over critical details. It is important to note that diversity and cultural training may not be the most appropriate way to confront these problems. While diversity training focuses on cultural awareness and sensitivity to potential biases toward people who do not share a similar background, it may fail to take into consideration how to look at forms of gendered violence without racializing women and girls.

Elizabeth, a senior police officer, was first exposed to an HBK during training on the Banaz Mahmod case in the UK. She described how Mahmod had contacted police multiple times, but officers did not take her pleas for help seriously. Mahmod's family disapproved of her boyfriend and after they witnessed her kissing him, she was killed. Her body was stuffed into a suitcase and buried (see Gill, 2009; Idriss, 2017). Elizabeth explained:

> So… when I read this [vignette], that was exactly what I thought was that, yeah, it's ah… an honour-based issue. For sure. Because, I mean, family values and the reputation of the family is paramount. Right? To these families.

Having undergone some specialized training, Elizabeth perceived the vignette context as escalating and potentially progressing to an HBK. She expressed concern for Nina and was conscious of the potential danger if the police did not follow up on the case. Similarly, Sarah, a civilian member, reflected on how she understood the situation presented in the vignette:

> Instantly when I read it, it reminded me of the Shafia case, so I thought honour-based violence, [and] the complexity, right? Very, very complex situation, and with people that had less knowledge in the area, it would look more complicated and messy.

Sarah's comment shows how challenging she thought it would be to effectively take on a case like the one described in the vignette with no understanding of HBV.

In general, due to their exposure to other HBC cases, participants understood the vignette and did not seem to underestimate the severity of the potential consequences or danger to victims if police did not follow up on the case. Most participants felt the situation could prove complicated to respond to and that Nina was vulnerable. Very few perceived the risk as low; most referenced well-known cases of HBK in which there had been a professional failure to safeguard victims. A civilian member, Amy, explained: "There's enough here saying this is high enough risk that somebody needs to be, like, intervening and trying to prevent her from being married or possibly killed." However, despite their level of awareness that the danger described

would merit police involvement, several participants worried that a lack of knowledge and training could prevent police from responding appropriately. Angie, a junior police officer, suggested that officers who are unaware of the complexities of the issue would probably use mediation strategies with the family, and that this approach might not address Nina's needs or resolve the potential for an FM:

> These situations, I guess, can come across to some, you know, as maybe not too high risk and maybe there just needs to be a bit of intervention on how to have the family work better together, as a unit, and understand each other. But, clearly, you know, when you look a little further and have a little more information about these types of crimes, they are actually quite high risk. You know, they're looking at her having a forced marriage, so, clearly that's going to escalate things. They wouldn't want her to disgrace the family or not follow through on the forced marriage and, to the point where, you know, could it escalate that they would rather have her be dead than to follow through with this other boyfriend and not follow through on the marriage? So, definitely, you know, extremely high risk.

Like Angie, several participants highlighted how the vignette situation could escalate, so police must be prepared to assess and respond appropriately. Effective intervention strategies could help protect Nina by preventing the escalation to FM or homicide that has occurred in many real cases. As participants noted, a lack of awareness prevents officers from immediately taking action, identifying risk factors, and protecting Nina.

Theme 2: Making Sense of Individual-Level Interventions

Most participants had not only heard of similar cases, but had actually handled them, assisted with investigations, or provided advice on them. Patrick, a senior police officer, shared, "I've seen that situation countless times, when I was with the Domestic [Violence] Team, that was a very common call that we would receive." Some participants told me about responses that were helpful to the victims who reached out. Such intervention strategies at the individual level relied on a police officer's ability to detect and investigate a potential HBC, and in many cases, to help victims receive support. Bryan, a senior police officer, commented on the similarities

between the vignette and a case where specialist knowledge was required to further the police investigation:

> I've seen these things where we had a girl [who…] wanted to marry her boyfriend. Father didn't want anything to do with it. […] I think she was assaulted, just a minor assault. But she was kept in the house by her mother and sat on, I think, actually. […] I think they held her down while the dad and the brother went off to kill the boyfriend, which was in another part of [the city]. And, she, I think she managed to break free, call the police and initially, with that, the police arrived, and the mother was at the door, "Oh! No problem here, no problem here," and they could hear some disturbance, so they went in, and the girl said, "No. They're threatening to kill my boyfriend." So they ended up sending some police. So, and really, when you've got something like that […] you're not going to treat that any different, to a regular threat's file. You're gonna—"Hang on a sec, they're on their way to try and kill somebody? We need to get somebody, you know, some officers there to stop them." […] Thankfully there were a couple of guys in [the DV unit], one of them used to work with me […] [and] he's got a knowledge of it and it helps a heck of a lot because you do need key people that have had knowledge and interest in particular areas to highlight the fact that, hey, we need to look at this differently. This isn't a standard, one person against one person. This could be distant family members from other countries, from other provinces. You know, causing serious, serious issues. Something that we just think is really minor.

Bryan's comments reveal the importance of the identification and recognition of multiple perpetrators. For example, the mother supported the father and son threatening to kill the boyfriend, but this role is often under-investigated (Aplin, 2017). Bryan stressed that addressing family dynamics and the roles played by extended family members requires cultural sensitivity. Most importantly, police officers took actions to ensure protection, and this case did not progress to an FM or HBK.

Civilians also noted that similar cases come up regularly, particularly those involving girls being taken abroad to carry out an FM, and reflected on their involvement in related police files. Eve, a civilian member, explained, "The last one I can remember is where we did get a [DV] Team involved. And they actually had to go to the airport and pull the girl off the plane." I refer to this well-known FM situation as the "airport case" (see MacIntosh & Keeping, 2012;

Quebec Council for Women, 2013): a 16-year-old girl was nearly forced to take “a family holiday” to the Middle East because her father disapproved of her having a boyfriend. Many participants spoke about the Calgary Police Service (CPS) investigation of this case. After a family friend alerted police about the risk to the girl’s life, CPS took proactive steps to rescue her. CPS also turned to Child and Family Services (CFS) for assistance, but they refused to cooperate. The investigating officer on the airport case, who was a participant in this study, explained,

> There was no risk assigned by CFS, who really, they’re the ones—it’s not really a police issue, now, to protect this girl. […] [However] we took her back to the police station, [and the] social worker left us, left us just pfft [dismissal of seriousness], “Oh, we got another call. Bye.” And they left.

This officer expressed frustration with the CFS worker, who minimized the risk level and left the police to deal with the situation. At the time, the investigating officer was relatively new to the police service, but managed to apply for an emergency protection order under the Protection Against Family Violence Act. The investigating officer explained, “I actually got that emergency protection order not to protect her from her dad; it was to protect her from CFS.” This comment speaks to the system-level barriers and differences in perspective across social service agencies that ideally should work in cooperation with police.

The airport case and others described by participants demonstrate the importance of paying attention to the needs of girls who share potential FM threats with authorities. These crimes are not straightforward, and police have to be prepared to investigate them expeditiously. These examples illustrate one-off interventions that were successful because of decisions made by individual police officers. However, these successes do not mean that police and social supports such as CFS are always ready to act; as described above, the responses were inconsistent depending on whether the officer had the necessary understanding and expertise.

Similarly, in a few negative case examples, participants indicated that they have no experience of individual-level interventions. Rebecca, a junior police officer, said:

> You know, this type of situation, like, with regards to honour-based, we don't see those. We don't have these happening very often here [in a small rural community]. In fact, I actually was asking some of the members, and […] they've never investigated one.

Comments like this highlight the difficulty of determining the occurrence levels in rural areas, where there are likely fewer reports. However, some participants noted that they may have missed signs of potential HBCs due to lack of knowledge. For instance, Steven, a senior police officer, said:

> I could think of like maybe five cases that I investigated and maybe another, um… 10 or so cases where I, maybe, advised on. […] I'm sure there's been a lot more where we just didn't, I just didn't respond in, with the understanding that it was an honour-based violence situation.

His comment again highlights how individual interactions are closely tied to experience and prior knowledge.

Theme 3: Implicit Cultural Bias and Policing

Implicit cultural biases can influence police officers' actions. Some participants associated the vignette with certain cultures or ethnicities. Nathan, a senior police officer, shared the thought that popped into his head when he read the vignette:

> I immediately, after reading this, just based on the scenario, based on the information presented, I immediately went to the thought that it was East Indian. Indian culture. And, I mean, it could be a different culture. […] I already, in my mind, formulated that it was an East Indian family. Without even knowing that.

Nathan's comment illustrates how he associated this type of violence with South Asian culture. When I asked him to share more, he explained:

> The name, […] the actions and the statements of the brother. The actions and statements of the father. The actions and statements of the mother. The [forced]

> marriage. Yeah. That's— because, I'm not super worldly, but, I don't know too many other cultures.

These attributes led Nathan to view Nina as the racial and cultural "other" who suffered from a culture of violence, as opposed to a girl suffering from gendered violence. Another senior police officer, Sandra, explored these ideas further:

> You want to treat everybody the same […] but if somebody's of a certain culture, is it wrong to say I'm going to treat them a bit differently because I think they need a little more help or it needs to be approached differently? So there's that stigma, right away, where you don't want to do anything wrong by trying to do something right, if that makes any sense. So, if I were to, because if I were to read this… and assuming that it was a White family, brought up in Canada or in [the city], then maybe I wouldn't have as many red flags, because maybe I might think that the threats were just a, "you're an idiot and I'm going to kill you," and they don't really mean anything, but, because you kind of have a vague understanding of a certain culture, it means a little bit more and you have to take it more seriously. […] It's so awful, because I don't want to sound like I'm racist, because I'm totally not. But you have more red flags if it's an ethnic family as opposed to not, even in the first paragraph, right? Even if it wasn't and the father was a little bit upset, if he's going to get mad at his daughter, I'm not going to have these red flags going off that is, maybe serious and we might need to take a really close look at this.

Sandra's comments reinforce how challenging it can be for police to determine what actions to take, especially when they don't have a solid understanding of HBC or FM. Police need to be culturally aware and sensitive in their approach because HBC victims may require different supports depending on the intersections of race, ethnicity, culture, sex, gender, and caste. Sandra did not want to seem prejudiced towards the actors in the vignette, but she made generalizations about an entire group of people based on their race and ethnicity. Simplistic views and racial biases can impact police perceptions about who is affected by this form of violence. Identifying and questioning these biases, assumptions, and stereotypes will help police improve their response not only to HBC and FM, but also to other types of crimes in racialized communities.

Police officers who are familiar with the way family dynamics, patriarchy, and the larger community contribute to this type of violence may be more inclined to help Nina, as opposed to those who do not understand family structures in collectivist cultures. The vignette was designed to alert officers to the role of multiple perpetrators at the family and community level in collectivist cultures when interpreting and making sense of the scenario. Officers also need to understand that the involvement of the family friend and the father's reaction are important in this case. A few participants did identify how the father has involved family (e.g., brother and mother) and community members in keeping a watchful eye on his daughter. The control and surveillance of young girls like Nina is seen as protecting the value and belief system within the family and community. The "honour" of the family and their social standing in the community are seen as resting on her behaviour. The father believes that she has engaged in dishonourable behaviour that has brought shame upon the family, and that the FM is needed to cleanse the family's reputation. To cope effectively in such circumstance, officers must be willing to improve their understanding of how patriarchy intersects with the preservation of family and community "honour" (see Gill, 2009; Mucina, 2018). Conversely, an officer who does not understand these family dynamics, patriarchy, and the community context may dismiss this call and normalize the violence as being "part of their culture." The outcomes range widely depending on the investigating officer, and many police officers are not specifically trained to recognize complex forms of DV.

Theme 4: Police Beliefs and Meaning-Making

In Alberta, police guidelines inform the response to DV, FV, and intimate partner violence calls. The mandatory Family Violence Investigation Report (FVIR), which is an investigation checklist rather than a risk assessment tool, was produced to assist with investigations and lines

of questioning. Since 2008, all municipal police services and the RCMP "K" Division have been required to use the FVIR, which asks critical questions about relationship history (Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General, 2020, pp. 38–42). Police officers use the FVIR card to remind themselves to ask specific questions, and several participants mentioned that they might use the FVIR as they considered Nina's situation. However, not all participants viewed it as a valuable tool for HBV and FM cases, because "the FVIR is strictly for DV. It's for intimate partner [violence]. So you're missing a lot of the nuances of this," according to Jackie, a senior police officer. The tool has limitations for collecting information on other forms of violence, and while it can be applied to all families and cultures, it is not culturally sensitive to HBV. Some frontline patrol members were candid about feeling pressure to use the FVIR even in circumstances where it is not effective, and thus feeling less motivated to complete it.

Participants suggested revising the FVIR with culturally sensitive questions to address family members other than partners, or developing a similar tool for HBV. Nancy, a civilian member, explained the need for questions that focus on "specific threats, by her parents to, you know, harm her or harm a boyfriend, etc. Something like that. Because it's not always what's just on the surface. Like, you know, they have to be able to dig deeper." Some participants raised concerns about adding questions to the FVIR because the tool already has so many, and instead suggested developing a specific HBV-FVIR. However, Cathy, a civilian member, shared concerns about this approach because "it could, feed into bias, […] make it so people get missed, and investigations are done one way for some people and another way for other people and that's concerning on a professional and personal level." She noted that violence happens in all communities, and worried that developing an HBV-FVIR tool could contribute to or perpetuate police officer beliefs, attitudes, and racial biases.

Other concerns included the language used to label the incident. Participants repeatedly discussed the meanings and understandings of "honour," HBV, and HBK; whether to use the term "honour;" and how to describe the context within which these behaviours occur. It is crucial to understand how each term is or is not used in policing and what informs those decisions, since unclear terminology and inconsistent definitions could potentially hinder interventions.

There is no universally accepted way to respond to HBC and FM, partly because no standard definitions of DV and FV exist across all police services. For example, some definitions used by police services and specialized DV units do not include people who are not in intimate relationships but are instead related by blood. EPS uses the term "domestic violence" where the RCMP uses "relationship violence." The narrow definitions in use are unclear about the possibility of physical or emotional abuse from family members or how to properly categorize the varieties of DV. While participants recognized the gaps within their police service, they acknowledged that other law enforcement agencies, such as CPS, do employ inclusive definitions of DV.[50] Thus, participants' understandings of the vignette varied significantly because of their meaning-making processes. Amy, a civilian member, expressed how it is difficult to know what to do when approaching a case:

> Like, in this situation, it's more than domestic violence. There's absolutely like cultural implications happening and whether or not, and this is the part where I'm not an expert, but, you know, like taking it that extra step to being honour-based, I don't know if I know where—or if anybody knows—fully, where that line is, right? But this is definitely more than just domestic violence.

[50] See https://www.calgary.ca/cps/community-programs-and-resources/crime-prevention/domestic-violence.html for the extended definition of DV used by CPS. CPS describes DV as "physical violence, verbal abuse, emotional abuse, stalking and harassment between family members or persons in a relationship or related by virtue of children, marriage, or adoption. It can happen in heterosexual and same-sex relationships, and both men and women can be victims."

Amy's observation illustrates the process of "othering," where certain cultures are racialized as "backward," with the use of HBV terminology focused on ethnicity instead of gendered violence rooted in patriarchy. She elaborated on how the behaviour is outside the power and control dynamics usual to "common" DV. She felt that, "This kind of situation is not something we would commonly see from like European or North American cultures, right? It's going to be more like, you're East Indian or Asian." She implied that the West is relatively free from HBV compared to other regions that immigrants come from. This "us versus them" comment did not surprise me after I learned from her that she had attended training on how cultural practices motivate HBV in South Asian communities. It had influenced her lens on DV cases and reinforced a monolithic understanding of culture, which could negatively impact her interactions with South Asian women who managed to overcome their hesitation and approach the police with DV concerns. Later in the interview, she shared her response to a Facebook post from Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in which Trudeau opposed the previous government's characterization of HBV as a "barbaric cultural practice" and touted the withdrawal of this phrase in new legislation. This made her angry: "[...] if you don't think, like, strangling your daughter because she wore makeup is not barbaric, then I think that's crazy."

Moreover, her comment connects to the wider discourses, associated with the previous federal government (2006–2015) of Prime Minister Stephen Harper, that targeted racialized people for allegedly bringing harmful cultural practices to Canada. The government used racist rhetoric to emphasize the protection of "Canadian values" of equality and freedom; for example, the warning for Canadian newcomers against certain "barbaric cultural practices" such as HBK and FM in "The Equality of Women and Men" section of the revised Citizenship Guide[51]

[51] The 2009 publication *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship* can be accessed at: https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/pub/discover.pdf

(Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). In 2015, the government passed Bill S-7, an amendment to the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, the Civil Marriage Act, and the Criminal Code*, giving it the short title of *Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act.*[52] The term "barbaric" invokes a racist and xenophobic discourse to discriminate against non-White people. Amy's comment above takes a similar position to that of the government, one implying that racialized people commit "barbaric" acts of violence that conflict with a civilized society. This "culture clash" discourse dismisses both the fact that many forms of VAWG are found in Canada across cultures, and the effects of colonial history, especially the tragedy of the many missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (see Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Olwan, 2013; 2014; Razack, 2004).

Other participants highlighted the range of elements that are unique to HBC (including FM) and categorized the crime under the umbrella of FV. Angie, a junior police officer, said:

> I think, generally, people think about honour-based crimes, they do think about domestic violence and inter-partner relationship violence. But I think that, at least in what I've seen or heard and read, that a lot is directed towards the female children in the family. So, in this case, it wouldn't fit [our] definition of domestic violence but definitely, it's [FV]. That being said, we definitely take any kind of [FV], you know, just kind of to the next level, because we know that the end result in a lot of family conflict can be death, homicide, suicide.

Though the vignette didn't quite fit her agency's definitions, Angie believed police would intervene in any family relationship to prevent death.

Many participants shared frustrations with narrow definitions of DV used within police services and specialized units, definitions that may not include FV and other complex forms of violence like those in the vignette. Trina, a civilian member, suggested police services must

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[52] *Bill S-7: Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act: An Act to Amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, the Civil Marriage Act and the Criminal Code and to Make Consequential Amendments to Other Acts,* assented to June 18, 2015, 41st Parliament, 2nd session. Retrieved from the Parliament of Canada website: https://www.parl.ca/documentviewer/en/41-2/bill/s-7/royal-assent

address this gap without reinforcing racist stereotypes, and recommended ongoing conversations to understand these behaviours as "complex forms of [FV], or community violence, or community-involved violence." She identified a danger in the dominant media narratives and HBV terminology that categorize behaviours to specific racialized communities, whereas a similar situation in a White, Catholic, Anglo-Saxon family, a similar situation would be defined as FV. The biases and stereotypes deflect attention away from understanding family dynamics or gendered explanations of violence. However, a few White participants suggested the vignette scenario could happen in families of any race, ethnicity, or religion. Kyle, a senior officer, explained that he had "seen similar things in non-ethnic families as well […] by 'non-ethnic' I guess Caucasian," where a father didn't like his daughter's boyfriend and decided to arrange an FM. Instead of the family's ethnicity, Kyle focused on the gendered context of VAWG and how the father's actions emerged from patriarchal values. In addition, CPS participants explained that their DV policy includes an "extensive" list of family members ("grandparents, cousins, aunts, uncles, parents, boyfriends, girlfriends, husbands, wives, common laws. And then same-sex."), and this broad approach helps them better consider situations like the vignette.

Another example of the confusion and lack of policy is the question of whether or not participants believed Nina required attention from CFS. While most police officers were aware of their duty to call CFS because Nina is a minor, not all were sure whether CFS would support her to prevent the FM. Nina is 17, a child, but close enough to the age of majority that this fact may be overlooked. Timothy, a senior police officer, said:

> This is just going to be left with a patrol member… he should call Children's Services… and I can't answer what Children's Services would do in this. It's so minor. On the face of it. But knowing what I know, this is not minor. […] But, if I were to see this, as a supervisor, on my desk, I would be like, OK. We've got some issues, and we need to ramp up this investigation. […] This doesn't fit under any unit. This is—because she's 17 [and] it's not a spousal. So, if it's domestic

> violence, it has to be [a] spousal relationship—we don't have a [FV] unit. […] So if you are a child that's 16, or older… end up having a problem with the family—whatever. […] If she was 15 and the assault was serious enough, it would come to [a child protection unit].

Timothy's concern that CFS might not help Nina echoed the airport case, where CFS failed to work closely with the police to protect a 16-year-old. A coordinated response with CFS and police should consider the risk of FM threats and DV involving young women under the age of 18. However, it can be extremely frustrating if an agency is unwilling to cooperate.

Discussion and Conclusion: Implications for Policing Practices

Critical race feminism provides a lens to conceptualize how racism operates in policing. From an anti-racist feminist perspective, I was able to critically examine the participants' conceptualizations of the vignette and how these influenced their responses to my questions. As my findings illustrate, we must challenge racism and implicit bias within institutions that are designed to intervene, such as law enforcement and other helping professions. The notion of "us" (Whiteness, with "Canadian values"), and "them" (cultural, "backward," "Other") is undesirable as it separates certain groups from the rest of society and perpetuates racist stereotypes (Korteweg, 2012). The discourse of "otherness" does significant harm to communities: professionals working to understand the unique challenges facing young girls and women need to adopt a stance of cultural safety and cultural humility (Rossiter et al., 2018).[53] Much more

[53] Cultural safety and cultural humility extend further than cultural sensitivity. These concepts are relevant tools for police and can help with responding to DV in racialized communities (Rossiter et al., 2018). Cultural safety is present when racialized people receive a safe service free from discrimination. A focus on cultural safety encourages police officers and civilian members working within police services to question their own biases, assumptions, and stereotypes. It means having a deeper understanding of systemic racism in police institutions and in police officers' attitudes that prevent safety. Cultural humility requires self-reflection and awareness. For instance, police officers' "own cultural values impact the services they provide" (Rossiter at al., 2018, p. 10). Cultural humility suggests that police officers recognize power differences and see themselves as learners when interacting with people from another cultures.

needs to be done to challenge racism within law enforcement and other social services. Police services have implemented initiatives such as cultural sensitivity training and diversity hiring practices to recruit ethnic officers, but these responses are not sufficient to deal with institutional racism in policing policies and practices (Belur, 2008; Chan, 1997; Henry & Tator, 2010; Reiner, 2010; Stenning, 2003). While it is important to consider cultural differences, such measures do not support the police in conceptualizing DV across cultures. The underlying issues left unaddressed by cultural sensitivity training and diversity hiring are that neither reduces discriminatory policing practices or allows for trust to be built with racialized communities. These measures do not deter a police officer from stereotyping HBCs and FMs as a cultural or religious issue. Thus, communities will continue to be stereotyped for HBCs and FMs until police examine their policies and include mandatory education about racism and institutional discrimination as a part of DV training.

These findings shed light on the challenges participants foresaw in their responses to the vignette. The participants' concerns varied by gender and illustrated the difficulties associated with these complex investigations. The quotes from female participants seem qualitatively different from those of male participants. In interviews, the female participants were more reflective, contemplative, and empathetic; they took these cases quite seriously. This is not surprising given that DV calls are seen as "rubbish" work in policing and female officers are more likely to take on this type of emotional labour (Belur, 2008; Reiner, 2010). However, regardless of gender, participants who were parents showed empathy and wanted to support Nina. Implementing a comprehensive response strategy between police and other services requires that attention be paid to these varied perspectives. Overall, this study demonstrates that police lack the resources to support victims at risk. Blum and colleagues (2016) highlighted that

"service providers [must] understand this possibility as they ponder interventions to help these young people" affected by HBV to avoid a fatal outcome (p. 146).

The critical insights obtained in this study add to a growing body of knowledge and understanding of HBCs and FMs. It is important to highlight the extent to which participants' perspectives on HBKs, like those of the community at large, relied on media coverage. As Jiwani (2014) argued, the media reinforces racist and xenophobic perceptions of communities. However, participants seemed to care about Nina's safety, feared for her life, and tried to help even if they did not know exactly what to do next. It is important to have consistency in policing practices, but a lack of consistent policy and training continues to be an often-unrecognized issue within police agencies.

Additionally, gaps in the system ignore the needs of vulnerable victims. Minors are somewhat covered by DV policies, as are married women, but what about unmarried women who have reached the age of majority? Even younger unmarried women may not be helped; a few participants doubted that CFS would have helped in Nina's case, as she was 17, just a year away from the age of majority in Alberta. A lack of cultural understanding, and racist discourses that stereotype and stigmatize racialized communities, can also lead to inaction. This study confirms that police still struggle with appropriate responses to HBCs and FMs despite the insightful discussions and policing initiatives that have taken place since the Shafia murders in 2009 (MacIntosh, 2012; MacIntosh & Keeping, 2012; Quebec Council for Women, 2013). Building on previous work (Gill et al., 2012; Idriss, 2018), the findings presented here may allow police to respond more proactively and less reactively.

Rather than suggesting responses that they felt were both practical and achievable within their police service, participants identified challenges, including the need for collaboration across

service providers. Policing these crimes is a complex task requiring a multidisciplinary approach, and specific actions must be taken by all partners to improve the ways in which support is offered. Appropriate processes need to be set out for a consistent multiagency response (e.g., police and CFS). For example, if a person is under 18 years of age, like Nina, should a referral be made to CFS? If the person is over 18 years or more, should the police enlist the support of a social worker? Should the police be called to address a case like Nina's at all, especially if they feel ill equipped to understand family dynamics and violence? This concern is consistent with Blum and colleagues' (2016) study, where conflicting mandates and a lack of a coordinated response were correlated with HBV. Policing practices seem to be more advanced in some other countries; for example, the UK has multiagency policies and interventions such as the Forced Marriage Unit, which investigates cases and protects victims. There is also literature that discusses survivor accounts of feeling betrayed by professionals who could have prevented an FM, but instead denied them help or missed opportunities to ask why they were removed from the education system (Chantler & McCarry, 2020). Canada must establish a policy, similar to Scotland's, to take action when young girls are removed from school by parents and pressured into an FM (Chantler & McCarry, 2020). Their disappearances should not go unnoticed, and police should be notified. Social workers, health professionals, police, and teachers need education on how to provide adequate support in identified FM cases (Anis et al., 2013). Police should prioritize community-based strategies to extend services and build trust; for example, improving relationships with racialized communities will help reduce levels of fear and distrust (Chan, 1997). School resource officers are visible and accessible (see Broll & Howells, 2019, on the importance of relationship building with youth in Canadian schools), so they may be able to help facilitate the early detection and prevention of HBCs and FM.

To the best of my knowledge, this paper is the first to explore the perspectives of police officers and civilians employed in law enforcement agencies with the use of a vignette. While the vignette helped me understand how police would respond, more work is needed to prepare supports for these situations, whether formal (e.g., teachers, social workers, and CFS workers) or informal (e.g., community leaders, system navigators, and advocates). The findings also highlight the need to go beyond cultural sensitivity training and diversity hiring practices and specifically educate and train the police and other professionals on investigating HBV and FM. Training in the "one-chance rule," as outlined in the UK's strategy to train police officers, must be taken in order to ensure appropriate responses (Association Chief Police Officers, 2010, p. 378, as cited in Eshareturi et al., 2014).[54] This training is vital because, given the complexity of these situations, the police may be the first and only responders. Education and training programs can be developed to increase awareness and identify strategies to detect situations similar to Nina's. Acknowledging the problem is one thing, but organizations need to give police officers the appropriate tools to investigate what is really going on. For instance, responders to the situation in the vignette would ideally ask the right questions, separate Nina from her family to allow her to open up, and involve a trained social worker to support the required intervention.

Police services should monitor cases and offer practical information to inform best practices and identify areas for improvement. The information collected could inform the development of a policing protocol for handling HBCs and FMs in Alberta, which could then be shared with police in other jurisdictions. At the time of this study, EPS had introduced interactive web-based training to increase knowledge of HBV, although it was not mandatory for all

[54] The "one-chance rule" indicates that a police officer and other professionals need to be aware that they might only have one opportunity to speak to an HBV or FM victim. Therefore, an officer's initial interaction with a victim is crucial, and could even save a life.

members. The RCMP has also developed online training on HBV and FM for frontline officers, and CPS trains police officers and new recruits on HBV and cultural diversity (Quebec Council for Women, 2013). Despite this progress, access to training tends to vary across police services; it needs to be mandatory to ensure that all police officers are prepared to deal with these cases. Police services that have designed training initiatives should evaluate both the content and the delivery method, since any improvement to the training will assist prevention and intervention strategies to protect victims. A few studies have shown that despite training initiatives, police officers do not always respond compassionately to victims of HBCs (Gill, 2009; Gill & Harrison, 2016). Victims may feel more comfortable coming forward if police officers avoid judgement, take statements seriously, and remember that each victim has different needs and safety concerns. Taking this approach will also help reduce underreporting and minimize harm to victims.

As these findings illustrate, there is a need to better understand HBC and FM and how they fit within the context of DV. Additionally, my research reveals that the police agencies in this study do not have guidelines that direct their actions with HBCs and FMs. Some participants felt that the broad questions in the mandatory FVIR did not apply to these situations, while others felt they might. It is essential to reconsider the FVIR tool and determine whether it applies to incidents like Nina's and, if not, what could be improved or developed. Additionally, this research suggests that clear, appropriate policies would allow police officers and civilians to use their judgement to decide which cases need to be directed to specialized DV units for follow-up.

At the time of the interviews, the police services included in this study did not collect data on the prevalence of HBCs and FMs. While participants referenced cases and interventions they had seen or heard of, without the data, it is not possible to assess the number of cases that have been responded to in Alberta. Studies in the UK have shown that police and other

organizations have failed to accurately track the number of reported HBV and FM cases (Hague et al., 2013; Samad, 2010; also see Chantler, 2012; Gill et al., 2012). For example, Gill and colleagues (2018) found that police reported certain incidents as cases of DV rather than HBV, and when HBV was linked to DV, it was not flagged as both. It is important to have clear guidelines on how to classify cases of HBV and FM—as "honour"-related, or DV, or both—to ensure accurate data collection. If the police keep statistics, it is worth asking why and how the process works as labels such as HBV can lead to stereotypical assumptions and racial profiling. Thus, police must be sensitive not to reinforce racism as it can affect victims reaching out for help.

This paper makes a unique contribution by identifying gaps related to HBCs and FMs in policing from the perspectives of both police officers and civilian members. However, research studies are needed that take into account the unique perspectives of professionals of other types (e.g., child, youth, and family protection workers; school counsellors; school teachers; and social workers) to understand their unique perspectives. Limited information is available in the Canadian context on the legal duty of schools and other service providers to report these cases or make referrals to appropriate authorities (see Blum et al., 2016). It is hoped that the present research will help service providers in various sectors (e.g., social service, education, and law enforcement) to mount a coordinated response that considers preparedness, prevention, and protection. Cases can escalate quickly. Future research should focus on early intervention strategies with a view to forestalling tragic outcomes.

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CHAPTER 5. POLICING PERSPECTIVES CONCERNING CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY IN POLICING PRACTICES WITH "HONOUR"-BASED CRIMES AND FORCED MARRIAGES

Abstract

Police regularly deal with various forms of violence against women and girls, such as domestic violence, family violence, and intimate partner violence in police work. However, since certain kinds of violence require a more nuanced approach to investigations, this paper reports on the experiences and challenges in policing different types of violence, such as "honour"-based crimes (HBCs), including forced marriages (FMs), within the broader Canadian discourse and political stances informing law and policy decisions. As well as what is still needed to improve responses to HBCs and FMs, it is important to consider the impact of laws and policy changes on police perceptions. I conducted 46 interviews with police officers and civilian members working in Canadian law enforcement agencies in Alberta between 2015 and 2017. Data were analyzed with constructivist grounded theory techniques to identify the emerging core (central) category of "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices;" the results show how participants experienced the core category when dealing with HBCs and FMs. In this paper, I connect the core category to three themes that contribute to it: inconsistency in the use of terminology, police perceptions of training, and police understandings of FM as well as their perspectives on the "Barbaric Cultural Practices" bill. These themes reveal how police are often met with challenges and resistance from colleagues within the service, as opinions are divided on understanding this form of violence and what to call it. Participants described the tensions and issues they observed in training, which impacted both their investigations and their involvement in responding to

HBCs and FMs. A significant finding points to the gap in knowledge about FM and relevant amendments to the Canadian Criminal Code.

Keywords: domestic violence, family violence, “honour”-based crime, forced marriage, patriarchy, police perspectives

Police regularly deal with domestic or family violence in various forms. Domestic violence (DV) continues to be a significant problem worldwide, and in Canada, the term is commonly used along with family violence (FV). DV, often referred to as intimate partner violence (IPV), is any pattern of abuse that occurs in an intimate relationship between current or former opposite-sex or same-sex partners (Government of Alberta, 2020) and includes physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, often accompanied by psychological abuse which includes threats of violence and patterns of coercive and controlling behaviour (see Stark, 2007). FV is an umbrella term used to describe any form of abuse and violence involving a family relationship or between partners in an intimate relationship, including child abuse, sibling abuse, parent abuse, intimate partner abuse, non-intimate partner abuse, and elder abuse. Both DV and FV can be perpetuated by or against a person regardless of race, ethnicity, age, gender, and sexual orientation (Wells, et al., 2012). This paper uses these terms interchangeably because police in Canada use both DV and FV to describe experiences of violence in certain contexts.

In the context of police work, it is unclear whether these definitions can include other forms of violence against women and girls (VAWG) that include parent-child abuse and threats of violence from extended family and community that lead to or are likely to lead to “honour”-based killings (HBK) and forced marriage (FM). Thus, the involvement of the police can vary significantly depending upon their agency’s definitions of DV and FV and how they are applied. For example, Dutch police use “DV” for events within the nuclear family (usually between partners), whereas “HBV” is understood to involve a much larger circle of extended family and community partners and thus requires a different police response (J. Janssen, personal communication, February 16, 2021). Currently, definitions of “honour”-based crimes (HBCs) and manifestations of VAWG are not fully captured in the Alberta Government’s framework to

end FV (Wells et al., 2012). While Alberta's updated police guidelines note that IPV "may not only include violence towards a new or former intimate partner, but could involve children, other family members, and friends" (Government of Alberta, 2020, p. 2), they only include a brief section on supporting victims of HBCs and FMs:

> Police have extensive experience responding to incidents of intimate partner and family violence; however, they may be less familiar with the specific context of incidents involving "honour-based" violence (HBV) or forced marriage (FM). HBV is defined as criminal conduct that has been motivated because the perpetrator perceived the crime was necessary or acceptable to protect and/or defend the honour of the family or the community.
>
> Understanding the context and the unique characteristics of HBV crimes will assist police members in effective interventions, assessing the risks associated, responding to victims and identifying patterns that may expand the scope of their investigation. For more information on HBV and associated offences, please see the RCMP's website and the Indo-Canadian Women's Association. (Government of Alberta, 2020, p. 32)

Police have a professional duty to protect victims as well as identify perpetrators, but these duties require more nuanced understandings, interventions, and support as well as the appropriate knowledge and tools to approach violence in a family context.

Police Responses to Domestic and Family Violence

Police are in a unique position to assist families, and their intervention in HBCs and FMs is critical to ensure victims, mainly young girls and women, are safely directed to other social services that may offer protection (Korteweg, 2014). Unfortunately, police perspectives vary in understanding HBCs and FMs as gendered violence within the context of DV and FV, and we know little about how police in the Canadian context perceive this form of violence and how prepared they are to offer support when called to homes where there are threats to children that may include an FM.

Scholars have noted that there is very little research on how police construct and understand DV cases (Myhill & Johnson, 2016), and even less on HBCs (see Aplin, 2017, 2019). However, a growing body of literature has examined police officers' perspectives of DV calls in the North American context and challenges in responding (Fulambarker, 2020; Robinson et al., 2016; Saxton et al., 2020) as well as police officers' use of discretion when identifying, recording, and responding to DV incidents (Barlow & Walklate, 2018; Myhill & Johnson, 2016). Literature has also emerged over the last few years on policing practices in the United Kingdom (UK) and the Netherlands to identify and investigate "honour"-related cases (Aplin, 2019; Janssen, 2018; Richards et al., 2008; Roberts et al., 2014). Studies on victims' experiences with the police and helping professionals in the criminal justice system, including the police officers' understanding, are also more prevalent (Aplin, 2017, 2019; Begikhani et al., 2015; Gill et al., 2018; Idriss, 2017, 2018; Mulvihill et al., 2019). Gill and Harrison (2016) examined UK police officer perceptions in four different police areas in the UK when responding to sexual IPV in South Asian communities. In assessing police officers' understanding of sexual violence cases, including awareness and training about HBV, and disclosure practices, they found that officers had a sense of why victim-survivors did not report to the police. Nevertheless, it remains unclear how Canadian police make sense of this phenomenon and what challenges they have faced.

I hope this paper will contribute to an understanding of how the broader Canadian discourse and the lack of effective policies (see Korteweg, 2014; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010) impact how police position themselves to help victims. Policy and decision-makers in the provincial and federal government and police services may also benefit from hearing these perspectives. This work can help improve policies, procedures, and training for police officers and civilians. This paper will address the following three research questions: 1) How do police

officers and civilians who work in policing organizations experience, make sense of, and understand HBCs? 2) What constitutes an HBC from the policing perspective, and what factors influence the decision to separate or not separate these cases from domestic violence? 3) How do policing agencies intervene to prevent, protect, and investigate an HBC?

“Honour,” Violence, and Women

In the literature, HBC is defined as a crime or type of violence perpetuated by multiple perpetrators, which may include immediate family (e.g., husband, brother, father), extended family (e.g., uncle, cousin), and the larger community (Chantler et al., 2009; Gill et al., 2012; Hague et al., 2013; Idriss, 2018; Mojab, 2012)—including female relatives such as mothers, mothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law (Aplin, 2017; Bates, 2018; Chantler, 2012; Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Gill, 2009; Hall, 2014). Victims are predominantly, but not all, girls and women. The perception of family “honour” can be influenced by a woman’s sexuality and her actions, like dating or kissing a boy in public (Mucina, 2018). Parents may ask sons to regulate their sister’s behaviour or insist on marrying her off to preserve family reputation and status. Maintaining “honour” limits the choices women can make for themselves, which may prevent them from reaching out to the police and other professionals (Blum et al., 2016; Idriss, 2018). HBC and FM are underreported, but research with UK police has shown that officers are becoming more aware of how the concepts of “honour” and shame can make it challenging for women to come forward (Gill & Harrison, 2016).

Feminist Conceptualizations of “Honour” and Patriarchy

I apply patriarchy as a core theoretical concept in understanding violence that occurs in specific contexts that include the notion of “honour.” “Honour” codes are:

> Considered crucial by parents, husbands and their families. But honour in this sense is merely the code of patriarchal authority to ensure male privilege, which is embodied in family, community and caste or religious gender norms. Fathers, brothers and sons thus have a strong interest in protecting (their) women's honour. (Srinivasan, 2018, p. 414)

Patriarchy as a theoretical concept is useful to explain how notions of "honour" intersect with gender treatment and power dynamics, which are found in all communities. Like other feminist scholars, I argue that the concept of "honour" should be situated in patriarchy and along the continuum of VAWG (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Mucina, 2018). There is a tendency to only focus on extreme acts of "honour" like HBKs and FMs; however, this view misses other types of HBV situated on the other end of the VAWG continuum, such as a preference for sons over daughters and not allowing young women to date or stay out late (Mucina, 2018; Srinivasan, 2018).

As seen with high-profile criminal cases reported in the Canadian media (e.g., Jassi Sidhu; see Aujla & Gill, 2014), women actively participate in carrying out HBKs against daughters who have engaged in behaviour seen as transgressing "honour" norms. These women may carry out HBCs to maintain their own security and position in the family (Aplin, 2017; Bates, 2018; Idriss, 2017; see Kandiyoti's 1988 concept of the "patriarchal bargain"). Older women (e.g., mothers) are responsible for socializing younger girls (e.g., daughters) into following gender expectations and may bear the burden and consequences of a daughter's actions that are seen to tarnish the family "honour." These women operate within the patriarchal system and support the male perpetrators while protecting themselves from violence, and police need to look for this dynamic when investigating cases (Aplin, 2017, 2019; Bates, 2018; Janssen, 2018). Bates (2018) found that female perpetrators play three different roles in perpetrating HBV: 1) "controllers" who lead the abuse, 2) "collaborators" who support male perpetrators to carry out the act, and 3) "coerced," who are victims themselves, with little agency. It might not be easy for

police to identify mothers as perpetrators, and officers may dismiss their actions as a cultural issue (Aplin, 2017; Gill et al., 2012). But HBV is a "transcultural crime committed by men (and sometimes women)," and police officers need the training to identify it (Gill, 2009, p. 480).

An Overview of the Canadian Discourse

There is growing political interest in tackling this issue as it impacts how police and other service providers approach VAWG. To view HBV as a form of gendered violence in all societies challenges the Canadian media and state discourses which frame the problem in terms of racialized and immigrant communities. In Canada, the media has played a significant role in stigmatizing and labeling murders in these communities as HBKs (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010). The media portrayals have led some feminist scholars and activists to suggest that we adapt new language (e.g., patriarchal violence, femicide) to challenge dominant discourses and to make visible the power dynamics in HBKs (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Fournier, 2012; Hogben, 2012; Quebec Council for Women, 2013).

This problematic framework allowed Canada's previous Conservative government (2006–2015) to focus on "culture talk" as a way of framing the problem as being imported to Canada by Muslims/"barbaric" immigrants (Abji & Korteweg, 2021, p. 74; Abji et al., 2019; Olwan, 2013). Although the government attempted to address HBCs and FMs, no specific national policy was issued to prevent them and place them within the broader scope of DV or FV (Fournier, 2012). A thematic paper prepared by Korteweg and Yurdakul (2010) concluded that Canada had no policy approach to HBV and FM at the national, provincial, or municipal levels; however, in other countries, the media, political and other institutions, and non-government organizations (NGOs) have been influential in policy responses. In the Netherlands and Britain, police have strategies and action plans to address HBV, have been part of policy discussions, and

have developed police policies and manuals (Janssen, 2018; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010). Understanding the top-down political discourse can clarify why police agencies in Canada have not influenced policy discussions.

During its tenure, Canada's Conservative government made a series of glaringly insensitive and uninformed law and policy changes with racist undertones. In the revised citizenship study guide, the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (2012) denounced "barbaric cultural practices," including "'honour killings,' female genital mutilation, forced marriage or other gender-based violence" (p. 9). This passage is an example of the dominant "othering" discourse. The word "barbaric" implies in a racist way that immigrants pose a threat to Canadian values and perpetuates a stereotype that only immigrant and racialized communities are subject to such experiences. The term "cultural" is positioned next to "barbaric" to suggest that only women and girls from these "other" cultures or communities are vulnerable to such practices. The passage fails to mention that VAWG already exists in Canada and ignores the realities of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (Olwan, 2013). The simplistic and discriminatory binary view of us (Canadians) versus them (immigrants) creates false stereotypes of immigrants bringing cultural baggage to Canada and failing to accept Western/Canadian values of gender equality and freedom (Olwan, 2013). This stigmatizing discourse matches those found in other immigrant-receiving Western countries, which target racialized people (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010) and ignore patriarchy as an underlying reason for acts of violence. The now-governing Liberal party, under the leadership of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, proposed changes to the citizenship guide in 2016, though they have not yet been made—and the removal of these discriminatory references is long overdue (Wright, 2018).

Criminalization and Law Enforcement

The same stereotypical terminology was included in the controversial Bill S-7: *Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act* (Government of Canada, 2015; see Abji et al., 2019, on Parliamentary debates over the title and Abji & Korteweg, 2021, on the present Liberal government Act (Bill S-210) removing reference to "barbaric cultural practices"). Passed in 2015, Bill S-7 changed three main pieces of legislation: 1) the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)*; 2) the *Civil Marriage Act*, adding a new minimum age of 16; and 3) the *Criminal Code*, making it an offence for people to celebrate and participate in an FM ceremony. Bill S-7 aimed to criminalize and prevent the practice of polygamy and disallowed the use of provocation as a defence in murder trials associated with HBKs (see Abji et al., 2019). Through this Bill, the Conservative government focused on punishing and criminalizing immigrant and racialized communities. It also proposed a "tip line" to allow for reporting of "barbaric cultural practices" to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and promised to establish an RCMP task force to focus on enforcing Bill S-7 if re-elected (Powers, 2015), though the campaign was not ultimately successful. Overall, the political discourse throughout the Harper government's tenure implied that police were equipped and prepared to punish HBC through Canadian laws.

Some activists, like Aruna Papp (2010), endorsed the government's language in Bill S-7 and its approach to criminalizing FMs, while others were vehemently opposed (Abji et al., 2019). Papp's report *Culturally-Driven Violence Against Women: A Growing Problem in Canada's Immigrant Communities* (2010) echoes the government's use of a cultural explanation to perpetuate the idea that HBKs and FMs only happen to women in "other," specifically immigrant and South Asian, communities. However, South Asians are not a homogenous group. The report's cultural explanations create a different understanding of DV in racialized communities

(Aujla & Gill, 2014) and divert attention from the VAWG found in all cultural, religious, and ethnic groups in Canada. But Papp's experience as a victim of HBV and FM resonated with the government (Korteweg, 2012; Olwan, 2013, 2014; Wiseman, 2012) and her testimony was included in the parliamentary debates over Bill S-7 (Abji et al., 2019).

However, the criminalization of FM allows police to further profile and target racialized communities. "There is no evidence to support that criminalization of forced marriage would in fact serve to prevent it," according to the South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario (SALCO, 2014, p. 4). Along with other anti-racist, feminist, and community organizations, SALCO has exposed the racist agenda evident in the government's response and drawn attention to how measures to "warn" these communities can discourage girls and women from seeking support and reporting HBC and FM to the police. The criminalization approach to FM may also impact how service providers such as the police provide appropriate supports and safety to victims.

The literature includes accounts from victims of HBCs and FMs of why they refuse to involve the police. Reasons included remarks about not wanting to criminalize family members, not knowing if the police could help, and concerns about police unfairly stereotyping racialized men (Chantler & McCarry, 2020; Gill & Harrison, 2016; Gill et al., 2018; Mulvihill et al., 2019). These few studies have shown that many factors, particularly mistrust of the police (Aujla, 2021; Gill & Harrison, 2016), impact whether victims report their experiences. Other studies captured victims' experiences and perceptions of the varying levels of support received from the police. Police officers' lack of awareness of HBCs, including FM, may cause a greater risk for victims who already fear bringing dishonour to their families by reaching out to the police. As noted mainly in the UK context, the police response needs to be improved with ongoing training as not all officers are equipped to take reports of HBC or FM seriously, so victims are not always

protected (Begikhani et al., 2015; Gill et al., 2012; Gill & Harrison, 2016; Gill et al., 2018; Idriss, 2018; Mulvihill et al., 2019).

In Canada, the Department of Justice has created specialized police training on HBCs, and some police services have developed their own internal training materials to increase awareness (see Aujla, 2021; Quebec Council for Women, 2013). For example, in 2015, before the passing of Bill S-7, the Departments of Justice and Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development hosted a conference covering FM and HBV. The discussions included specific information about responding to FM and HBV victims, enforcement and prosecution of past cases, and the legal framework in the Canadian context, including Bill S-7. Also, since the murders of Aqsa Parvez in 2007 and the Shafia family in 2009, law enforcement officials across the nation have been educated by "experts" on the subject to distinguish "honour" as a culturally driven practice (Abji et al., 2019; Olwan, 2013). For example, in March 2012, the Alberta Criminal Justice Association invited an HBC educator to deliver external training to law enforcement and other professionals, exploring the concept of "honour"-motivated violence from a personal perspective. The HBC educator shared an extensive list of at least 24 points separating HBV from DV to help police detect the signs. However, these points were not cited from existing literature but based solely on the trainer's experience as a survivor of HBV and FM and her social worker position. This training further stigmatized immigrant communities and was no different from the Canadian state and media discourses that validate assumptions about HBCs and racialized individuals, rather than dispelling the harmful stereotypes and contextualizing HBC as part of a larger culture of VAWG (see Wiseman, 2012). My research seeks to understand how policing perceptions and practices are influenced by the Canadian government's criminalization of HBC and FM as well as formal training on these topics.

Method

Sample and Procedure

This paper is part of a larger qualitative project that sought to explore the perspectives of police officers and civilians within policing organizations in terms of their understandings of HBCs and FMs as well as responses to such incidents. Data collection took place from 2015 to 2017, with ethics approval from the University of Alberta and the law enforcement agencies. I recruited participants through gatekeepers, snowball sampling, and word-of-mouth techniques (see Chapter 2). Once potential participants were identified, I followed up by email or telephone to invite them to participate in the research study. I conducted 46 semi-structured interviews in five law enforcement areas across Alberta, Canada, including Calgary Police Service (CPS), Edmonton Police Service (EPS), Integrated Threat Risk Assessment Centre (I-TRAC), the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General, and the RCMP "K" division. My sample included 32 police officers and 14 civilians, including 20 men and 26 women, ranging from 25 to 68 years of age. The participants self-identified as White (38), South Asian (5), Indigenous (1), and mixed-race (2). The participants' education levels ranged from high school (3), some post-secondary university classes (2), and completed college diplomas (12) to undergraduate (22) or graduate-level (7) degrees.

Police officers had varying ranks, years of service (three to 29), and positions (frontline officers to constables and detectives in specialized areas). Civilians held a wide range of positions: frontline victim service advocates, intake and threat assessors, outreach and crisis workers, social workers, psychologists, senior advisors, project coordinators, supervisors, managers of specialized units, and 911 call operators. Civilians had held these jobs for a few months up to 28 years and had a wide range of DV experiences supporting the more operational

work of police officers. In the two municipal police services (CPS and EPS), civilian social workers and risk assessors worked alongside the police officers to assess risk in all DV reports within 24 to 48 hours. This police-civilian model differed between CPS and EPS, but the civilians' aim was generally to assist in investigations and provide support, advocacy, and referrals to services. A similar initiative was being piloted in the RCMP "K" Division, where a social worker reviewed all high-priority DV files and provided follow-up support and safety planning. Speaking to both groups of participants allowed me to obtain many viewpoints and a broad perspective on responses to HBCs and FMs within police organizations.

I asked participants questions about 1) socio-demographics and background (e.g., "How long have you been in this position?"); 2) experiences (e.g., "What types of experience have you had in the workplace with regard to understanding this issue?"); 3) risk assessment and intervention (e.g., "What preventative measures are taken to protect and investigate?"); and 4) training and agency supports (e.g., "What type of training is found within your agency and external to it?"). Interviews lasted from 1.5 hours to 4 hours, and were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants and transcribed prior to data analysis. Pseudonyms and limited information about positions are included in this paper to protect participants' identities.

Data Analysis

I analyzed all of the data using nodes and sub-nodes to code in NVivo 11, following the principles of constructivist grounded theory (CGT) techniques outlined by Charmaz (2006). Initial, focused, and theoretical coding guided my data analysis of the interviews to identify emergent themes. CGT was suitable for this study to understand the police meaning-making processes and in-depth insights with an understudied phenomenon (Birks & Mills, 2015). CGT analysis was used because it allowed me to explore multiple perspectives and shared meanings

constructed by police officers and civilian members with HBCs and FMs. Data saturation was reached by the 46th interview as no new themes emerged; generally, 20–30 interviews are recommended in CGT to obtain saturation (Creswell, 1998, as cited in Charmaz, 2006). The data were compared across interviews to examine the relationships and patterns across categories. A CGT approach emphasizes "*how*–and sometimes *why*–participants construct meanings or actions in specific situations" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130). The constant comparative analysis and memo writing allowed me to capture my thoughts on codes, identify variations in perspectives, and refine other concepts connected to the core conceptual category, which helped clarify the research findings. A core category is the main theme or storyline that emerges from the data (also referred to as the central concept or code, see Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006) and is related to other emerging categories and sub-categories (e.g., codes). Next, I explain the core category "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices" which connects to three themes.

Findings

The Core Category: Confusion and Uncertainty in Policing Practices

This paper reports only on the findings connected to the core category "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices." The main themes connected to this core category reflect police experiences and perceptions in understanding HBCs and FMs. The terms *confusion* and *uncertainty* are often used interchangeably to mean that something is unclear, there is a lack of clarity or a feeling of doubt because of the lack of certainty in elements like *terminology*, *training*, and *new laws*. Many participants indicated their concerns for victims of HBCs and FMs and recognized that police services need to do more to support them. Mark, a senior officer, explained, "If we really want victims to come forward and talk to us, well then, then we have to

have a process in place [otherwise] they're not going to come forward, and I wouldn't blame them."

The confusion and uncertainty contribute to inconsistency in police practices, which means cases may fall through the cracks. This core category highlights the complexity of tackling the problem when there is a lack of clear direction. Police officers and civilian members have no blueprint for managing HBCs and FMs. There really can be no blueprint because every case is unique, but there can be some recommended policies and procedures to help cut down on the feelings of uncertainty. If police officers know what steps to take and in what order when investigating cases, the unknown aspects are less threatening. When I asked Olivia, a junior police officer, about the ongoing challenges, she replied,

> [...] It's like when you get [a file], everybody feels like they're kind of starting from square one, there's really no specific guidance as to, you know, where to go with it next, that kind of thing. Where to go, what to do.

When she needed to help a school resource officer with an FM case in a rural community, Olivia asked for advice from an officer at a municipal police service who had dealt with relevant cases. Similar uncertainties over what to do next in an investigation led other officers to look for resources on their own. While it is important to consult police officers with more HBC/FM experience, this example points to the gaps that required some participants to increase their awareness.

Both officers and civilians spoke about how they do the best they can to navigate the variability in policing practices, but there is an urgent need for policies and procedures for guidance. One senior officer shared a report on HBCs prepared for their Chief of Police in which they had identified that the police service had no policies and procedures to handle HBCs and FMs, including related kidnappings and assaults. I could sense the officer's frustration level as

their efforts in identifying the gaps in policing practice had little influence on policy development and victim supports. At another municipal service, a senior officer in a specialized unit identified a need for an HBV coordinator to be a single point of contact to triage calls to adequately support all members and victims. The officer was still in the early stages with the proposal for an HBV coordinator position. When I asked if the police service was supportive of their efforts, the officer explained, "I haven't had that experience yet. But then, I haven't gone anywhere with it yet. I know of past experiences that weren't so good, but I was not involved in any of that." The officer was careful about who was approached within the organization, knowing that different perspectives about HBV had made it challenging for others who had tried to prioritize it. But the officer felt that in their current position, they could "make a difference and actually get some traction going on" in the police service.

Three themes emerged from the data that help to unpack the core category of "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices": 1) Inconsistency in the Use of Terminology; 2) Police Perceptions of Training; and 3) Police Understandings of FM and Perspectives on the Barbaric Cultural Practices Bill.

Theme 1: Inconsistency in the Use of Terminology

The inconsistency about what to call this form of violence in police services leads to confusion and frustration for officers and civilians. At the time of the study, municipal police services were debating the use of "honour" terminology, which has different meanings for different people. A senior police officer, Mark, articulated the tensions clearly:

> You got people that are adamant that we're not calling it honour-based because there's no honour in this. You know, patriarchal violence is the way to go, and people are pretty passionate about that, and then you got the other camp where I guess, I would fall into, that, feel the other way.

Mark elaborated on how his police service was not keen on the HBV terminology, but he preferred to "call it what it is" because in his opinion that was how victims and offenders viewed it. Likewise, Cathy, a civilian member, recalled a co-worker asking her,

> "What do we call this?" and I said, "domestic violence" [laughter]. But she said, "no," we need to [ask], is it patriarchal violence, is it honour-based violence in quotation marks, is it so-called honour, and I said, I don't know, I've read different things, I've read things where they use honour-based violence, quotation marks, so-called, ah, patriarchal violence.

Both comments illustrate a lack of consensus about terminology, where some people include quotation marks or the phrase "so-called" to signal that the term "honour" is being contested, while others use it straightforwardly, and still others feel the term is entirely inappropriate. A civilian member, John, said,

> I certainly don't have an issue with the term "honour-based violence," that gets at the heart of the motivation, and I don't care that it's objectively not honourable. If your subjective view is this is about maintaining my honour, then so be it. I think it's actually helpful to kind of label it that way.

However, Trina, a civilian member, rejected the term "honour" because it perpetuates and supports racism by stigmatizing racialized communities. She explained, "concepts of 'honour' and shame, […] exist across all cultures, but […] it's been sort of co-opted by the media, and […] the government has reinforced it […] They've kind of used it as, almost like a cultural scapegoating term." Trina identified the way that the media's xenophobic discourse and coverage of past cases with "honour" terminology further perpetuates stereotypes and racist attitudes. Similar concerns have been raised in the scholarly literature about how the dominant Canadian media and government narrative reinforces many stereotypes and assumptions about racialized communities (see Jiwani 2014; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010; Olwan, 2013). Jay, a junior police officer, agreed, explaining that "the more we are going to label [this] 'honour', you are going to lose the important people from certain communities, to come forward and work on these topics."

Jay explained how this kind of labeling leads service providers and police to lose the trust and buy-in of communities. He explained that police should be careful with their messaging, so communities do not withdraw from them and instead take action to come forward. When "honour" terminology and other terms like "barbaric cultural practices" are frequently used, it makes it harder for the police to talk to community members.

It is important to note that labels such as "shame-based culture" or "patriarchal culture" still surfaced in the interviews, as well as "honour killing." Some participants associated culture with this type of violence and commented on how they viewed it as culturally different from a typical North American DV/FV case. Thus, the constant negative media portrayal of this issue may affect policing and perpetuate stereotypes, biases, and assumptions about certain communities. The framing of violence in racialized communities is often labeled as a "cultural" problem instead of recognizing that violence is also found in White communities where cultural indicators are not flagged (Aujla, 2021). This form of VAWG is found in every culture, but it plays out in different, specific ways depending on a community's cultural practices and other layers of intersectionality in each case.

Participants also expressed concerns about the amount of time spent trying to identify and switch to other terms to describe this form of violence, without any real results. Police officers were concerned with the practical work of preventing and responding to this type of violence, instead of getting caught up in the semantics. As Henry, a junior police officer, articulated, "Forget what the term is, use whatever you want. We need to deal with the issue." However, the terminology concerns are more than semantics as the issue profoundly affects racialized women, girls, and communities.

Indeed, the uncertainty over terminology has real-world implications in terms of how police identify and label files. Lori, a senior police officer, explained, "I think that we need to challenge the terminology because, you know, at the end of the day, it's about power and control and it has nothing to do with honour, there's no honour in violence." In her police service, officers and civilians would label a file "patriarchal violence" or "matriarchal violence," depending on the person who used controlling behaviour. But other officers explained how risk assessors were asked to check off HBV along with patriarchal and matriarchal violence in a file, and identified issues with not calling files HBV when the DV unit was still checking off cultural elements/indicators or calling it "culturally influenced domestic violence." Notably, no official term was used in the DV unit or across the police services involved in this study, and participants from this service were uncertain about the appropriate terminology and approach for flagging files. Reddy (2014) argued that seeing HBC as a form of gendered violence helps avoid "the potential pitfalls of designating honour-related violence as a separate species on the basis of the presence of allegedly unique 'cultural' factors, such as stigmatisation and stereotyping of ethnic minority communities" (p. 41). Labeling the files correctly might be an important first step in applying consistent terminology throughout the police service.

Theme 2: Police Perceptions of Training

This theme provides a critical analysis of some of the external police training that either pushes or challenges the political agenda that relates to the process of othering. Participants expressed their frustration with the basic training they received. Claire, a civilian member, explained, "I call it Mickey Mouse training […] at the very, very basic level and we need to delve in deeper, if we're really going to be addressing these issues." Similarly, Emily, a junior police officer, explained, "[there] is a lack of specific training to give really good tools to then go

with, ‘ok, so we’ve identified that this is honour-based violence, now what do we do?’” These comments speak to how police receive some training but still lack the tools to help victims at risk.

A recurring theme in the interviews was the amount of discrepancy in training directed at the police and other helping professionals. Participants explained that different training sessions, sometimes even at the same conference, delivered conflicting messages, which led to uncertainty during investigations. Riya, a senior police officer, noted that:

> Different people come to give you different training. And they’re all contradicting each other. And some people don’t even give you solutions. They just say don’t do this, don’t do this, don’t do this. Ok, then what are you supposed to do?

Riya’s concerns about the confusion caused by divergent views were echoed by many other participants who identified specific ways that current training makes it challenging for police and civilian supporters to respond to HBC and FM. For example, some participants commented on how training that emphasizes the cultural aspects of HBC is not only confusing but concerning, as it can affect how police approach investigations. A civilian member, Trina explained,

> It’s challenging in that other things are happening externally, our members are seeing it, and they come back. So for instance, [at one DV conference] there were two different presentations on honour-related violence. One was super racist, and culturally scapegoating and profiling and all that stuff. The other one was challenging, disrupting that, right? Everybody went to the racist one and thought it was all great, ’cause it fits in, ’cause it’s easier to be, you know, like, to have all your categories and, your assumptions, reinforced. Rather than one that’s going to disrupt and challenge that, right? So, our members go to that. They come back with that information, and then we have to somehow get them to unlearn it, or, get them to challenge it.

It thus becomes difficult internally for police services to figure out ways to disrupt the prejudice and racist views that could come from inconsistent training and affect investigations.

In addition, current training often glosses over cultural nuances and potential presentations of HBC in different cultures. Joanne, a senior police officer, commented,

> I don't know if honour-based violence, is it the same across cultures? Is it a, is it, does it have different nuances in each culture? Um… and what [are] those differences and, is the trainer coming from one particular culture? And so focusing on this aspect of it, and sort of glossing over this. So I think there needs to be some kind of, of, you [know], it needs to come together so that there's a commonality in it, because, you're going to be trying to cover off a lot of bases with a core bit of information, so, yeah, [that is] real[ly] important… 'cause if I learn from one person and I go back and teach my detachment, and I've missed something completely, about, let's say a Chinese family. What the hell? You know? I'm gonna miss all the cues in that one and go, "oh, no, Chinese people. Don't worry about honour-based killing." Well, yeah, they do. You know? But, ah… they might call it something different, or it might manifest itself differently. Or, it might come from the mother instead of the father, depending on if it's a matriarchal or a, patriarchal household.

Joanne's comment illustrates the dangers of only showcasing one perspective on HBC, as FV and HBV manifest in different ways in different cultures.

Several participants highlighted the problems with training that blamed men from a particular culture, implying that all men from these communities are violent. Jackie, a senior police officer, commented that the "[HBC educator's] training […] is [insensitively] slamming men. She slammed the men of her culture. […] And so that really creates a bias. And it really creates a stigma against the men." Similarly, a South Asian police officer I interviewed expressed how educators have a tendency to label men from racialized communities as more "barbaric," which prevents them from speaking out and taking action to end violence in their communities. The officer stressed how training police that men from these communities are more violent does not benefit anyone. It is important for training to be developed in a way that it helps police know what to look for without stereotyping all men from certain communities (see Aujla & Gill, 2014).

Quite a few participants expressed concern with the victim-survivor standpoint that presenters used to portray certain cultures as more violent. Trina, a civilian member, explained,

> [HBC educator], I think, is a self-proclaimed subject matter expert. I mean, she's a woman who, obviously, has survived violence and, and is very much a proponent of, "it's a barbaric cultural practice," so it's rooted in certain culture— from her Punjabi, culture. [...] She really supports being able to target and identify these specific communities and, really, is about, like, connecting that concept of honour to specific communities.

However, Trina noted that this type of training is "dangerous" because it allows officers to make sweeping statements about an entire group of people and promotes the use of stereotypes, which can cause a lot of damage.

Another senior police officer who previously worked in a DV unit shared how members who had attended that HBC educator's training were surprised that it had singled out an ethnic community and:

> Express[ed] their own concern as well, like, is this how we do things? And I'm like, no. You know [...] we approach every circumstance, every event, call for service, with a— fairly and hopefully with a lens that's bias aware.

This officer counteracted personal experience of cultural training by directing members to focus on bias awareness while completing a DV investigation. Jackie, a senior officer, also indicated that these types of training in the cultural context are misleading and are

> Very biased. Very, not very objective. And, and again, I understand why. Because [the presenter] [has] been through that. And I feel for [them], right? But I think the end result, I think, is damaging. And, in a lot of ways. I mean, I don't think it's fair for the people who're dealing with the cultural integration into Canada. I don't think it's fair for them to be stigmatized and labeled. And a lot of — I think a lot of them are. So it's like, "oh yeah, well you're Muslim, so you beat your wife." Or you're, I mean, these are the kind of themes that are being propagated, right?

This finding is consistent with research on VAWG in the South Asian community in Greater Toronto, which included several police participants (Korteweg et al., 2013). Some participants expressed frustration with how the HBC educator portrayed South Asian culture as fixed in traditional practices rather than seeing culture as a meaning-making process.

Some of my participants expressed similar concerns about how this approach to culture and the danger of a single story made it challenging for them to meet the needs of South Asian immigrants in Canada who are experiencing various forms of violence. Survivor-led training can be valuable and powerful for police officers and other professionals if HBC educators do not personify an issue. Effective survivor-trainers of HBC will be cautious not to generalize their own experience to everybody's experience or individuals from the same community.

In contrast, others I interviewed trusted the information presented in this type of training because it resonated with them, and they found it helpful to hear the victim-survivor perspective. Timothy, a senior police officer stated, "I loved [the HBC educator's perspective], I think [the survivor-led training] was very, very good […] I loved what she had to come [say]." Another senior police officer, Barbara, echoed,

> I feel like [the HBC educator's survivor-led training was] very helpful just to give an inside perspective to see, she had lived through [it] […] and had a really good perspective, I mean, this was her field, so it was very informative.

Both Timothy and Barbara considered the survivor-trainer a subject matter expert and did not challenge cultural understandings of violence through an anti-racist lens.

A few participants described more nuanced, credible, and helpful training, commonly referring to it as including anti-racist and anti-oppressive views. Jackie, a senior police officer, appreciated the anti-racist training put on by EPS and I-TRAC as it challenged participants to think differently about HBV as a form of gendered violence. She described the two presenters' views as "much more rounded. Much less biased [and] culturally hostile than [the survivor-trainer]. By far. And I found them to be much more effective in their assessment and treatment." Jackie felt that the anti-racist training providers used their social work and law training, as well

as experience collaborating on difficult HBC and FM cases, to take a more nuanced approach using an anti-oppressive lens. Jackie elaborated:

> They come across as, “this is happening everywhere. Let’s try to do something.” And it’s not happening in every single family of a particular [culture], like, […] not every Muslim man beats his wife. But, there are certain ones that do. There’s certain ones that are mean to their children. But not everyone is like that. So, you can’t— so they’re not blanketing everybody in that culture with that.

According to Jackie, these presenters emphasized how not all families or men from the same culture, ethnicity, or community engage in this type of behaviour. Similarly, Sandra, a senior police officer, commented that,

> You know what, the best thing I took away from that was what, the fact that honour-based violence is not tied to any religion or culture or just, what it actually is. That it’s a family unit that’s controlling another family member in the name of their family and their family name.

Participants who attended the anti-racist training also reflected on how it helped them be careful not to generalize HBV and FM as happening in one culture because transgressions of family beliefs occur in all cultures.

Nonetheless, throughout the interviews, I heard how some police services received the HBC educator’s survivor-led training that profiled and targeted racialized communities, and how several services were moving away from this training. Cathy, a civilian member, explained the challenge of repairing the harm done by some cultural trainers. She explained,

> Some of the training that [the HBC educator] developed, I think you need the bias awareness training to counter that? Well, I think because you have all these, say, police officers now who have been trained by [the HBC educator] who are looking for a cultural issue, well, you kind of need to fix that and say, no, you know, you do your investigation and consider that people are different for a variety of reasons.

She further described how some of the anti-racist law enforcement training in Calgary and Edmonton was well-received because it focused on “this is domestic violence and bias

awareness" training. Other participants explained how the discourse and training has shifted. Jay, a junior police officer, said:

> Some of the agencies, you see how their approach was 5 years ago and how their approach [has] started changing, now, and 5 years ago, it was all against the culture, and the agencies focused more on that. But now, when people started talking, that blaming any certain culture or community is not a solution of the problem, and then you see the same agencies actually coming up with, with different [training that is] more educational.

Similarly, civilian members also touched on how the cultural awareness training they received was not helpful as it pigeonholes everybody. Thus, other training avenues were emerging to help members unlearn racist assumptions and to allow them to check their own stereotypes about people from certain cultures and communities.

A few participants spoke about how the training inspired them to seek out multiple perspectives on HBV, a finding consistent with Gill and Harrison's (2016) study in which police officers took it upon themselves to learn more. Sarah, a civilian member, explained:

> I've tried to learn more, at the outset when I first heard the term, and I've been to training, I've worked with a criminal justice association that brought in somebody from the Greater Toronto Area, that spoke to a group of criminal justice stakeholders about the issue and I think at that time I realized there might be much more to this, so I've read extensively about it.

One municipal police service was in the process of rolling out an internally developed e-learning component with a section on terminology, legal changes, and United Nations suggestions around understanding HBV. The belief was that the internal training would provide consistent information about terminology and increase awareness of HBV, since external training did not offer shared understanding or agreement. A civilian member explained,

> We're releasing a[n] e-learning component that actually says, like, you know, what is like honour-related violence. Right? Because we need [police officers] to understand that this term is used, and it's challenging. Because, at the end of the day, they just need to know, like, what are essentially my marching orders and my tools in my toolkit that I need to use. But, I'm being bombarded with all these

> labels and this terminology, so, I don't want to just say, "oh… we just don't call it that." And just keep on going, so, it's like we're letting them know and unpacking the term, and at the same time we're also going, "we really don't want to use the term [HBV], 'cause it's just problematic." Like, there's nothing helpful about it.

The civilian mentioned that the e-learning tool would be accessible to everyone in the police service, from frontline police officers to investigators and civilians, although it would not be mandatory. When I asked whether it would be available to other police services, the civilian said they believed there were benefits in sharing it widely with all interested law enforcement agencies.

Steven, a senior police officer, agreed, and explained the need for consistent training across police services:

> Well, I think we have to come out with something consistent and have a consistent [approach], I mean, we'd have to develop something that, this is what all the police agencies in Alberta, or across Canada, are going to define this as [X] and this is what the training is going to be like, and it needs to be consistent across the board.

Participants like Steven acknowledged their current incompetency while calling for consistent training, guidelines, and tools across police organizations in Alberta. While some education and training initiatives on HBCs and FMs do exist, participants also highlighted the need for education and training for new recruits. Overall, the dominant perception was that the diverse range of perspectives on HBC presented in training (e.g., a cultural view versus recognizing it as a form of VAWG) has been confusing. The inconsistent external training has also created more divisiveness on how service providers should respond, and both officers and civilians felt uncertain about how to conduct HBC investigations effectively.

Theme 3. Police Understandings of FM and Perspectives on the Barbaric Cultural Practices Bill

Many participants were aware that FM occurs without one or both parties' consent and is often mistaken as an arranged marriage (AM), in which families find suitable candidates for their children to marry, which is not illegal if it is consensual. Participants referenced different forms of pressure (e.g., physical and emotional/psychological distress) from family members (e.g., parents) forcing a child to marry against their will. Bryan, a senior officer, described how both mothers and fathers might use emotional blackmail. Participants were also aware that there could be several reasons for FMs (e.g., pregnancy out of wedlock, economic factors, social standing, or to save family "honour"). They also identified how males (e.g., in a homosexual relationship) could be victims in an FM, and touched on how children could be coerced into heterosexual marriages if their behaviour had brought dishonour to the family. Participants understood how FM could be a punishment for actions that were deemed shameful, and victims could be of any gender or age. The participants also described how such actions violate human rights, such as the freedom of individuals to do what they desire (e.g., choosing to be in a different relationship and not enter into an FM).

Participants were able to identify warning signs of FM, such as parents showing up at school, removing a child from school and taking them overseas, not letting a child out of the house, and taking away opportunities for education. However, they felt that not all officers would be able to distinguish an FM and from an AM or know what to do in response. More importantly, participants stressed the need for more clarification on the difference between the two, because they found it a "slippery slope" to determine what constitutes an FM. It also became apparent in the interviews that some participants still lacked knowledge on FM and AM, and were not able to

understand the differences. A few officers shared how they now understood what FM was, but when they first heard the term, they used it interchangeably with AM without knowing what it meant. They worried that other officers would experience similar challenges and felt it was important for police to recognize that an FM is not the same as an AM.

Conceptualizing Forced Marriages in Canada. The "confusion and uncertainty" also surrounded whether FM is a policing matter and whether it is against Canadian law. What are the Criminal Code offences? When does FM become a crime that police have to investigate, and how do they intervene? Many participants thought aloud about whether or not FM is overtly a police issue that is against the law, since all parents hold beliefs and values around their children's acceptable behaviour. Others expressed how victims could come to the police, but police actions are limited to using the Criminal Code to lay charges, and not all victims want to pursue this avenue. Some police officers who did not have any specific hands-on knowledge of FM shared how they would not know what to do in that situation, highlighting the gaps in police services to support a potential FM victim.

Some participants contextualized FMs in the Canadian context using "shotgun weddings," in which a father forces a man who impregnated his daughter to marry her, to emphasize that FM is a universal problem that cannot be ascribed to any culture. As Postulart and Srinivasan (2018) argued, "protecting the honour of daughters has a long history in Canada," and the actions of unmarried daughters were important to the family's social standing and reputation (p. 452). Melissa, a civilian member, explained FMs as:

> You're 17, you get pregnant. Your father takes the shotgun out, truly, to this guy who's got his pickup truck and says, "listen. You're going to marry my daughter." That's a forced marriage. That's very common in our history, here. 100 percent.

Other participants noted that FM is not just a problem imported into Canada from Asian and East Asian countries. Kyle, a senior officer, explained,

> I've seen it, within Canada as well and certainly within cultures within, and demographics you wouldn't otherwise expect. Certainly there's lot of, lots of religious groups that aren't necessarily, um… Muslim. Which seems to be, a lot of people seem to lock this into the Muslim idea. And that's not accurate at all. I've seen, I mean, you can deal with fundamentalists, fundamentalist Mormons. Bountiful, B.C., seen a lot of these forced marriages. Ah… and even to a lesser extent some of the other religious groups in the area.

As a White officer, he identified dominant misconceptions about HBCs and FMs as these issues are not unique to particular religions or cultures. Many officers were cautious about saying that FMs only happen in one culture or among racialized communities, although some White officers shared personal opinions that FMs were more prevalent in certain cultural groups. Elizabeth, a senior officer, said,

> You're not going to see it in a predominantly White community where they're serving cabbage rolls and perogies for supper, right? Like... it's very, very, very cultural. And it's cultural specific. But, having said that, not to paint it with a broad brush that every single Muslim individual is subject to this. Right?

A few participants were even more explicit about FMs being more prevalent in Middle Eastern or East Indian cultures. Overall, there was wide variability in terms of participants' conceptualizations of whether FM exists in Canada and in which cultures or communities.

Bill S-7. Participants also discussed how the more recent focus of new legislation has been to criminalize FM rather than find better solutions to help FM victims. Participants who learned about Bill S-7 during the interviews reacted to the short title and noted the name for later reference. Barbara, a senior officer, was surprised and said, "'Barbaric'? Wow. It's very strong. I hope it doesn't [pass]. I don't like that at all." She recognized that it was problematic to say this crime existed within specific communities. Other participants were taken aback by the racist title and reflected on how this approach was offensive, given that it implied that only certain groups

have this problem. Riya, a senior police officer, wondered what would be considered “barbaric” and questioned the government’s proposed tip-line to enforce the Bill, saying, “I may not like my neighbour, and suddenly, now, everything that they do is considered in my opinion barbaric, and so, I’m calling RCMP every 5 minutes to report on them.” Riya was concerned that police would receive a tip from a neighbour, attend the call for service, and look at violence through a cultural lens, which would be problematic. She felt that Bill S-7 and the associated tip-line would hurt immigrants because the government discourse would allow police to perceive them as bringing “barbaric” problems to the country. Riya explained,

> You can’t just make it this “barbaric cultural practices” exclusive to one religion or one group of people. And, right now, it comes across as that. Right? So, like they’re targeting either the Muslim culture/religion, people from, you know, Africa or Middle East, you know, they’re— it’s like, just like, yeah. Like, gender violence is gender violence. Right? Whether it’s against you, me, white person, green person, brown person, yellow person, whatever you want, you know? Colour doesn’t matter. Ethnicity doesn’t matter.

Riya identified Bill S-7 as a racist and xenophobic law deliberately targeting a specific population, and she rejected the government’s attempt to label this violence as unique to one ethnic group as a misleading stereotype because VAWG is a form of gendered violence that cuts across all ethnicities.

Many participants commented that Bill S-7’s packaging was incredibly racist. One civilian member reflected on their own identity,

> You know, I’m First Nation. And, they used to call us savages, right? And so [laughter]. Um… when you use the term, “barbaric,” right? That kind of sets me off… [...] Yeah. Degrading, you know, it’s just degrading. Um… yeah, so, the barbaric word, I don’t like. Right?

The participant connected the government’s history of treating Indigenous people poorly to this attempt to stigmatize new Canadians as barbarians through legislation. Her comment echoed similar comments from the parliamentary proceedings about Bill S-7 (see Abji et al.,

2019). Similarly, Trina, a civilian member, commented on how the Conservative government's words categorized people in a colonial way:

> I think there's racism. I think there's xenophobia. I think that people that [are in], the dominant sort of culture, and people in power, who are from those communities, don't want to believe that that's happening— they don't want to talk about what's happening in their world, in their community, amongst their families. If you make it an "other" and then it only happens over there, and this isn't our issue, it's their issue. I think that it can almost, largely, be seen as another form of colonization, in a lot of ways, around the way we need to teach, again, using terms like barbaric cultural practice, I mean, that's such a colonial sort of way of looking at things, right? Like, we are the dominant, mainstream, normal way of doing things. We need to civilize the savages, whether they are indigenous communities of one time or, these new emergent communities that are coming in, they're bringing in their savage practices and we need to fix them, so they can be normal and proper, into our society. Right? So, I think— in a way, it's about distracting and being ok with, like, "no, we're ok, like, we're normal, we're fine and everything like that. We're just gonna need to fix them." Right? We have to let them know that we don't do things like that around here. And xenophobia. I mean, I think xenophobia is a huge one, too, right? Because, again, if you look at the way that they took the polygamy within the changes, like, it's not focused on current communities, like, I mean, there's obviously other, you know, stereotypes and assumptions about Mormon communities, but, it's about the fear of the foreigner coming in, right? And then we're going to reinforce that. That is a pretty xenophobic move.

Trina's example of polygamy in communities in Canada emphasizes the distinction between the way it is discussed in different contexts, and how the new law describes the problem as a cultural phenomenon specific to racialized communities. As Trina's suggested, labeling new Canadians this way is xenophobic when many cultures around the world and in Canada practice FM and polygamy. Newcomers are not bringing their "barbaric culture" to Canada, but the government uses enforcement as a way to send a strong message to immigrants that they have to assimilate by leaving behind ideological differences.

In contrast, a few participants did not have concerns with the Bill's language or context. Cathy, a civilian member, felt that there was no need to create a special HBK or FM law or

separate racialized people, since the existing laws cover everything law enforcement needs. She said,

> It still blows me away how people react to crime, and how people try and make sense by making it somebody else, like, "oh that's another, that's some other community, or somebody else's problem, and we need something special to deal with those, those people."

Police officers also stressed the numerous policies and sections of the Criminal Code they could already use to lay charges in cases of HBC, such as assault (s. 266), criminal harassment (s. 264 (1)), forcible confinement (s. 279 (2)), kidnapping (s. 279 (1)), and uttering threats (s. 264.1 (1)). Bryan, a senior officer with experience in FM cases, explained how if somebody utters threats like "'I'm going to kill you, I'm going to kill your boyfriend,' that's an arrestable offence. You can be arrested and charged for that." Another senior officer, Jackie, said, "I think [a] new law muddies the waters. I think we have enough laws in place, right now, to cover things. We just have to be taught to utilize those laws." These officers felt that new laws create confusion and are not necessarily the best approach to take if the existing Criminal Code is sufficient.

Although the existing Criminal Code seems to work for some offences, officers were aware that they would need to act on Bill S-7 once the law was passed, even if it was not effective. Kyle, a senior officer, said, "If the law is passed and if it becomes a law, regardless of whether or not I agree with it, or whether another police officer agrees with it, it's the law. And it would have to be enforced." Some participants commented on how Bill S-7 and similar laws are a step in the right direction to advance HBC and FM investigations and said they appreciated the legislation to criminalize FM. Mark, a senior officer, stated:

> Honour-based crimes, to me, are culturally motivated. Violence. Mental abuse. You know, confined to your room, confined to the basement. Not allowed to work, stuck in the house. You know? You can still, you can still turn those into

western, White, ok, so that's assault, that's threats. You know what I mean? We can still use those. You know, are they perfectly set up with the nuances of that? No. But I think these new tools that the federal government provided help [police]. Now we can have that conversation, with the girl who's about to get on the airplane. You wanna go? Are you being forced by your parents to do this? "I don't wanna go, I am being forced by my parents." Boom. Now we can seize her, for her safety. But further than that, now we can go after the parents. Right? Whereas, before June [2015], we couldn't do that. Right? So, yeah. I think we're at a better place now than we were three months ago.

Mark touched on the benefits of a specific FM offence that would allow police to offer protections for victims before they are taken overseas and pressured into an FM. Other officers referenced how Canada has followed European countries by enacting legislation to criminalize HBC, mainly FM (Idriss, 2018; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010).

Police Lack Knowledge of Their Ability to Intervene in a Forced Marriage Despite New Laws. Despite the developments in legal and policy responses, police and civilians still lack knowledge of Bill S-7 and its amendments to the Criminal Code. The level of knowledge of Bill S-7 varied considerably among both groups of participants, and not everyone knew of a specific charge to criminalize acts of FM. Ryan, a junior officer, explained, "It's a contentious act that Harper brought in, the barbaric cultural practices or something along those lines. [...] Although I'll be honest, I'm not very familiar with [it]. I don't think any of us here are." Jackie, a senior officer, wished politicians would consult with law enforcement before developing new laws:

I think it's on the way to being rubber stamped and finalized and done. I think [the time to] influence change and circumvent things would have been before. I think it's too late for that now. Now, down the road, can it be changed once it's seen to be ineffective and confusing? That's another story altogether. But it's gonna take years for that to happen.

Similarly, Nicole, a civilian member, said,

I know there was also a piece of legislation that was fairly recent and, I don't really know all the ins and outs of it, but I had gone to a training [laughter], and they had talked about some sort of new bill [that] was, yeah, coming in.

A few participants recalled receiving communications about changes to the *Civil Marriage Act* and the Criminal Code, but they were not aware of specifics. Jay, a junior police officer, stated, “I can go and get training on [FM] or the amendments in the criminal law. But, it would be easier for members to use that training if we have a clear direction.” Jay’s comment demonstrates how police lack confidence and need guidance about their role in interventions since the passage of Bill S-7.

In general, officers expected more information on what new authority the legislation would grant them in an FM situation. Sheldon, a senior officer, understood that if police had evidence that an FM was being planned, they could potentially lay charges against everyone involved (e.g., mother, father, brother, and other extended family and community members). However, he explained that while he recognized what the lawmakers were trying to do, he was not familiar with the charges for these cases or the direction the courts would give the police. Another senior officer, Kyle, saw the “witness who aids or participates in an FM” piece to be vague and was concerned that someone might attend a marriage ceremony while being unaware that it was an FM. Kyle uncovered the limitations of this law: it would not allow police to lay charges unless they had enough evidence to proceed with an investigation to criminalize the numerous actors involved in an FM.

Discussion

This study confirms that police face many challenges in improving their responses to HBCs and FMs. The “confusion and uncertainty in policing practices” is systemic and rooted in government, media, and training discourses, which raises concerns about a lack of policy and best practices. Participants also acknowledged that the current police response is ineffective as there are no policies and procedures to support their interventions. Within the core category,

“confusion and uncertainty in policing practices,” I observed polarized views and tensions with “honour” terminology, training considerations, and the implementation of new legislation that further contributes to stereotyping and racism. However, some of my participants addressed why police must engage in anti-oppressive practices, challenge language to understand this type of violence, seek training that conveys different meanings, and try to understand new laws that reinforce criminalization and dominant media discourses regarding HBCs and FMs.

As discussed, terminology debates have surfaced in police organizations similar to what we have seen in the media discussions of murders and in NGOs refusing to use the term “honour” (Aujla & Gill, 2014; Hogben, 2012; Jiwani, 2014; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010). Participants were engaged in similar discussions and meaning-making processes where they disagreed about what terminology to adopt. There is some evidence in the existing literature that language matters, and police services need to be mindful of the terms they adopt. The terms *femicide* or *patriarchal violence* carry different meanings, as they do not perpetuate stereotypes towards racialized communities, especially Muslims. As Aujla and Gill (2014) argued, “femicide is not disrespectful or prejudicial towards [racialized] communities, highlighting the fact that these murders are no different than the ones occurring in mainstream communities (e.g., domestic violence homicides)” (p. 154). Thus, language that names the form of violence on the VAWG continuum allows police and other service providers to focus on experiences across cultures. However, participants hesitated when asked what word to use and described tense discussions about terminology that caused “confusion and uncertainty.” As the relevant literature on media and policy debates has suggested, this violence “is real, regardless of its label, and does need to be addressed” (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010, p. 3).

A significant finding from my study points to how police training needs to be increased, ongoing, and consistent to help officers and civilians understand HBC and FM as manifestations of VAWG and avoid essentializing cultures. These findings support Gill and Harrison's (2016) study which found that UK police officers relied on "ad hoc and sporadic" (p. 454) training to respond to intimate partner sexual violence, including HBV. Participants recommended making training consistent, as educators' perspectives on the topic vary. At the time of my study, some police services were trying to educate members by bringing in anti-racist training programs. The trainers operating from an anti-racist lens collaborated with one police service (EPS) to develop a non-mandatory web-based course for interested police officers and civilian members. This shows that police services were aware of the concerns with the training being provided and were trying to improve their education strategies by bringing in better trainers.

Despite these changes, police still lack proper training to provide appropriate levels of support to potential victims of HBC and FM. The training needs to cover how police officers should treat these cases with appropriate seriousness and what interventions or follow-up should look like. Police officers still need institutional support from police services to properly assess and record/label such cases. Definitions and common language inform how police officers identify a case and choose appropriate interventions related to the terminology and DV framework police services operate within.

Participants also suggested that training be in-depth, so police are adequately prepared to investigate and handle cases. The individual officer and civilian perceptions of training from this study expand on Korteweg et al.'s (2013) recommendation to strengthen service provision through an intersectional approach that recognizes multiple voices and experiences "rather than privileging personal voices as speaking for the collective" (p. 27). An intersectional approach

would address the diversity of survivors' identities and experiences and help the training to capture the variations of this form of violence more broadly in all communities (see Abji & Korteweg, 2021 on policy implications for survivors' stories).

Like other nations, Canada enacts legislation in the criminal justice system against HBCs and FMs with targeted zero-tolerance policies like Bill S-7 (see Korteweg, 2012). This study demonstrates a great deal of confusion surrounding Bill S-7 and the direction police should take when dealing with FM. In the interviews, it became apparent that participants demonstrated efforts to comprehend FMs, but some participants questioned police involvement in these situations and reflected on the new law's purpose, its necessity, whether it would be useful, and whether existing laws were robust enough. A few participants noted that Bill S-7 criminalized and further marginalized racialized communities for not obeying Canadian laws. This finding is consistent with scholarly literature on how Canadian laws should apply to everyone and not single out racialized communities (Aujla & Gill, 2014).

Implications and Conclusion

Improving Policy and Police Practice

My analysis also demonstrates police officers' frustration and confusion surrounding the lack of policies and practices to support a stronger intervention by police. Throughout the interviews, they voiced concerns that the lack of guidelines made them feel stuck. These views suggest that not much attention is given by police services to guide officers in their work to prevent and investigate HBCs and FMs and protect victims within current DV and FV strategies. Thus, I propose taking steps to alleviate the "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices" and guide responses to help police better support victim-survivors of HBCs and FMs. I offer the following five recommendations for policy and practice:

1. Create a clear national DV policing strategy and guidelines that incorporate how to approach HBC and FM through an anti-racist lens.
2. Adopt standard terminology in Canada to address HBC and FM as forms of VAWG, so that all social service providers can apply the same definitions.
3. Develop a mandated provincial police policy for HBC and FM in the existing DV policies and policing guidelines that all police services follow.
4. Improve training to be in-depth and ongoing, so it challenges biases towards communities, strengthens interventions, and improves the thoroughness of investigations to protect those at risk. Provincial law enforcement training should also include education on identifying and responding to HBCs and FMs within the existing DV policies, as well as within both new and existing legislation.
5. Set up a federal and multiple provincial police task forces that create plans for institutional police commitment to understand this form of violence across communities (see Janssen, 2018). Alberta's provincial task force could be established under the leadership of the Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General Policy and Program Development Branch. The task forces should consider handling cases and putting forth recommendations for investigations, share best practices and gaps, and liaise with other professionals. They should consist of multi-stakeholders, including civilians (e.g., social workers) from police services who work alongside the police in investigations. The task forces should review Bill S-7 and the Criminal Code to determine whether law enforcement is a useful measure to help victims.

Service gaps can also arise from lack of specific information about HBCs and FMs. For example, the non-profit Indo-Canadian Women's Association is mentioned in the police guidelines, yet there is little direction on why police should connect with them (Government of Alberta, 2020, p. 32). Listing an ethnic organization without any explanation can cause police to stereotype this type of violence as part of only South Asian cultures. Implementing anti-racist policies can assist police to respond to violent situations in specific cultural contexts without stigmatizing racialized communities. Like Fournier (2012) and Hogben (2012), I argue that

culturalist explanations are simple and easy to follow, except they do not help frontline professionals working with victims to understand these complex cases. The police must be cautious of training or implementing policies that racialize communities by looking for culturally driven factors of HBV and FM. I suggest a review of what other countries have done and how NGOs, media, and police have played an instrumental role in developing policy (see Begikhani et al., 2015; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2010). This may allow police in the Canadian context to influence policy-making processes. I would caution against creating a policy at either the federal or provincial level that would further stigmatize racialized communities.

The government's current strategy on gender-based violence is based on three pillars: "prevention; support for survivors and their families; and promotion of responsive legal and justice systems" (Government of Canada, 2017). I encourage policymakers to coordinate their actions to articulate how HBC and FM can be included in this existing federal initiative to prevent and address this form of VAWG. These actions should include developing best practices for early prevention and supporting intervention programs to address the current gaps that affect the ability of police to support individuals at risk. I also recommend reviewing the Alberta framework for FV to consider including information to raise awareness of HBC and FM that does not presuppose these specific forms of violence are only found in racialized communities.

In exploring the challenges facing police in addressing HBCs and FM, I found that there is divisiveness in naming these forms of violence, polarization in what training approaches to follow, and inconsistency in understanding and applying the new legislation. More attention should be given to how these factors in the Canadian and Albertan context have created "confusion and uncertainty in policing practices" and among other social services. The findings also shed light on the different ways participants conceptualize the issue, thus informing the

ongoing challenges and lack of clarity in policing. Highlighting these experiences can benefit police services as it may allow them to gather momentum and implement an action plan.

Police officers are first responders and considered most important when it comes to identifying and managing HBC and FM cases; however, my findings show that police struggle to make sense of how best to support victims and families in disputes where "honour" becomes the reason for the violence or FM. The Canadian government and police services are responsible for the lack of policy that is sorely needed to help officers improve their level of preparedness and response. From my findings, I conclude that participants recognized the need for better direction from government and police administration. Police officers and civilians were honest about their experiences and sensitive towards doing the right thing concerning intervention in these cases but lacked guidance.

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CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

Organizations in the United Kingdom (UK) have started to honour the memories of victims of "honour"-based violence (HBV) on July 14 each year through a "Day of Memory." Remembering these tragedies should inspire us to act and acknowledge that this is a serious problem that warrants attention from law enforcement agencies like the police. As I write this conclusion, I continue to receive information about the trial underway in India to seek justice for Jassi Sidhu's murder. The trial was set to start in 2020, but was delayed by the COVID-19 pandemic. I have been following Jassi's case for two decades, and like others, I hope justice is served but am preparing myself for the possibility that the accused, Jassi's mother Malkit Kaur Sidhu and paternal uncle Surjit Singh Badesha, will be acquitted and will return to Canada.

Jassi's husband Mithu is back in the Indian prison system, possibly because he may have been wrongly accused again like the rape allegation a few years ago. When I learned about this news, I searched the internet for details, but to my surprise found no media articles. How do we make sense of this case, and why are the Indian officials and media silent? Will the Indian courts deliver justice? I am also critical of how authorities such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) slowly pursued this case. I recognize the efforts of Jassi's high school principal James Longridge[55], as well as Canadian journalists like Fabian Dawson and investigative reporter Bob McKeown for covering the story for so many years and pushing for justice. Longridge and

[55] Longridge has written letters to the RCMP, Canadian politicians, and Indian authorities to demand justice for Jassi's murder and to ensure her mother and uncle are not allowed to return to Canada. He has collected three large binders full of newspaper clippings and letters about the case, and continues to speak to the Canadian media (J. Longridge, personal communications, March 1-2 &4, 2021). Longridge also recently initiated the "Justice Scholarship Fund," to be awarded each year in honour of Jassi's life to a student who plans to pursue a post-secondary degree in the criminology and justice-related field (O'Doherty, 2020). In June 2021, the first scholarship was awarded to a student pursuing a degree in political sciences at Simon Fraser University (J. Longridge, personal communication, June 24, 2021). The Maple Ridge newsletter published details about the scholarship on March 5, 2021, but removed them after complaints from Jassi's family in Canada (Personal Communication, James Longridge, June 25, 2021).

Dawson have participated in media interviews to discuss the case. Meanwhile, *Fifth Estate* documentaries, a made-for-TV movie, a book, and a petition website highlighted the organized nature of the crime.[56] If it were not for the efforts of a school principal, journalists, and advocates, the authorities and police in both countries would not have pursued the investigation and the accused pair would not have been sent to India to face trial. Jassi's case would have faded from the headlines and her killers would have escaped justice.

When high profile cases like Jassi's are covered in the media and flagged as an "honour"-based killing (HBK; see Introduction) journalists are not actually honouring the victim's life. In my research, Olivia, a junior police officer, spoke to how the term "honour" does not give justice to the victims whose voice and identity are lost:

> When you hear the word, too, like honour killing. Like with people—you know, with media around certain high-profile cases where it's honour killing, again, I don't think the victims of that are being honoured by using the term honour killing. That almost sounds like something you should be proud of, right?

Olivia's thought demonstrates how far we have to go to change public perceptions by rethinking the words we use—an important first step. As Razack (2021) argues we "cannot stop talking about culture entirely but it would be a good start to abandon the term "honour killing" altogether because it invariably takes us to a place where we consider Muslim cultures to be more violent than others" (Razack, 2021, p. 45). The media, police, and other systems need to frame these murders without a focus on "honour" terminology that legitimizes the killing of women.

[56] See Chapter 1.

Media's Portrayal of Victims, Storytelling, and Statistics

The stories about victims in the media, the training I attended, and most of all, this research have impacted me personally. The women murdered by their families were real people, unlike the character in the vignette I constructed for this research. The media stories offer glimpses into their lives but create a different meaning by using the "honour" killing label and portraying the victims as being at risk of a culture-related death (Zine, 2009). Missing from the media accounts are the details leading up to the crimes, including how many of these young girls and women had requested help from professionals (e.g., teachers, social workers, shelter workers, and police officers) and either received no help or interventions that were not enough to save their lives (see Chapter 4). Our understandings of their deaths are shaped mainly by the media accounts regardless of what happened in the family.

The "honour" killing label that surfaced in the media articles overlooks the patriarchy at the root of all forms of gendered violence, including domestic homicides, and influences how these murders are understood by the public and professionals. Focusing on one specific culture or community misses the fact that violence against women and girls (VAWG) is a part of Canadian society, and the "honour" killing discourse in the media ignores the prevalence of family violence (FV), high rates of femicide every year, and the many murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls (MMIWG). According to 2019 police-reported data, FV continues to increase. One in four victims of police-reported violence (26%) were victimized by a current or former spouse, parent, child, sibling, or extended family member (e.g., grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, and in-laws). Among police-reported cases of FV, approximately 67% of victims were women and girls (Conroy, 2021). Every 2.5 days, on average, a woman or girl is killed in Canada (Dawson et al., 2020).

My research has not been able to confirm whether “honour”-based crimes (HBCs) and forced marriages (FMs) in Alberta are on the rise or decline in the last few years. However, the findings indicate that these crimes occur, and police lack direction when they think about a response. In this conclusion I summarize the findings, discuss implications for policy and practice, offer practical recommendations from participants, and provide suggestions for further research.

Summary of Findings and Implications for Policy and Practice

This study explored police perceptions and suggested that police need to learn how to identify situations similar to the one in the vignette and require training to intervene effectively. The chapters and the three published papers included in this dissertation address how police conceptualize HBCs and FMs. Not surprisingly, police are still in the early stages of understanding the problem despite the training sessions offered. This study highlights the current state and discusses the challenges police officers and civilian members within policing organizations face in responding to HBCs and FMs. It reveals gaps in policing and calls for more nuanced understandings of HBCs and FMs within the context of domestic violence (DV).

Given the sensitive nature of the topic, I used a vignette to explore participants’ perceptions, responses, and understanding of the seriousness of the scenario. I adopted a constructivist approach to grounded theory (CGT) and worked with participants to co-learn, co-construct, and co-facilitate the conversation around the vignette as the participants mentioned additional information they wanted to know about or tried to fill in missing details. Applying semi-structured interviews in conjunction with the vignette was a successful method to collect data from the two groups of participants on police perceptions of HBCs and FMs within the context of DV. To my knowledge, few methodological papers have examined the use of vignettes

in qualitative research studies, and my research is the first to apply a vignette to the topic of HBCs and policing. Since my explanations of my design and implementation process will help other scholars use vignettes in qualitative research, especially work focused on HBC and FM, this study makes a significant contribution to the literature.

My findings demonstrate that the scenario described in the vignette is a common one for the police to come across in their work, not a rare event. They add to the literature on the complexity of the problem, how overwhelming it can be to understand different forms of violence, and how not everyone will know what to do because of a lack of formal training and education. A lack of consistency in responses was apparent through the vignette discussion. Police organizations need to acknowledge individual officers' and civilian members' efforts to support HBC and FM cases despite the challenges they face when their institution has not offered guidance on conducting these investigations. Some participants felt unclear about dealing with potential cases, and others shared how they learned to navigate this form of violence through past experiences and interactions with different systems (e.g., child and family services [CFS]) while on the job. These findings also suggested important aspects of police conceptualizations of HBCs and FMs, including biases and assumptions, culture talk, the complexity of acting or making decisions in a similar situation.

In some cases, participants' stereotypes and biases when encountering the scenario guided their decision-making, which illustrated that the vignette method is a helpful tool to tease apart how some officers are likely to discriminate. I also heard concerns from participants with how these crimes are complex and can quickly escalate to murder or attempted murder, as seen in high-profile cases. These findings can be helpful for other helping professionals (e.g., CFS

workers) to understand the police perspective with HBC and FM cases and how partner agencies can better support those at risk.

After conceptualizing "honour" codes and how expectations are placed on women's bodies, I presented the three themes that emerged and were connected to "confusion and uncertainty" in policing practices: inconsistency in the use of terminology, police perceptions of training, and police understandings of FM as well as their perspectives on the "Barbaric Cultural Practices" bill. Overall, an important issue that affects police responses is that many participants were unaware of what to do with potential FM cases despite the recent Criminal Code changes since the government has provided little direction to police organizations in responding to these cases. The findings have implications for future preventive strategies, interventions, and training, as legislation and its implementation and communication have so far been ineffective. At the same time, a lack of policy contributes to the "confusion and uncertainty" found in policing practices. A new approach is urgently needed for police to make informed decisions when encountering HBV situations.

A key required improvement is creating better definitions of DV, FV, HBC, and FM to ensure all policing organizations speak the same language. However, differences of opinion still exist with how to describe HBCs and whether to use the term "honour" (see Chapter 5). The UK recently expanded the definition of domestic violence and abuse in a gender-neutral way to take into account sociologist Evan Stark's (2007) definition of coercive control in law enforcement and to offer protection toward people aged 16 and up. The new definition includes:

> any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are or have been intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. This can encompass, but is not limited to, the following types of abuse: psychological; physical; sexual; financial; emotional. (Home Office, 2013, p. 2)

This definition is not inclusive of youth as it only covers interventions for people aged 16 and up, but it does cover patterns of coercive control as well as the types of abuse associated with HBV and FMs. At the time of writing, Canadian definitions of DV appear to be missing aspects of HBV, FM, and coercive control. Some organizations in Canada, such as Sagesse, the backbone organization for IMPACT[57] in Alberta, are working on ways to help service providers in the DV sector to expand their definitions. Through these discussions, various DV and FV definitions used in Alberta may begin to include coercive control in violent and non-violent behaviours. Changing the definition of DV/FV can reduce the potential gaps in services when working with 17-year-olds at risk of FM (as seen in responses to the vignette). This change would also allow police to work collaboratively with CFS to respond effectively to calls. However, if changes are made, they should be reflected in policy or adopted in frameworks such as the Alberta Government's framework to end FV (see Chapter 5; Wells et al., 2012), used by the government, and in guidelines for police and social service providers.

The rich data grounded in the participants' policing experiences add to the existing literature and inform policy and practice as well as important questions about the vast amount of underreporting. There is a need to believe the individual who comes forward and to support them with an investigation. Police organizations need to ensure that individual officers, as well as civilian members such as victim service advocates or social workers, are aware of the vulnerability of young girls and women experiencing this form of violence and the reasons their help-seeking behaviour strategies may look different than expected. Police also need to have strategies and skills to support a team approach using other professionals without further

[57] IMPACT is a provincial collective that aims to end domestic and sexual violence in Alberta. The initiative brings together researchers, academics, policymakers, community leaders and organizations to focus on primary prevention of violence. IMPACT also engages in special projects to improve best practices, policies, and legislation. See: https://impact.sagesse.org/

traumatizing the individual seeking help or undermining their help-seeking behaviour. For instance, a young girl like Nina in the vignette might fear humiliating the entire family and retract her statement to have charges dropped.

Although this dissertation focused on the perspectives of police officers and civilian members working within police organizations, its findings have implications beyond law enforcement. It identified the challenges when police work with other professionals and the need to investigate the perceptions of CFS workers, as there is no shared understanding of who responds in certain situations and what steps they should take (see Chapter 4). There is a need to create awareness and secure commitment from all professionals in the DV sector to address this type of violence, so police can draw on the support of other partner agencies to protect victims of this crime. Another implication of my study is that participants' voices can help guide the required training and partnerships with other DV agencies to improve access to support and services for victim-survivors, informing decision-making and consistency in responses when it comes to policing practices.

Practical Recommendations

Informed by participants, I offer practical recommendations and strategies to help police and partner organizations such as DV service providers, systems (e.g., CFS and schools), and governments. The quotes I have chosen are representative of participants' voices in general for each of the recommendations. The 13 proposed recommendations are organized into four overlapping categories: A.) Administrative Recommendations, B.) Risk Assessment and Management Strategies, C.) Improving Referrals and Accessibility of Community Supports, and D.) Education and Training Initiatives.

Table 3. Practical Recommendations

A. Administrative Recommendations	Supporting Evidence
1. Policing organizations should review current policies at the organizational level to develop clear best practice guidelines with HBC and FM cases (e.g., investigative techniques and crime recording approaches). They should create working definitions for police officers and civilian members to flag cases. Specific procedures could allow for consensus and direction when cases arise. Additionally, the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General, with the support of the Family Violence Police Advisory Committee, should create a manual or guidance document for police organizations and other actors in the criminal justice system, including Crown Prosecutors.	Some participants suggested that police organizations collect statistics to determine the scope of the problem in Alberta. For example, how frequently these cases occur in rural and urban communities and how many victims come forward to seek help from the police, which could help government invest in resources, more education, or training (e.g., in schools) across the province. A few participants did not want to keep statistics because it allows police to stereotype and categorize people (e.g., assumptions are made based on race, ethnicity, culture, and religion) which reinforces racism (e.g., racial profiling).[58] Participants were also looking for support from decision-makers in higher-up positions to ensure that they have the tools available to respond to cases with the support of their own and outside agencies. This would allow officers to get through at least the initial steps (e.g., things to look for during an investigation) to make informed decisions when a case can present different risk levels. It will also help them ensure that people are safe and questions are being asked appropriately. "A coordinated response. Almost like a how to book. And I know that would be dangerous, in some ways, because you can't just stick to strict script all the time, but, even just like remember to ask this, or remember to look into that. So, even some type of online thing that you could look up or a booklet, or something, that would just be like… remember some of these

[58] This is an ongoing debate over the collection and dissemination of racial data within the Canadian criminal justice system. Several criminologists are in agreement that the collection, analysis, and reporting of racial data is lacking and urgently needed to develop a better understanding of race, racism, and crime (Millar & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; Owusu-Bempah & Wortley, 2014).

	things or keep this in mind, [while] questioning them and ask this question or whatever would be helpful." —Claire, civilian member "I don't want to introduce legislation or policy that is half-baked. Because it's really tough to get rid of it later, right? So maybe we should have a task force, or a pilot project, that actually finds out what's going on here, right? Let's have basic numbers. How many calls a year? [...] Let's capture some numbers here. Let's plot some best practices going forward. [So] something like this [Domestic Violence Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecution, Alberta]. Not as thick. Is it bureaucratic? Yes. If the policy becomes somebody's job for the next 20 years to update this every five years? Yeah. But we didn't have this before and now, there's a playbook." —John, civilian member
2. Incorporate a national strategy on HBC and FM into existing DV policies through an anti-racist lens (see Chapter 5). Police prefer these calls to fall within the DV response where they can be managed further, and suggested that people may feel more comfortable reporting these situations as DV cases.	"There needs to be a national plan of action, and more resources need to go into that. Which I include in [domestic violence], but when we're talking about honour-based, specifically, the resources and plan for managing of these cases, they're different. Still, honour-based violence is in the mix with domestic violence for sure. But there's a different way of managing them, that's more convoluted, and it's going to take more resources and more time." —Barbara, senior police officer
3. Police organizations need to oversee internal/external training and its implementation (e.g., professional training and education with new legislation) across the institution.	Participants suggested police organizations follow the work of credible, knowledgeable HBC educators. Training should be reviewed and assessed to ensure that content is relevant to deliver learning outcomes to put into police practice. Participants felt everyone in policing requires specialized training in this area, but it would be challenging to implement training across the organization for all

	frontline patrol officers to specialized units or civilian members working in victim support units. Participants recommended that training sessions should be offered by the government and police organizations on assisting the police in understanding the changes made to the law (Criminal Code).
4. Ensure appropriate information-sharing protocols are in place and interagency collaborations are set up, so partner organizations (e.g., CFS and schools) are informed and working together to support safety planning for victims and to not put them at greater risk. Police need to work with school staff because they are likely the first to hear disclosures and might feel uncertain about reporting to police. Police need to further build trust with outside organizations, including schools and community members.	"I'd be talking and trying to speak to partner agencies, it could be Child and Family Services, cause it's children involved and, because a lot of the times, with the HBV and the forced marriage, you're talking people that are classed as children, they're under 18. So trying to convince an agency that's never heard of this and never dealt with this before that this is a serious threat to somebody, really, they looked at me like I was, yeah, talking a different language and had three heads. And that's not just, I'm not just saying that's Child and Family Services, that was a battle within my own service, as well." —Bryan, senior police officer Participants reflected on underreporting as victims may not come forward to the police and are more likely to report to those they trust, such as friends, classmates, or teachers. Participants were also mindful of how victims can be isolated within their own communities and that they need to provide case management strategies to address the risks within the community. They considered how information travels quickly through communities and that an individual's safety comes first before communicating with community members or looking at what supports exist in the community.
5. Maintain the police officer and civilian model for outreach and support. This relationship is crucial to increase the trust between the community and law enforcement, improve police knowledge of	Police officers from Calgary Police Service (CPS) and Edmonton Police Service (EPS) shared how the institutions have a long history and working partnerships between police and civilians

the available supports in the community, and ensure help for people experiencing any form of violence.	both within their services (e.g., victim service workers) and from other agencies (e.g., social workers). Civilian members from EPS also discussed how they bring a different lens to assist police and an officer may not have the same skill level to look for risk factors. An RCMP officer shared how their detachment relies on the expertise of civilians with specialized training on HBV as part of an integrated Victim Service unit. This combined approach might not be possible in all detachments where resources are limited. However, both groups appreciate each other's knowledge on complex files.
B. Risk Assessment and Management Strategies	**Supporting Evidence**
6. Review checklists, risk, and threat assessment tools to ensure that they adequately meet appropriate standards for flagging HBC and FM cases within the context of DV. There are variations in tools for risk assessment (e.g., professionals use different tools, that accomplish the same thing, to assess risk, instead of a universal system) and risk exists on a continuum (e.g., low, medium, high). Attention should be given to how police use risk assessments to describe and classify levels of risk, so it is consistent across all systems/organizations. Establish a consistent risk assessment process and what checklist or tool (e.g., PATRIARCH) is implemented for HBC and FM situations. Identifying, assessing, and managing the risk factors could also prevent the escalation of a case to an FM or "honour"-based killing (HBK). Police in Alberta are mandated to complete the Family Violence Investigative Report	Participants explained how risk assessments are lengthy and not done on every potential DV file. For example, structured tools like the PATRIARCH (see Chapter 3) are done by specialized DV units in policing organizations or other law enforcement agencies such as I-TRAC. Frontline patrol members were candid about how they recorded information based on what they thought and not by asking the questions directly. From their perspective, there is pressure to use the FVIR even in circumstances where it isn't effective, and so they feel less motivated to complete it. Several participants expressed their frustrations with the FVIR. "You know, those domestic violence check sheets, we're getting… one— one of my coworkers said, well, we're getting 'five-minuted to death': 'Well, this'll only take you five minutes, one more check sheet will only take you five minutes …' I've got 45 minutes of check sheets. […] And, ah… now I've got so many check sheets I'm hurrying through the check sheets. I'm not

(FVIR) and to gather information from the victim. Many officers are not keen on completing the FVIR and additional checklists[59] that are compulsory within their police service. Organizations should reconsider the process required to complete the FVIR or ensure the questions actually assist officers in HBC and FM situations.	doing a quality check sheet anymore because I am frankly too busy because I've got three domestic files. Because, you know, they don't just come in one a night. Sometimes they come in four. Back to back. And if you're the only officer on duty, from four to eight PM, in an afternoon… you're going to hustle to get to everybody… ok? You see where this is going? So you have to be careful of how much check sheets you institute because where's the limit? Then things are getting overlooked, so the check sheet is useless, it's just window dressing. And I don't really like window dressing, I'm more of a functional person than I am about window dressing." —Luke, junior police officer Participants suggested a quick reference tool or resource guide for suspected cases, and early intervention to help avoid FMs and HBKs.
7. Implement a case management strategy to facilitate knowledge-sharing and to provide support for interventions. The strategy could allow officers who have dealt with these cases to support other members and share relevant experience with those who have not. Officers with experience could help develop a triage plan when cases come in, so investigations do not rest on one individual police officer or law enforcement agency. This approach would assist a frontline officer or investigator to know where to go next with a file and what other agencies to call to triage interventions.	"When people find out that you've, you know, worked through one and tried to come over some of the hurdles and stuff, people reached out. They said, 'you know, how'd you deal with this? What did you do?' And, you know, I didn't have the answers to a lot of it, but at least I had resources or people that I could kind of point them in the right direction as to where to go. I think that—that just shows, right there, there just wasn't enough education around... what members should be doing in these types of situations." —Olivia, junior police officer "A big investigation like that [refers to past cases] doesn't rest on the shoulders of one person. You'd work within the major case management profile and you'd have a command triangle and go from there.

[59] For example, CPS has an additional 10 questions that a frontline member will ask when responding to calls. The Violence in Relationship Investigative Checklist is also used by the RCMP and appended to the FVIR. At the time of writing, EPS implemented the Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment (ODARA), which asks 13 questions to collect data on perpetrators of DV. A high score on the ODARA indicates that the perpetrator is likely to reoffend.

	It's not one of those things that it all falls on one person, the success or the failure of it." —Elizabeth, senior police officer "It's, intriguing for me, to be able to help put systems in place to assist law enforcement to do a better job. Because it's the systems that we need. If we have… a chart with the little diagrams of the tree path kinda thing, 'if this happens then go here. If this happen then go here.' We need that for law enforcement. 'If you see this, go here. Call this person. If you see this happen, call Passport Canada.' Like, these are the steps that you need to take when you're encountering these types of scenarios. These are the people you need to call. You have to have it that laid out for law enforcement, for frontline patrol. 'Cause in this case, probably a lot of them wouldn't think to call Passport Canada. So, it's like, you need to have it really—and I'm not gonna say, I'm making this sound like law enforcement's dumb. They're not. They're overworked. They have to deal with 59 different scenarios. […] How overwhelming is that, to be a master of everything? You can't. […] A lot of law enforcement don't know their resources to contact. So you're reinventing the wheel every single time you deal with one of these. We need to stop reinventing the wheel and just give everybody the template. And that's, that would make it this much more effective for law enforcement." —Jackie, senior police officer
C. Improving Referrals and Accessibility of Community Supports	**Supporting Evidence**
8. Educate the police on what supports are available in the community and how to make referrals to other support services and skilled practitioners who have cultural	There is room for improvement in this area; participants shared how they did not know what resources and services were available to help.

knowledge or lived experiences to intervene. This work starts with DV organizations working with the police to share good practices on guiding victims of HBC and FM and explaining how to make referrals to other experts or community-based organizations. Police could work with other agencies to create a national referral network or a Canada-wide resource for frontline workers dealing with potential HBC or FM cases. This could be a living document updated on an ongoing basis with resources and community supports identified in urban and rural settings. Educate communities by investing in community supports and public awareness initiatives to share information, learn how communities think about this type of violence, and what community supports are available to deescalate situations like FMs. Taking these preventative steps will allow police to build stronger relationships with various communities and community leaders. Police should consider working with community stakeholders to create a consistent community-based response that considers risk factors for diverse communities and alternatives to responding to violence. Police need to build trust in communities that may distrust the police.	"Police need to know where to refer these people to, and if there are agencies and different organizations that could help." —Barbara, senior police officer "I would like to know more about the resources that are available, maybe nationally. Because, we're not, we shouldn't be limited to what's available within the city. We should be able to reach out beyond that. Especially in files that, you know where the risk is high. So, you know, there may be some national resources that I'm unaware of, just because of being geographically far away." —Emily, senior police officer More experienced police officers felt traditional police work is not the answer to a call like the one described in the vignette. Some feared that police officers with less experience would attempt mediation. However, police must be careful to not push issues like FM back to the private sphere to be negotiated by culture, family dynamics, and community members (see Chapter 4). "I think there has to be education, and I think it has to come from both sides […] these communities that have the honour killings must have people who are against it. Right? Like… so those people, to take the leadership role, step forward and say, one, to the members of their community who think it's a good idea, that it isn't. But also to bring their knowledge forward and work with the stakeholders… and explain it because, I mean, education goes a long way, so, if you don't understand things, you're afraid of it. And you may even make assumptions and… you make stereotypes… and you have prejudices, so, I think to work towards breaking all of

	those, the people that are in the communities where it happens need to come forward and be leaders in their communities and say this is what—why it happens, but this is what we're against. In much the same way that police have tried to bridge it, to their communities, and say, 'we're really good guys, honestly,' … don't be afraid of us, you can call us, we're not going to beat you or, you know, scare you." —Cristeen, civilian member
9. Adapting models from other countries would help coordinate resources and services between agencies, which is critical for making supports available. There is no need to create a model from scratch when existing units and supports exist in places like the UK.	"I had read all the strategies from the UK, the forced marriage guidelines and the Association of Chiefs of Police, there's a national strategy, Crown Prosecution strategy, all that sort of stuff. And it's, but, you know, and it made me laugh because, you know, I'm reading it going, it's everything that I already knew. […] I don't understand why sometimes, when I'm trying to talk about it here, it's such a hard pill to swallow for people. You're like, come on, the information, there's no real new information about it. These are the dynamics, this is what happens. This is some great sources of information, let's not reinvent the wheel. Absolutely, you should test it and make sure that it, you know, has been researched properly. Before you start rolling out the information. But the information is the information, that's the thing. That's the way I look at it." —Bryan, senior police officer
10. Connect with people with lived experiences of HBC/FM and create a mentorship or peer-support program to connect them with victim-survivors who would prefer this option.	Participants suggested that a peer-support program could connect Nina (Vignette, see Chapter 3 and 4) with a survivor from her community or who had experienced similar situations to help her heal and foster new relationships.
D. Education and Training Initiatives	**Supporting Evidence**
11. Governments and police organizations should allocate funding for more resources and appropriate training.	Participants shared how resources vary depending on the detachment size and population in rural communities. Training budgets are limited, meaning police

This will ensure all DV service providers and frontline police staff have access to receive education and training on HBCs and FMs. In addition, other people who provide services or supports for women and/or youth in various organizations should receive similar training. If they received more training, then they would be better prepared to work with community agencies/partners to respond.	organizations must rely on community partners in urban centers to assist whenever possible. Participants suggested that governments need to allocate more resources in rural communities as a preventive measure. Participants suggested training be delivered to frontline policing members like patrol, school resource officers, and officers in units like victims services, domestic violence, child abuse, and homicide. They also recommended that senior managers or supervisors who review and sign off on files receive training as they could catch missing pieces. Participants recommended providing mandatory training that is consistent, ongoing, and effective to: CFS workers, health care workers (e.g., doctors and nurses), emergency personnel (e.g., 911 operators and the kids help line), first responders (e.g., paramedics), non-forensic mental health professionals (e.g., psychologists), school and university staff and faculty, media personnel, social agencies (e.g., social workers, youth-serving agencies and shelters, women's shelters), community-based organizations or advocacy groups, airport staff (e.g., security officers, flight attendants). They suggested educating the general public, community leaders, faith leaders, and workplaces so co-workers who suspect a colleague is at risk can offer support. They also listed additional professions where women might speak freely away from their abuser(s) (e.g., sports coaches and hairdressers).
12. Improve existing training and establish a consistent approach when providing more education and awareness to the public, police, and other professionals in the DV sector.	Participants shared that they are undertrained, not receiving enough training, and have little information on interventions. When I asked what training is available, participants often told me

	about the issues with the limited training (see Chapter 5) and how police organizations rely on self-directed learning: members are told to seek out more information on their own. "I think it needs to be consistent, so, training should be… you know, like, Canada-wide would be my recommendation." —Steven, senior police officer Participants also raised concerns about non-mandatory training using online modules, which was a good start, but not enough. They suggested that HBC training take an anti-racist or culturally safe lens to focus on bias awareness and a victim-centered approach guided by the individual's knowledge of the situation. It would be important to offer training that asks police what assumptions and biases inhibit them from responding and for them to acknowledge the power they hold in this work.
13. Training should bring together police and other systems such as CFS to address the concerns with age and youth in situations of HBC and FM that appeared in the vignette discussion. Include case studies or vignettes (see Chapter 3; Aujla, 2020) in training initiatives and highlight successful and unsuccessful interventions with different professionals (e.g., police, CFS workers, social workers) and community members. Systems need to be more flexible beyond their mandate (see Chapter 4) and work together to understand the dynamics of this form of violence and the options available to support an individual (e.g., accessibility to a CFS workers who speak different languages).	Participants commented on how they were uncertain whether they could reach out to shelter services to support victims. For example, there are service gaps in finding a safe place for a young woman experiencing HBC and FM. Would she be accommodated in a youth or women's shelter, are these suitable options, and what protocols are in place to ensure that she is supported in that space? Many participants shared how they appreciate case studies in training sessions and hearing from different agencies that have a role to play. Case studies can create awareness to illustrate the different forms of "honour"-motivated violence, the uniqueness of each situation, and how other professionals worked together as a team. This type of training informs decision-making and how different professional's perspectives were put into

	practice, and participants can then assess how successful they were. Participants also shared how vignettes help bring together the multiple perspectives on the issue (e.g., police, social agencies, and community members).

It is apparent that police officers and civilian members working within police organizations are calling for change and a national strategy to improve how they and other systems navigate this area. These recommendations will be essential to police administrators, government officials, policymakers, and HBC educators. In addition, many participants shared how they would like to see an approach to HBCs and FMs that focuses on implementing policies and education, and preventing the kinds of incidents often reported in the media. Both groups of participants stressed the need to move beyond the individual response to coordinate efforts to improve the institution-wide police response to such issues. Police organizations must accept the responsibility to create a protocol to work together with those in the DV sector to support people experiencing HBCs and FMs. In addition, they must improve their relationships and build trust with communities and address current service gaps to form a multi-agency response to address the needs of victim-survivors.

Study Limitations

This study is the first to examine how police officers and civilian members in law enforcement agencies conceptualize HBCs and FMs. However, it has several limitations. First, intense emotional responses would likely shape how participants would respond to such events in real life. Nevertheless, the answers to the vignette questions I asked may not reflect the realities of carrying out an HBC and FM investigation (Hughes & Huby, 2004; see also Aujla,

2020). Participants may have aligned their responses with how their organization and supervisor would expect them to respond if they approached the vignette situation. However, they also shared concerns about the inadequacy of their responses. Many said they viewed the vignette as an awareness-raising component; it allowed them to express how they would act and how they and others may not know what to do in a specific situation. For instance, one junior police officer described what *should* happen but added that in reality, no one would get involved. This range of responses indicates a problem at the individual and institutional level, even within the same department. Not everyone in policing will provide victim-survivors with the support they need.

Second, this study's recruitment strategies and telephone interviewing techniques had many advantages, such as allowing me to connect with several (n=4) participants in rural parts of Alberta. However, this technique meant that I could not account for nonverbal communication, which could have added to the richness of the data collected from the face-to-face interviews. To address this limitation, I included a higher number of face-to-face interviews with participants (n=42). Furthermore, the strategy of using a vignette followed by a few questions allowed me to better assess the participants' explanations and experiences in the field. The vignette also allowed me to engage in an in-depth discussion with participants, for all interviews, to introduce and set the stage for the study. The vignette helped limit some shortfalls of telephone interviews when used: their brevity. The telephone interviews were not shorter than the face-to-face ones.

Third, generalizability is limited in several ways since I used a qualitative approach. The sample size (n=46) is small, given the number of police officers (n=32) of varying ranks and civilian members (n=14) in the law enforcement agencies. While I had hoped that more civilian members would participate, recruiting this specific group was difficult. Who was not included in the study and who participated is another limitation; not all districts in EPS and CPS or RCMP

detachments are equally represented or included (see Chapter 2). With the RCMP, it was also challenging to have representation across all the detachments in the "K" division. On the other hand, I was able to attract participants who reflected on their previous work experience in other detachments, which allowed those other detachments to be somewhat represented in the study. I also did not speak to any recruits in the process of joining the police force, but it would have been useful to hear their thoughts on HBCs and their DV training. Also, including administrators such as police officers and civilian members in higher-up positions (e.g., managers and supervisors) would have provided more insights into the organizational culture.

Fourth, while the study's sample size is acceptable for qualitative research using CGT (Birks & Mills, 2015; Creswell, 2013; Padgett, 2017), the findings are not universally generalizable to different regions or all law enforcement agencies across Canada. The findings are based on a small sample in Alberta and may not apply to police in other areas. It is also possible that police services with more experience with this type of violence may operate differently. For instance, after the Shafia murders in 2009, the Kingston Police may have developed best practices for addressing HBCs, including HBKs and FMs. None of the participants I spoke to had investigated an HBK case in Alberta, but some shared successful investigative case studies and learnings from talking to police officers in other jurisdictions. Nevertheless, the themes that emerged from the interview discussions are likely to be relevant to other police services in Canada. Finally, the findings could also be subject to interviewer bias, as I did not seek validation from participants on the responses provided.

Future Directions

Despite the limitations outlined above, this study's findings extend knowledge about an understudied topic in Canada. Further research is needed on HBC and FM as it can inform

service provision. Police are still learning to identify and respond to these crimes, and additional research will inform better supports and prevention initiatives. Participants recognized the need for research and education to increase their understanding of HBCs and FMs. As mentioned in Chapter 2, some participants asked me for information, research, and practical tools (e.g., risk assessments about HBCs) to support them with police responses. Thus, I recommend creating a working partnership between researchers and service providers to provide up-to-date education and information. Implementing these recommendations would help address the complexities and challenges of responding to HBC and FM cases.

In my research, I primarily looked at women's experiences and how police perceived the vignette's story of a young woman. Although the brother played a role, the vignette did not capture the male child's experience with FM or inter-caste marriage. In my future research work, I plan to design a vignette that portrays men's experiences, as the notion of "honour" is also exercised over their decisions, and use it to collect data. Additionally, the vignette could be shared in training sessions with service providers, including the police, as they must consider that men may also be reluctant to report their experiences. Men require unique supports, as their needs look different from those of women and girls at risk of HBCs and FMs. Future research should ask questions about men's safety and examine what supports are available for them.

I also recommend researchers examine how law enforcement agencies in other Canadian jurisdictions have investigated and responded to HBKs, HBCs, and FMs since it is likely that participant responses would be different from those in the Alberta context, where it remains unknown whether an HBK has occurred. Discussions in provinces like British Columbia and Ontario have occurred mainly in response to HBKs. Researchers should delve deeper into the investigators' experiences, as these voices have not been included in research but have been

infused into police training sessions. Police efforts to prevent or investigate HBCs and FMs might be more advanced in some regions because of training, experience, and the types of responses in place within a police service.

Researchers should also be careful with generalizations about all police officers and police cultures as this approach misses the wider context of these organizations. For instance, political, social, and geographical areas and culture influence policing. A monolithic approach to policing does not account for the differences in approaches to social issues across police organizations (see Chan, 1997). In my study, I also noticed how actors within the same police organization may not have the same response, as individual police officers have agency and discretionary powers (see Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2009 on generalizations of police culture as a homogenous entity and subcultures within policing). The findings from this study allow future researchers to ask questions about how organizational culture, politics, and geographical differences contribute to effective policing strategies.

Additionally, since the findings are solely based on my participants' perceptions and experiences, future studies should review police reports, case files, or official records to verify police interventions and provide a foundation for evidence-based policing. Most of the current literature focuses on the legal measures for FM, but as I demonstrated in Chapter 5, gaps remain in police intervention. The UK recognizes FM as a policing matter, and similar work in Canada is needed to safeguard victims (MacIntosh, 2012). It is also important to collect global data on how police intervene to prevent and help victims escape FM, as these cases are complex and may involve international investigations (see Chapter 1 and Gill, Cox, & Weir, 2018).

Future research should include a larger and more diverse sample of civilians and police officers from various regions. Additionally, although this study did not focus on other

professionals, future studies should examine the perspectives of CFS workers, teachers, and other professionals in the DV sector. There is limited research on the nature of professionals' perceptions, particularly from different sectors such as education. As Blum et al. (2016) noted, schools are hubs where cases are disclosed. Thus, it is essential to include teacher and student perspectives to understand what awareness programming is available in the school setting to encourage reporting. For instance, are materials and a point contact person available in a school setting? Could the availability of these resources help prevent FMs from occurring? This information would help improve existing resources in schools and how this system shares information with the police.

It would also be helpful to discuss similar vignettes with focus groups of police officers, civilians, and other helping professionals (e.g., teachers). Focus groups would allow these professionals to co-construct meaning-making processes, bring their expertise, and share their interpretations and suggestions for policy improvements.

Finally, future research projects should also explore the meaning of "honour" in various communities and with victim-survivors. Hearing the perspectives of community leaders will help researchers and police administrators determine if police services are prepared to handle this form of violence in a way that works for diverse and racialized communities. Additionally, understanding the victim-survivors' experiences with help-seeking behaviour and preferred types of interventions for HBC and FM could help us understand where they turn for help and their interactions with the police and other formal systems (e.g., CFS workers and teachers). It would also support the development of best practices in policing and policies in the DV sector and help prevent the loss of life.

Publications and Practical Contributions

As a result of the rich data that emerged from this research, I have undertaken further publications as works in progress. For example, I am working on a paper where I offer insights into the conceptualization and practical approaches to understanding HBCs. I situate the study findings within the context of existing debates in the literature. I explain both sides of the debate, and then take a stance on how HBCs should be subsumed under DV based on the interviews with police officers and civilians in my study. I do not dismiss that certain participants felt that HBC should be treated as a separate issue, as my participants shared a wide range of views. However, if HBCs are categorized under the umbrella of DV, police can avoid cultural stereotyping and can use existing resources to respond. This paper offers practical recommendations that reflect the two groups' perspectives and describe how subsuming HBCs could allow police to work with other key players involved in DV interventions. I call on other partners to work closely with the police to manage HBCs and FMs, as police cannot do this work alone. Police need to collaborate with other professionals as the problem is complex (see Janssen, 2018). Overall, this paper makes a conceptual and practical contribution to both policing and the scholarly debate surrounding the categorization of HBCs.

Other directions I plan to take in future publications from this research include examining themes not covered in the substantive papers/chapters of this dissertation. I plan to explore the vignette findings through an intersectional feminist analysis to examine the victim supports and types of referrals or collaborations police require in the DV sector. Many participants described intersecting barriers (e.g., poverty compounded by experiences of violence) for girls like Nina trying to reach out for help. For instance, participants were aware that young girls do not have the financial means to navigate the outside world. Participants also expressed how financial and

emotional dependence and loyalty or respect toward family constrains help-seeking behaviour. This is consistent with the existing literature that has examined how young women face multiple and intersecting barriers (e.g., fear for their safety, isolation, shame and stigma from family and community members if they seek help) with HBC experiences (Blum et al., 2016). I would also like to examine other emergent themes, such as the indicators/motives, the mother's involvement, and the possibility of the mother being a victim of DV, which overlaps with HBCs.

Another area that I would like to examine is the victim's willingness to cooperate with the police. Participants explained why women like Nina who are subject to abuse might recant their testimony or reconcile with their abusers. Participants' responses to the vignette varied with their positionality (e.g., race, ethnicity, cultural background, and gender). For instance, I noticed South Asian officers defended their communities and cultures, except South Asians are not homogenous as there is much diversity even among families that belong to the same community. In contrast, some White participants were hesitant to say things about culture or religion. They emphasized patriarchy, gender relations, woman's sexuality, emotional blackmail, victim vulnerability, and shame-based ideologies when thinking through what was happening in the scenario. I want to examine how these concepts tie to religion, culture, terminology, definitions of DV, Canadian values, and multiculturalism policies. Furthermore, I would like to examine the concept of "race anxiety" (see Aplin, 2019), as many participants commented how they "feared coming across as racist."

I also plan to explore themes in the vignette and outside of it in the qualitative data, such as police risk management tools, strategies, safety planning, and challenges in creating a specialized response outside of DV for HBCs and FMs. Additionally, I would consider exploring the influence of Canadian media coverage and sensationalism around cases and how this

discourse largely influences police perceptions and assumptions about HBCs. I plan to publish these papers in journals of interest to academics, police, and other practitioners.

Furthermore, I will share these findings with the policing organizations that participated in this study and others outside Alberta. I plan to disseminate the findings at conferences in the DV sector in Alberta and nationally to influence best practices and strengthen interventions.

Emerging Discussions about Collaborative Research Projects

As I look to the future and continue working on this project, I plan to collaborate with other academics and service providers in the field, such as my supervisor Dr. Jana Grekul. We plan to write a paper on race and gender and its impact on police officers' views on HBK compared to MMIWG and, more broadly, their understanding of gendered violence within racialized and Indigenous communities. It would be interesting to examine the similarities and differences between HBC and MMIWG, including all police service levels and government responses (e.g., funding, legislative mandates and departmental policies regarding action plans, education, resources, and supports). This work would be significant given that attention and funding from the previous Conservative federal government provided support for organizations that respond to HBCs while significantly cutting funding to organizations supporting Indigenous women (Olwan, 2013, 2014).

Furthermore, a strategy to address the high levels of violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls in Canada is long overdue. This violence continues to be neglected despite how many women are missing and murdered every year, as are the 231 recommendations and calls for justice made in the final report to all levels of government, all Canadians, service providers, and institutions such as police services (National Inquiry into the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, 2019). Concerns have been raised about the current Liberal government's

lack of attention for MMIWG as a national action plan did not coincide with the final report's first anniversary. These delays point to the ongoing failure of Canadian government and police institutions to speak to settler colonialism enacted on Indigenous women and girls. In response, several Indigenous groups across Canada have initiated their own action plans to protect their girls and women (Dawson et al., 2020).

It is important for police to acknowledge colonialism and racism within a White-dominated organization when responding to all forms of VAWG, and especially in Indigenous and racialized communities. As Loftus (2009) reminds us, "racism has been identified as one of the most central and problematic features of police culture" and it influences how officers respond to situations, including DV (p. 11). Thus, I argue that the focus should be on challenging racism within institutions such as law enforcement to shape the response and intervention required for all forms of violence within Indigenous and racialized communities without reinforcing racist stereotypes.

This important work is supported by research from Tator and Henry (2006), who examined racist policing practices and policing culture, specifically how police are prone to racism and are socialized into a policing subculture where racial biases are reinforced by the institution. Being surrounded by the police culture and other officers who hold negative views cannot erase racist policing attitudes, they noted. Similarly, Razack (2008) stated "if racism and not cultural respect is the problem, then a critical issue is how to train police and service providers who are racist, something feminists have paid little attention to" (p. 143). There is a need to pay more attention to how racism operates in policing so Indigenous and racialized women are protected.

Furthermore, to what extent do political correctness, racism, Islamophobia, or cultural apathy play in law enforcement ignoring crimes within and affecting their own communities? Perhaps this is why we need to ask if cultural sensitivity training can realistically challenge attitudes, perceptions, and assumptions (see Chapter 4). These attitudes may be difficult to change through training, especially if police officers are the trainers. "In any case, training cannot solve the issue of racism; if there is a solution, it would need to be directed at the police culture and its racialized view on the world" (Tator & Henry, 2006, p. 110). For instance, police officers' biases and stereotypes toward racialized communities may continue to present assumptions that force a cultural argument, as seen in Chapter 4. This is also illustrated in the two extreme DV cases shown by Jiwani (2006) to signal an inadequate police response from the RCMP. In one case, the South Asian woman was blamed because of her culture, and in the other, the case of the White woman, there was no explanation for why authorities ignored the woman's complaints on multiple occasions. Even with a police culture that reinforces stereotypes toward Indigenous people and racialized communities, there is still a need to focus on institutional racism, prevention, and protection from all forms of violence.

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APPENDIX A. RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Snowballing Email/Recruitment Script

I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to pass along the information found below to those who may also be interested in participating in this research study. Thank you for your time and consideration with this request.

Email Subject: Invitation to Participate in Research Study

Dear Potential Participant:

You are invited to participate in a research project titled "*The Perspectives of Alberta Law Enforcement on "Honour" Crimes within the Context of Domestic Violence*." This study is being completed by Wendy Aujla for her doctoral dissertation in the Department of Sociology under the supervision of Dr. Jana Grekul at the University of Alberta. The purpose of this study is to explore your experiences with the topic of *"honour" crimes* within the context of domestic violence.

You are being asked to participate because you are with law enforcement in Alberta and have a valuable perspective as a police officer or civilian that is needed to deepen our understanding on this topic. You are a police officer or civilian working with or connected to an internal or external policing law enforcement agency in Alberta. The agency you are working with is for instance, Edmonton Police Service (EPS), Calgary Police Service (CPS), Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Integrated Threat and Risk Assessment Centre - I-TRAC or the Alberta Justice and Solicitor General's Office.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and there is no compensation. However, your participation will be a valuable addition to the research and findings which could lead to a greater understanding in the field. Your involvement in the project will help make sense of the phenomenon based on your experiences and the training you have received, what this is like for you, and what has helped you to respond. This is an opportunity for you to share your experiences, to contribute to an understanding of the issue in Alberta, and to potentially influence appropriate training. Policies and practices including legislative responses in Canada can benefit from your perspective.

If you are willing to participate please contact Wendy Aujla to suggest a day and time that you are available for a telephone/face-to-face interview. The interview will involve a minimum of 90 minutes of your time, beginning with a vignette which you will receive a day prior to the scheduled interview. During the interview you can expect to answer questions about the vignette and additional interview questions using a semi-structured format.

If you interested in the research project or have further questions please contact Wendy Aujla, at 780.238.2321 or waujla@ualberta.ca. You may also wish to give me permission to share your contact information with the researcher. If you decide to grant me permission to share

your contact information, then the researcher will contact you directly about this research study as well as your participation.

Thank you for your interest in this study. If you know of others who might also be interested in participating, please feel free to forward this information to them.

Sincerely,

____

APPENDIX B. CONSENT FORM

LETTER OF CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH STUDY:

The Perspectives of Alberta Law Enforcement on "Honour" Crimes within the Context of Domestic Violence

You are invited to participate in a study for my research project on *"honour" crimes* within the context of domestic violence. This study is being completed for my doctoral dissertation in the Department of Sociology under the supervision of Dr. Jana Grekul at the University of Alberta. If you have questions or concerns about the research project, please direct them to me, Wendy Aujla, at 780.238.2321 or waujla@ualberta.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Jana Grekul at 780.492.0477 or jana.grekul@ualberta.ca.

Study Purpose and Benefits:

The purpose of this study is to explore your experiences with *"honour" crimes* within the context of domestic violence. You are being asked to participate because you are with law enforcement in Alberta and have a valuable perspective as a police officer or civilian that we need to deepen our understanding. I want to hear how you make sense of the phenomenon based on your experiences and the training you have received, what this is like for you, and what has helped you to respond. This is an opportunity for you to share your experiences, to contribute to an understanding of the issue in Alberta, and to potentially influence appropriate training. Policies and practices including legislative responses in Canada can benefit from your perspective.

Study Procedures:

If you agree to participate in the study, I will ask you to review a vignette (scenario) a day before our scheduled interview. The telephone/face-to-face interview will require approximately 90 minutes of your time, beginning with the vignette and followed by interview questions using a semi-structured format. With your permission, the interview will be digitally recorded and transcribed. If you do not wish to have the interview recorded, I will take notes. I may arrange for a brief follow-up interview, requiring 30 minutes of your time, to clarify parts of the transcript.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation is voluntary; you have the right to opt out of responding to the vignette, to answer any questions asked or to end the interview at any point.

Confidentiality and Anonymity:

All information from this interview will be kept confidential, and your anonymity will be protected by my use of pseudonyms in any published materials. The consent form, audio recording, transcription and any field notes taken by me will be stored securely in a locked cabinet and password—protected file on my computer, and only I and the transcriber hired for this project will have access. A transcriber will listen to the audio recordings in order to transcribe the interview data. The transcriber will sign a confidentiality agreement form indicating that he/she will not share this information with others outside of the research. Audio

recordings will be destroyed immediately after the completion of the study. The University of Alberta requires that the data from this project be kept on file for five years and by consenting to participation you consent to this as well.

Potential Risks, Stress or Discomfort:

There is a minimal level of emotional discomfort you may experience as you participate in this research study. It is possible that some questions might be difficult for you to answer or might trigger memories. This may cause you to feel uneasy, upset, and anxious. If you feel uncomfortable please inform me immediately. I will suggest places of support and provide you with the contact information if you are interested.

Future use of Data:

The research findings and final dissertation will be used for academic publications or conference presentations. You have the right to withdraw without penalty from the study at any time up to *one month after* the interview takes place before the publication of materials resulting from the study. The study data may also be used again for another study with the approval from an ethics board.

Additional Information:

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at 780.492.2615.

Consent to Participate:

You have read and understand the above information, and any questions about this study have been answered by the researcher.

By checking this box, □ and signing below "to participate in this study" you confirm that:

1) You have read and understand the letter of consent to participate in this research study.
2) You understand that your participation in this study is voluntary and that you have the freedom to withdraw without penalty any time up to *one month after* the interview takes places.

I, the undersigned, consent to participate in this research project.

______________________	________________________	___________________
Name of Participant	Signature of Participant	Date
	________________________	___________________
	Signature of Researcher	Date

APPENDIX C. CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT TRANSCRIPTIONIST

RESEARCH STUDY: *The Perspectives of Alberta Law Enforcement on "Honour" Crimes within the Context of Domestic Violence*

I ________________________________, (name), have been hired by the researchers in the above noted study to transcribe audio recordings.

I agree to:

1. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher(s)*.
2. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.
3. return all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the *Researcher(s)* when I have completed the research tasks.
4. after consulting with the *Researcher(s),* erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher(s)* (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive).

Transcriptionist

____________________________	____________________________	____________________
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

Researcher

____________________________	____________________________	____________________
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board *(specify which board)* at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

APPENDIX D. VIGNETTE AND INTERVIEW GUIDE

Note on Vignette: The following vignette is an imaginary scenario that does not represent an actual case. If you feel uncomfortable speaking about the vignette or issue, I ask that you raise this concern with me before or during the interview. It is also possible that reading this vignette might make you feel uncomfortable. If so, please inform me immediately so that I can end the interview and guide you to the appropriate support services within your organization that are already established and set up for this research study.

Instructions: I would like you to read the vignette a day prior to our scheduled telephone/face-to-face interview. After reading, you may wish to scan the questions below that correspond with the vignette. The questions specific to the vignette will be followed by additional research study questions.

Purpose: The purpose of this vignette is to hear your perspective and how you would describe the scenario. I am interested in your comments on how law enforcement officers respond to prevent harm and to offer protection to the individuals at risk. There is no right or wrong answer.

Vignette: *Nina, aged 17, is seen by a close family friend kissing her boyfriend on a movie date. Usually she is careful to tell lies, such as "I am going to work," to hide the relationship. Her father often asks the brother to follow her places, and he constantly checks on her whereabouts.*

When the family friend reports the kiss, Nina's father confronts her for the behaviour and then blames Nina's mother for failing to keep an eye on her own daughter. The father starts yelling about his daughter wearing makeup and running around with boys, and claims that this western lifestyle brings shame. Nina's brother agrees with their father and threatens to kill the boyfriend. The father slaps Nina across the face saying, "What kind of daughter are you; how will I face the community? You have disrespected me and disgraced this family. I wish you were dead."

Out of fear Nina escapes to a friend's place where she is encouraged by the friend's parents to report the incident to the police instead of eloping with her boyfriend. When the police arrive at her family's home, the brother says there should be no concerns as the family is discussing preparations for his sister's wedding. The mother calls Nina's cell phone and begs her to come home to avoid further community accusations. The mother tells her to end the current relationship because her father is planning her marriage to another man from a conservative family. Under pressure, Nina agrees to the forced marriage, and tries to defend herself by saying everything is based on rumours.

Questions to follow Vignette:

1. Describe your initial thoughts about what is happening in the scenario.
2. What parts of the vignette stood out to you, and why?
3. How would the police respond to the scenario, and what influences this response?

4. How comfortable would law enforcers (police officers) feel in investigating and reporting similar situations?
5. What experiences or situations have you heard of that are similar to the one presented in the scenario? If so, tell me more about this.
6. What else concerns you about this scenario? Any other comments?

Interview Guide

Our scheduled telephone/face-to-face interview discussion will touch upon some of the questions below. You may wish to review these questions prior to the interview. However, please do not feel like you have to prepare for all of the questions listed below, as this is merely a guide to our conversation. I also may ask follow-up questions not listed below to help answer the main research questions for this study. Please feel free to let me know if during the interview you feel uncomfortable responding to a question or if you need to take a break.

Note: These questions were sent to participants without the probes listed as bullet points under each question. I used additional probes not listed below, such as "tell me why it's important." I also used probes to rephrase questions, allow participants to elaborate on responses, give examples, and ensure that there was some distance between the vignette and other questions. I also adjusted/reworded questions along the way.

Interview Questions:
Before we begin, what brings you to participate in this research study?

1. Sociodemographics and Background:
What is your position and could you please tell me a bit more about it?

- How long have you been in this position? (*Probe into what a typical day in the position looks like, etc.*)
- How many years have you worked at this agency?
- Have you worked in any other policing agencies? (in another city/province/country)

What are your age, gender, and level of education?
How do you self-identify? (e.g., race, religion, ethnicity)

-----Written Vignette Presented and Six Questions ------
(*Probe into how this type of behaviour becomes understood and if they are aware of any policies/legislation/laws trying to address this type of behaviour. How important are markers/identifiers such as culture, religion, race, and gender? Are there other people you were concerned about in the scenario? Who might not be comfortable responding? What tools might you use? Also, ask about safety planning/case management strategies.*)

2. Experiences: Tell me about your experiences.

What was your first impression or experience with the term "honour" used in the context of domestic violence? Has this first impression changed?

- How do you feel about the terminology? (*Probe into what these words mean to them and the impact they have on communities, etc.*)
- When you think of the terms "honour" crimes or forced marriages*,* what comes to mind? (*Probe into how they define or understand these terms, for example, forced marriage*.)
- How do you perceive the violations or warning signs that may result in an "honour" crime? Are there unique signs of this type of violence? (*Probe into symptoms, indicators, motives, patterns, and behaviours that lead to the classification/separation [or not] of "honour" crimes or forced marriages from family/domestic violence, etc.*)
- How do you feel about these crimes? Any concerns? Is the nature of policing domestic violence changing? (*Probe into how police and others should respond to these crimes.*)

What is your understanding of "honour" crimes?

- When did you first hear about this phenomenon? (*Probe into how behaviours become understood as "honour" crimes or forced marriages*.)
- What has helped you understand this phenomenon? (*Also probe into what has not helped, challenges they have experienced, etc.*)
- Have you tried to learn more? If so, explain how.

What types of experiences have you had in the workplace with regard to understanding this issue?

- How does your agency address this form of violence? Have you worked on any cases? (*Probe into whether it's on their/policing organization's radar.*)
- What experiences, in particular, stand out for you as you recall them?
- When you think of these experiences, what concerns did you have?
- What did you learn from these experiences? (*Probe into challenging experiences, etc.*)

How might your own self-identity, background, or personal beliefs impact your experiences?

- How do you lead a bias-free investigation? (*Probe into experiences when working with various communities, self-awareness, empathy/care, etc.*)
- How do you feel about culture or religion? How do you feel about it influencing your behaviour in any way? (*Probe into experiences of Canadian culture, values, and policing in a multicultural society.*)
- What do you do to avoid personal biases, assumptions, stereotypes, and judgments?
- What are your fears when trying to protect people in a non-biased way?
- In what ways do you think your gender/race has impacted your experiences, and if so, how?

Do you think cases are more prevalent in particular communities, religions, or contexts?

- How are victims supported? (e.g., when they do not want to criminalize/charge family members)
- What are the consequences or risks for other family members related to both the victim and perpetrator?
- Do you find victims fear reporting to authorities, and if so, how can there be assistance with reporting? What if victims recant their stories?

- How do you manage the perpetrators or offenders?
- What are the motives for this type of violence?
- How does your understanding of the law and your own experiences apply to investigations? (*Probe into changes to the law/criminal code and new federal pieces of legislation such as Bill S-7: Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act.*)

3. Risk Assessment and Intervention:

How prepared do you feel law enforcement agencies (police) are to intervene to prevent an "honour" crime/forced marriage? (e.g., risk assessment, removing the victim with emergency protection orders)

- What do initial police responses look like?
- What preventative measures are taken to protect and investigate?
- What risk assessment tools are used, and how familiar are you with them?
- What risk assessment measures would you implement to remove the victim or the threat in order to safeguard a life?
- What safety planning measures are taken, and are referrals made to other services? (*Probe into the services available in rural/urban areas.*)

Can you tell me how investigations can be misled because of misperceptions?

- How might signs of risk or danger to the victim be missed?
- What are some of the ongoing challenges that you think law enforcers experience?
- What approaches are used for high-risk cases?
- What are some potential barriers or concerns for law enforcers like yourself in assessing these criminal offences?

4. Training and Agency Supports:

What training or continued professional development is received in Alberta law enforcement agencies, including your own? (*Probe into the training available on "honour" crimes or forced marriages, domestic/family violence, policing, race/culture/diversity training.*)

- What type of training is found within your agency and external to it?
- How do you feel about the training on threat and risk assessment? Or bias awareness?

When does this type of violence require specialized intervention or training?

- Have you attended specific training? If so, please share what that experience was like for you.
- Who provides the training? Have you offered any training?
- How do you make sense of the training you have received or describe the training you provided?
- What was helpful or not helpful? What has been challenging for you with the training?
- What would have been more helpful? (*Probe into what other types of training they would like to see and why.*)

Have you connected with other municipal, provincial or federal law enforcement agencies, and in what capacity?

- When might you use similar information, resources, and training as other policing agencies?
- How do you explain "honour" crimes or forced marriages to other law enforcement agencies or other colleagues? (*Probe into how they would explain it given their knowledge and experiences. What makes* "*honour*" *crimes or forced marriages a crime, and is forced marriage something the police should deal with? Ask why this topic is important or why it is being discussed so much in the political realm given the few statistics/underreporting.*)
- What kind of advice would you give to other law enforcers? (*Probe into what they would like them to know to develop confidence in investigations or who might help.*)
- Who else needs to be trained besides law enforcement agencies?

Do you have any recommendations? (*Probe into what more they would like to see happen in policing, this province, or nationally to protect victims of these crimes*)

Before we end this interview, is there anything more you would like to add that we have not discussed?

Do you know anyone else who may wish to participate in this study?

Thank you very much for participating in the study!