Conceptualisation of Honour Codes Amongst Turkish-Kurdish Mothers and Daughters Living in London[1]

Abstract

The present study analyses how immigrant women transfer and preserve their traditional honour codes, and whether women from different generations (mothers and their daughters) adhere to the same codes. Focusing particularly on the Turkish-Kurdish community living in London[2], the study asks, 'How traditional honour codes are conceptualised and transferred by the women of the Turkish-Kurdish community and whether mothers and daughters share the same opinion about them.' In a traditional society it is considered to be mothers' duty to ensure that their culture and traditions, and particularly honour codes, are transferred and taught to their children, especially to their daughters.

The data for this study come from thirty-two semi-structured interviews conducted with mothers (first generation) and daughters (second generation) from the Turkish-Kurdish community living in London. Following the thematic analysis, three themes were revealed in relation to the concept of honour codes: the meaning of honour,

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[1] Turkish-Kurdish is used for citizens of Turkey in this research.

[2] Please see the table at the end.

dress code and restricting autonomy, and intimate relationships. Honour is described through two elements in the Turkish-Kurdish context: *seref* (dignity, pride, prestige, honesty, respect, status and esteem) and *namus* (modesty and chastity). The analysis indicates that both mother and daughter participants conceptualised honour primarily through the concept of *namus*. Honour codes are considered as gendered concepts which are usually attached to female sexuality.

Key Words: Immigrant Women, First and Second Generation Kurdish-Turkish Women, Honour Codes, Qualitative Research

Introduction

The migration of the Turkish-Kurdish community to the United Kingdom (UK) dates back to the 1950s, though the UK has never been the primary destination for them. The community has settled mostly in North London, specifically in Hackney, Haringey, Tottenham, Edmonton, Enfield, Wood Green and Stoke Newington. Enneli et al. (2005) refer to these areas as 'Little Turkey'. As Thomson (2006) points out, the Turkish-Kurdish community in London/UK is 'silent' and 'invisible', which is mainly due to their smaller population. Accordingly, little research has been conducted in relation to

them. Although there has been a rise in interest since the 2000s[3] studies on women have been scarce (Çakır, 2009; Erel, 2009; Roj Women's Association, 2011).

The first generation of women living in London have either limited[4] or almost no social interaction with the British community; that is, they live in a confined space. The main reasons for this are their inability to communicate in English, their fear of contaminating their cultural and even sometimes religious identities , and hence to interact and socialise with people other than those from the Turkish-Kurdish community. Any interactions with British society are usually based on children's school activities and receiving public services such as healthcare and other benefits (D'Angelo et al., 2013). However, even interactions with schools and other public services are very limited due to the language, cultural and sometimes religious barriers among the first-generation women (mothers) (Communities and Local Government: London, 2009). The second-generation women (daughters), on the other hand, are more integrated as a result of their education and/or work which result more cultural interaction with the wider British society and their ability to communicate in English.

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[3] Please see Enneli, 2002; Kucukcan, 2004; Enneli, Modood and Bradley, 2005; Thomson, 2006; Erdemir and Vasta, 2007; King et al., 2008; King, Mai and Keles, 2008; Communities and Local Government: London, 2009; Greater London Authority, 2009; Duvell, 2010; Simsek, 2011, 2013; Demir, 2012; D'Angelo et al., 2013; Tas, 2013.

[4] The social interaction of members of the Turkish-Kurdish community were identified as three-fold; primary social relations (face-to-face interactions with a family and relatives), secondary social relations (relationships with 'organizations, associations, and bureaucracies'), and tertiary social relations ('relations without co-presence') (Erdemir & Vasta, 2007, pp. 19–20).

In terms of how the members of the community feel themselves in the UK diaspora, collectivist culture usually represents their belongings and shows similar characteristics identified by Darwish and Günter (2003, p. 49); "loyalty to the group, emotional dependence, less personal privacy, the belief that group decisions are superior to individual decisions, interdependence, an understanding of personal identity as knowing one's place within the group, and concern about the needs and interests of others."

Gender relations within the Turkish-Kurdish community are usually strongly tied to their homeland's cultures and traditions, including its patriarchal family structure (Kucukcan, 2004). The family structure has been established exactly as it was in Turkey, and fiercely preserved and protected by the families in London (Kucukcan, 2004). They are then vertically transferred to the children by parents, especially by mothers (Idema & Phalet, 2007). Although women share the burden of breadwinning in some families (Enneli, 2002; Thomson, 2006), their contribution to the household budget is not regarded as equal to that of men, usually as a result of limited opportunities given to this group due to their multiple marginalities. The patriarchal expectation is linked to traditional cultural values (Kucukcan, 2004), which have been addressed by Korteweg (2010, p.146) as "rely[ing] on tightly-knit social relations."

Children in traditional Turkish-Kurdish families are also subject to patriarchy, especially in the form of controlling and restricting females' autonomy (Yalçın, 2000), including controlling their public appearance, applying strict dress codes and interfering

in their choice of spouse. Upon their arrival, families raise their children by surrounding them with their homeland's culture and traditions and emphasize the value of relatedness by linking them to respecting the elderly's decisions and authority and emphasising the importance of family honour and reputation (Ataca, Kagitcibasi, & Diri, 2005; Kagitcibasi, 2005). By taking extra measures to control their children, especially their daughters' behaviours or by being more restrictive (Daglar, Melhuish, & Barnes, 2011) to protect their traditions, culture, identity and language (Çıtlak, Leyendecker, Schölmerich, Driessen, & Harwood, 2008), as well as honour, parents adopt a degree of resistance to the integration as a result of fear of losing patriarchal power, as well as cultural, ethnic and religious identities. This in fact has the ancillary effect of reinforcing traditional hierarchical and patriarchal power structures amongst their children to prevent cultural contamination (Mirdal, 2006; Moghissi, Rahnema, & Goodman, 2009).

This paper analyses how immigrant women transfer and preserve their traditional honour codes, and whether women from first second generations (mothers and their daughters) adhere to the same honour codes. Focusing particularly on the Turkish-Kurdish community living in London, the study asks, 'How are traditional honour codes conceptualised and transferred by the women of the Turkish-Kurdish community; and, do mothers and daughters share the same opinion about them?'.

Honour is a value that shapes how society sees and evaluates individuals (Pitt Rivers, 1965); how women are regarded in society affects the honour and reputation of their families. Accordingly, similar to the Butler's (1990) argument on gender performativity in the context of cultural norms, 'How does society regard my daughter and my family?', is a common question that mothers within the Turkish-Kurdish community frequently ask. Given this 'concern', it is worth understanding the extent to which daughters share the same notion of honour as their mothers. Thus, the present study aims to examine whether patriarchal, cultural and traditional values are still very effective on conceptualising honour (A. K. Gill, 2011) and honour codes. These patriarchal honour codes are usually conceptualised with connection to the cultural, ethnic and the religious roots and expressed by highlighting the dominant identity/s. More specifically, the present study aims to analyse how the Turkish-Kurdish mothers and daughters, women from different generations living in London, define and internalize honour codes and whether daughters, in that regard, diverge from their mothers or not.

The study relies on deep interviews conducted with mothers and daughters from the Turkish-Kurdish community in London. Mother and daughter participants were chosen for a specific purpose. Mothers represent the carriers, producers and teachers of culture and tradition, and because of the patriarchal gender roles they are principally responsible for the upbringing of children (Hatem, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Any

misbehaviour exhibited by their children prove that they have failed in their duties in the eyes of their community (Abudi, 2011). Daughters, on the other hand, are considered as the source of honour within the Turkish-Kurdish society, and their behaviours directly affect their family's honour and reputation.

The Concept of Honour

The notion of honour prevalent amongst the Turkish-Kurdish community is deeply rooted in patriarchal values. Traditionally, men are considered as the head of the family and their honour and reputation within the society depend on how the women within their families behave.

In the Turkish-Kurdish context, the concept of honour consists of two interconnected elements: *şeref* and *namus* (Boon, 2006). The term *şeref* has various connotations in Turkish, such as dignity, pride, prestige, honesty, respect, status and esteem (Van Eck, 2003). It is a masculine value, attached to men, but 'requires' women's contribution as well (Sever & Yurdakul, 2001). *Şeref* is strongly linked to certain behaviours of women within their families and communities. In Turkish-Kurdish societies, men are responsible for their female relatives and children. Having a modest and reverential wife (and even kinswomen) who properly raise their children enable men acquire or maintain their, as well as their families'*şeref* (Bond, 2014; Fournier, McDougall, & Dekker, 2012).

Namus mostly represents sexual behaviours such as virginity, chastity, and sexual modesty (Ecevitoğlu, 2012; Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, & Boluk, 2013; Pervizat, 2011; Stirling, 1965) in Turkish context and it is identified as a gendered term (Boiger, Gungor, Karawasa, & Mesquita, 2014) that is attached to women. *Namus'* gendered conceptualisation is usually made by considering the sexual modesty as an umbrella term and by taking different intersectional roots such as culture and religion, to highlight the dominant identity of the definer. For instance, if the definer identifies themselves as Sunni Muslim, their conceptualisation of *namus* may have strong links to religious modesty and expectations, whereas if they identify themselves as Kurdish-Sunni Muslim the conceptualisation may include both religious modesty and patriarchal norms which come from culture.

In terms of men's position in this gendered conceptualisation, men possess *namus* through the women of their families; if women behave within the boundaries of the society's expectation of sexual behaviours for females, then the men are automatically considered to be honourable (Van Eck, 2003).

One of the expectations for females to be honourable (in Turkish context *namuslu*) is virginity. Virginity does not only refer to vaginal virginity but, as explained by Abu-Odeh (1996), to bodily and social virginity as well, which represents cultural and religious expectations. Women are expected to remain vaginally virgin until the wedding day (Khan, 2006) and avoid any behaviour that may easily result in suspicions

about their virginity. That is why unmarried women's appearance in society is highly

important in order to evaluate their behaviour and judge whether their families are

honourable or not. Chastity is also linked to females' sexual behaviours and it pertains

to bodily and social virginity explained by Abu-Odeh (1996). Although, it might be the

choice of the women to be modest for combination of social, cultural, religious reasons,

women may feel under social pressure to act within the boundaries created by the

society so that they can maintain their *namus* (A. Gill, 2006).

As Pitt Rivers (1965, p. 21) explains, *"Honour is the value of a person in his*

own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society" and this is particularly significant for

Turkish-Kurdish community when considering their collectivist culture. The societal

judgement of certain behaviours are taken into consideration in order to evaluate the

namus of individuals, as well as the honour and reputation of their families. The value

judgement of honour is made through the evaluation of existing honour codes (Akpinar,

2003), which are usually unwritten rules. The types of behaviour expected from women

vary but they are mostly related to women's sexuality and personal autonomy (A. K.

Gill & Brah, 2014). Some codes require active steps to be taken, such as dressing in a

certain way, marrying someone chosen by the family, and obeying rules set by

husbands. Whereas, others require the individual to be inactive, such as remaining

'asexual' until the wedding day. Protecting virginity and not having intimate

relationships, for instance, are the two prominent behaviours expected of unmarried

women to maintain their *namus*. Any behaviour that is beyond the boundaries of these codes will not only potentially tarnish the honour of the individual, but also the honour and reputation of their families, as a result of collectivist culture.

A mother's position during the honour judgment period is very distinct within the Turkish-Kurdish community because of their primary responsibility for the upbringing of their children (Dedeoglu, 2010) and transferring the cultural values (Akpinar, 2003). Their daughters' misbehaviour, which raises questions about their honour (*namus*), is viewed to be a result of a mother's failing in her duty to up bring their children correctly (Abudi, 2011). In that situation, the mothers are not only judged by the community, but also by their families, especially by their husbands (Tahincioğlu, 2011). Such a perceived failure in their duties may also result loss of honour and reputation for mothers, as well as the whole nuclear and extended family. The effect of having a disgraced daughter is usually very detrimental for mothers. Consequently, they tend to discipline their daughters by restricting their autonomy and even sometimes by using violence against them to prevent any judgement against both the mothers' and their daughters' *namus* and reputation (Tahincioğlu, 2011). Alıçlı Mottram and Hortaçsu's (2005) research lists some of the restrictive disciplinary actions not exhaustively: curfew and restriction of social relationships, as well as manner of dress. This research also finds that similar methods are used by mothers against the daughters

to maintain the honour of the families, which will be analysed further in the sections below.

Methodology

The universe of the research is Turkish-Kurdish mothers and daughters living in London. The first interviewee was contacted by visiting the Kurdish Community Centre in London and then the snowballing sampling technique was used to select interviewees to reach the wider Turkish-Kurdish community. The total number of participants is 32- 18 mothers and 14 daughters. Some daughters and mothers preferred not to participate in this research due to the family issues. Therefore, not all of the data represents mother-daughter pairs. Table 1 presents detailed background information about the participants. In order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, pseudonyms were used in this paper.

As Hamdan (2009) highlighted in her research, I have also faced the dilemma of my positioning as an insider and outsider researcher during the fieldwork. Although in the eyes of my colleagues and peers I was an insider researcher because of my Turkish citizenship and fluency in Turkish, these two elements were not sufficient for my participants to consider me in such way. Although I am a Turkish citizen, I was not a member of the Turkish-Kurdish community in London as I was not a resident in the UK and did not have much connection with the wider Turkish-Kurdish community before the research. This resulted me to be considered as an outsider researcher by my participants and reinforced me to build trust with them. Visiting the local Turkish or Kurdish NGOs

regularly, participating their events, and having a Kurdish husband helped me to build the trust but did not necessarily put me in the position of an insider researcher. For that reason, I think the best description of my position as a research is neither insider nor outsider but inbetweener as Milligan (2016) describes.

Although the aim of this research was to interview both mothers and daughters, initially it was not designed to interview them at the same time. However, it turned out to be extremely difficult to get permission from the mothers to interview their daughters without their presence because of my outsider researcher position for them and because of mothers' fear that their daughters may disclose some information that their families would not approve. As a result, some of the daughters' interviews were rescheduled and completed once the mothers had been convinced that similar questions would also be asked to their daughters. The underage daughters' (age between 16-18), however, were interviewed while their mothers were within hearing distance but not necessarily in the same room. The author acknowledges the challenge that this might create for the reliability of the data gathered from these participants. The interviews were completed approximately in one hour and they were carried out in the participants' homes.

Following the demographic data collection, the participants were specifically asked about the gender relations within the Turkish-Kurdish community, including questions regarding the concept of honour and the measures that were taken by families to protect and maintain the family honour and reputation. For instance, they were asked,

'How do you define honour?', and, 'Do you think your family restrict you to protect family honour?'. The responses show that all the participants apart from Hatice (mother, 34) link the concept of honour to their cultural and traditional identities that come from Turkey rather than their religious identities. As a result of this the responses are similar for both Alevi and Sunni participants and no specific attention has been made to religious differences.

During the analysis process, first a theme table was created through the initial codes and then main themes were identified. This allowed for an analysis of the ground data in a more systematic way. Therefore, a thematic analysis approach was used to analyse the data and Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide was followed in the analysis process.[5] After listening to the interviews and reading the transcripts several times, initial codes and themes were created and reviewed by the author. Three main themes have emerged from the analysis of how mothers and daughters in the Turkish-Kurdish community living in London understand and embrace the notion of honour and honour codes: the meaning of honour, dress code and restricting autonomy, and intimate relationships.

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[5] Braun and Clarke's (2006) steps include familiarizing yourself with your data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming the themes, and producing the report.

Analysis and Results

The Meaning of Honour

Both mother and daughter participants were asked to define the term 'honour'. When this abstract question was asked, all the participants paused for a moment or two to think about how to define it. Both mothers and daughters defined the term by linking it to female sexuality and virginity; they considered it as a gendered term and focused on the elements of *namus* and chastity, but not *şeref*. All the participants in this research used the term *namus* replicate term of 'honour' in their definitions and explanations. They also referred to the related terms *iffet* (chastity), virginity and *edep* (modesty), being self-conscious and conscientious.

> I am not able to give an answer straight away. Virginity is one. (Besna, daughter, 20)

> Honour (*namus*) means being self-conscious and conscientious', if you behave well (with namus) and know what you are doing no one will talk about you. (Filiz, mother, 53)

> I explain it from an Islamic perspective; it is modesty for a woman (Hatice, mother, 34)

> It is modesty; all types of modesty. How you speak, how you dress up... They all are *namus* (honour). … Chastity is a woman's corsage; it is a part of her. It is a must for a woman. It is a woman's prestige. Respect for a woman depends on how chaste she is (Berna, mother, 40)

Similar to Berna, Meltem also linked the term to chastity without explicitly mentioning the word. According to Meltem's definition, honour can be understood as follows:

> *Namus* means not to have any stigma on your character; it is all you have. And if you have a relationship or if you sleep with someone other than your husband this is a stain (Meltem, daughter, 25).

The above explanations show a link between honour and individuals' behaviours and the participants further reflected this link by highlighting the gender difference within their families. For instance, all daughter participants mentioned that there is a difference between how boys and girls are treated in their families within the context of honour and their responses and examples show that they do not acknowledge but accept this gendered treatment.

From Diler's perspective, the difference in treatment is significant in relation to going out and the restrictions are applied to her but not her younger brother.

He is a bit freer. If I want to go out they will not let me but if he wants to go out and does not come early that is fine (Diler, daughter, 19).

Similarly, Rojin accepted that boys have more freedom than girls and linked this gendered difference to the Middle Eastern culture.

We actually have something that comes from the Middle East as well. He is a guy; he is free to do everything. Boys are allowed to have girlfriends but because I am a girl, they are stricter on me (Rojin, daughter, 21).

While the daughters highlighted the different treatment of the families, only three mother participants said that they treated their daughters differently and restrict them for the sake of honour. For instance, Huriye (mother, 48) said that 'honour (*namus*) is attached to girls' while justifying her different treatment.

Dress Code and Restricting Autonomy

Because clothes have a significant role in affecting the judgement of society regarding the families' honour and reputation (Sen, 2005), families, and especially mothers, take extra care to advise their daughters on appropriate dressing style by highlighting intersectional elements religion, culture, ethnicity and gender. Berna and Kadriye are two mothers who specifically mentioned that they interfere their daughters' choice of clothes.

I interfere in her clothes. I get angry when she wears skinny jeans. I do not like it, it reveals all her body. (Berna, mother, 40).

Of course, I interfere. I don't want her to wear anything mini or revealing. For instance, if she wears a mini skirt and goes out and if my friend or someone from the community sees that they will tell this immediately. This is not good. (Kadriye, mother, 41).

The interviews show that mothers try to protect their families' honour and their daughters' reputation by preventing them from wearing anything outside that is regarded as 'appropriate' in the community. For instance, Seren mentioned that her mother always warned her against wearing certain type of clothes because someone outside might see her and judge her accordingly.

My mother says do not wear this and that; someone may see you and talk about you. She says 'do not cross your limits'.

-What are the limits?

mini skirt, revealing clothes. (Seren, daughter, 29)

The similar limits were also mentioned by other daughters when they describe the appropriate clothes.

 'We need to dress up appropriately. I can't dress up, up to 'there' (showing her hipline)' (Serin, daughter, 19).

'I cannot go out with my leggings. Before (at the age of 14) I was able to because I was a small kid.

-What is inappropriate?

Short sleeves, showing arms…Wearing skirts above knees. Short tops…'
(Didem, daughter, 16)

The common ground of 'inappropriate' clothing is anything that reveals a woman's body: specifically, shorts, miniskirts, anything above the knees, leggings, and the like.

The fieldwork shows that the participants' mothers place considerable emphasis on what is appropriate for their daughters to wear. The message conveyed in doing this is in relation to their honour, which shows dress codes become part of the honour codes amongst the Turkish-Kurdish community.

Intimate Relationships

The mothers who participated believed that their daughters' conduct outside of the home is also crucially important in evaluating girls' and their families' honour. The daughter participants were also aware of judgements from the community when they

were outside and they considered the most damaging scenario for a girl's honour was being seen in public with a boy/man.

> You cannot hang around with a guy and walk on the street...You should be with girls. Mainly, 'do not hang around with a boy!'. Even if he is a friend from a college, still you cannot. If he is a cousin, it is ok though. (Didem, daughter, 16)

> People from my family are quite narrow-minded; so, if they see me with a boy, they will think wrong things. They would not even think like 'maybe they are friends (Handan, daughter, 18).

> Kurdish people will talk behind your back if you do anything. Instead of living for myself, you have to live for the people around you. I think that is wrong. For example, they will say this person will talk about you. Be careful when you are out, be careful when you talk to someone on the street, be careful who you are with. If this a boy, they will talk and they will think wrong. (Esra, daughter, 18)

> Some daughters stated that, although to be seen with a boy would be regarded as dishonourable for girls, it would not be the case for boys; in fact, they claimed their families would even be proud if their son was seen with a girl, regardless of whether she was from the Turkish-Kurdish community or not.

Within our society men always have this freedom when they go out with a girl; it is like 'come on yeah, you can go'…. 'How many girls' – there will be all kinds of talks like this. When it comes to girls, they will be like, 'send her cousins with her', 'look what she is doing', 'check who she is speaking to', so on and so forth. (Besna, daughter, 20)

Boys can have girlfriends even when they are young. Parents would be like almost want them to have a girlfriend but for a girl they will say, 'Why do you have a boyfriend? (Handan, daughter, 18)

Despite what daughters said about being seen with a boy outside, all the mothers who participated the research agreed that it was normal for their daughters to have a boyfriend. However, such relationships were supposed to be contained within certain norms and boundaries imposed by their families. One of the prominent rules was not to be seen by other community members. For instance, Ayla and Esra mentioned during the interview that:

Most of the parents know that their daughters have boyfriends and that they are going out, and they agree that you should get married someone you know. As soon as the community starts talking, they force people to get married. It is hard to understand. They are trying to show themselves that they follow the tradition (Ayla, daughter, 19)

Although my mum knows the boy she will say make sure no one sees you

because they may thing wrong. (Esra, daughter, 18)

Another boundary applied to the daughters by their families was keeping their

virginity until the wedding day. Although all the mothers stated that they had never had

an explicit discussion with their daughters about the need to preserve and protect their

virginity, because talking about such matters is still considered taboo, they were

nevertheless confident that their daughters already knew the parameters as a result of

their upbringing.

All the daughter participants of this research internalized virginity as a value that

is attached to honour and they knew that their families were expecting them to preserve

it. The following examples show this expectation and the value of virginity in fact

support mothers' claims:

I know I need to wait until I get married (Esin, daughter, 18).

You just know it when you are in a Turkish culture. You just know from the

things you hear. You just know what is wrong. My parents obviously did not tell

me, 'You have to be a virgin', but from the things that you see, you know that it

is really important (Handan, daughter, 18).

Virginity is important. I believe that as well. I can only lose it to my husband. At the end of the day that person is going to look after you. Love withers away after a certain time; so it is about respect. If I want to marry a Kurdish man and if he found out that I had already lost my virginity, I know he would not accept me as his wife (Rojin, daughter, 21).

Although the daughters thought that virginity was very important for them, they all agreed that this was not the case for boys. Mehtap and Esra explained how gender differences made sense when considering virginity:

Boys do not have anything to lose but girls do have. Girls should be careful. My brother will have more freedom. He will have a girlfriend (Mehtap, daughter, 16).

It is not the same thing. I have got something to lose but he does not and they would not notice anything if my brother does something (Esra, daughter, 18).

Another norm underlined during the interviews regarding intimate relationships was related to the choice of a husband and his appropriateness. All of the mothers drew a picture of who they thought would be the appropriate husband for their daughters. Apart from three, all the mothers said they preferred someone from the Turkish-Kurdish community and they said marriage with an outsider would have serious consequences that might jeopardize the honour of the family and challenge the patriarchal family

structure. The mothers repeatedly mentioned that they would be very disappointed and upset if their daughters chose someone not appropriate for them. Filiz (mother, 53) in particular stated that in such a case, she would probably put distance between herself and her daughter. Similarly, Emine (mother, 54) stated that she would not prepare a wedding for her daughter. Much like their mothers, the daughters also mentioned the possible consequences of marrying an outsider and how that may affect their families' honour. After assessing these consequences, three daughters specifically said that they would not consider such a spouse in order to avoid an inevitable conflict within their families. For instance, Handan said she would not even start the relationship because of its possible consequences.

> I know what would happen, so I would not start that relationship (Handan, daughter, 18)

Discussion

The study reveals important information on how the Turkish-Kurdish mother and daughter participants live, and how the notion of honour affects and shapes family lives and gender relations. There are strong patriarchal roots in Turkey that link family honour and dignity to women's sexuality (Akpinar, 2003; Kardam, 2005) and the findings in London reflect a similar picture. Interviews with mothers and their daughters show that although the Turkish-Kurdish community live in diaspora, there is evidence

that some continue to remain within a patriarchal social structure by carrying their cultural, traditional, ethnic and religious values with them. Moreover, it seems that traditional honour codes are strenuously defended and supported by the mothers, at least by those interviewed in this study. Thus, the research has shown that migrated families tend to preserve their cultural, traditional, ethnic and religious roots in the host country. While the host country offers a different intersectional environment to migrants, integration is still resisted and considered to be a threat to their own identity (Julios, 2015) which is referred to by Mirdal (2006) as 'cultural contamination'. By preserving, protecting and transmitting their home culture, traditions and even religion, the participants believed that they prevented this contamination as well as assimilation, which enabled the individual to remain within the Turkish-Kurdish community with collectivist culture. However, the fieldwork has also revealed that the mothers not only attempt to protect their identity, but also their personal integrity (as mothers), which is defined by their families' honour code. Protecting family honour and reputation is one of the most tightly held social norms in traditional Turkish-Kurdish communities (Erturk, 2007) as a result of this collectivistic culture. Similar to Yalcin's (2000) argument, the interviewees of this research show that this is also the case among the Turkish-Kurdish communities living in London. Parents take extra measures to make sure that their children conform to the norms of the Turkish-Kurdish community so that the family honour can be maintained.

The concept of honour codes was revealed in three themes in this study: the meaning of honour, dress code and restricting autonomy and intimate relationships. All participants were asked to define the terms of honour and the root that they took to define it differed whether their dominant identity is religion, ethnicity or culture. However, what was common for these different roots was both mother and daughter participants defined the term of honour by using '*namus*' as a word to replicate it in Turkish. As explained earlier, the term of *namus* is a gendered term that is attached to females' sexuality and their behaviour. It is attached to women and it affects men's and the families' reputation and honour (Kardam, 2005). This shows that the participants of this research considered honour as a gendered term. The participants defined the term either by linking it virginity or chastity or females' behaviour's in general. This gendered conceptualisation also appears when the participants explained how the concept of honour is applied to boys and the girls. The daughter participants supported the earlier research on how boys and girls are brought up with gender segregation in relation to concept of honour (Harwood, Yalçınkaya, Citlak, & Leyendecker, 2006). The daughter participants repeatedly mentioned that the boys are treated differently within their families and they are more independent, whereas the girls are controlled and raised dependently for the sake of honour. Some of the mothers also admit the control mechanism they had on their daughters, but they explained this in the context of importance of protecting the girls. Since women carry the heavy burden of protecting

the family honour (Kardam, 2005), the control over the girls is intended to protect them not only from the dangers, but also from being involved in any 'inappropriate behaviour' that might damage the reputation (Kucukcan, 2009). The research conducted by Baykara-Krumme (2015) also shows that the mothers implement higher levels of pressure and control over their daughters than their sons to protect and prevent their families' honour and their daughters' reputation.

Both mother and daughter participants mentioned that the Turkish-Kurdish community takes on the important role of evaluating families' reputation and honour and women stand at centre of the judgement, as honour is very much attached to them. Therefore, mother participants were cautious about their daughters' appearance in the community and both groups stated that there are certain dress codes that are considered to be appropriate and needed to be followed to protect honour. The way in which the daughters behaved outside their homes had significant importance on evaluating the reputation and honour. As such, their intimate relationships should conform to certain behavioural boundaries which prohibit pre-marital sex and protect virginity (Yalçın, 2000). No matter whether they were born and raised in the UK or not, the daughters considered virginity to be a source of their dignity and reputation that should be carefully protected, which supports the existing literature (Milewski & Hamel, 2010; Yalçın, 2000). Some daughters mentioned that not being a virgin might preclude them from getting married. This supports Blank's (2007) argument that, just like in many

parts of Turkey, virginity is still defined in terms of the words 'loss' or 'end', and is considered to be a virtue that should only be lost legitimately, i.e. through marriage.

Since virginity is highly valued among the Turkish-Kurdish community, any imputation or uncertainty regarding a girl's virginity and chastity is considered to be very damaging to the families (Awwad, 2002; Begikhani, Gill, & Hague, 2015). Again, to be seen with a boy in public is one of the prominent indicators of the loss of a girl's chastity and virginity. It not only creates rumours about the girl herself and the family's honour and reputation, but it also results in the girl being stigmatised as unmarriageable by community members (Gezik, Erdal, 2003; Meetoo & Mirza, 2011). While daughters' virginity and pre-marital intimate relationships are considered as a way to evaluate the honour of the families, this honour code does not necessarily apply to the boys within the Turkish-Kurdish community in London. The gender segregation that the participants of this research highlights shows that the boys are more autonomous. As argued by Cindoglu (2000) and Ilkkaracan (2000), their heterosexual pre-marital experiences are tolerated by the community, meaning that it does not necessarily have a negative effect on families' reputation and honour.

Another honour code addressed by the participants was the choice of spouse and how this affects a family's reputation. Research conducted by Carol (2014) states that there is strong parental influence on spousal choices within the Turkish community in France, Germany and the Netherlands. Carol's finding is also relevant to the sample of

this research. It was commonly accepted by the mother participants that their daughters should marry someone that suits their families and the suitability depends on the social and political background of the families and how they identified themselves (Yalçın, 2000). Participants that highlighted their religious identity as prominent one emphasised the necessity of marriages between individuals who shared the same religion, whereas families that identified ethnic and cultural identities as Turkish or Kurdish prominently, stressed the importance of cultural similarities shared by those from the same ethnic background. Similar to Topgül's (2015) conclusion, both the mother and daughter participants of the research considered marriage with an outsider (someone outside the Turkish-Kurdish community) to have serious consequences that might affect the honour of the family and some of the daughters mentioned that they would not even start this relationship because of the possible consequences. This shows the extent to which control mechanism were exercised over the girls and their dependence on culture and traditions (Huschek et al., 2012).

Overall, it is evident that the families not only physically migrated from one place to another, but also transmitted their cultural and traditional values to the host country without modification. This research shows that there is a broad consensus between mothers and their daughters in relation to virginity and premarital sexual experiences. The present research has also revealed that there is constant pressure from mothers on their daughters regarding about dress codes, public appearance, and spousal

preferences. The author has found out that mothers still consider these issues within home country's social values including religious, cultural, and traditional values and believed that they determine a family's reputation. Despite the daughters' level of integration in the host country increases, reflecting a greater desire for personal autonomy and freedom (Kagitcibasi, 2006; Van Zantvliet, Kalmijn, & Verbakel, 2014), they tended to accept and follow the honour codes imposed by their families due to the fear of the consequences. Although, the number of participants in this research is not sufficient to draw general conclusion about how honour codes are protected and transferred from one generation to another, the author believes that the findings are important to create a foundation for further research in the area of Turkish-Kurdish migrants in the UK.

		MOTHER					DAUGHTER					
	NAME	AGE	ETHNICITY	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	TIME BEING IN THE UK	NAME	AGE	ETHNICITY	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	TIME BEING IN THE UK
1	Ayten	44	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	10 years	Rojin	21	Kurdish	Alevi	Student	10 years
2	Berna	40	Turkish	Sunni Muslim	Tailor	21 years	Besna	20	Turkish	Sunni Muslim	Student	20 years
3	Dilek	54	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	24 years	NOT INERVIEWED					
4	Emine	54	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	11 years	Seren	29	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Teacher	11 years
5	Filiz	53	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	17 years	NOT INTERVIEWED					
6	Gulcan	39	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	27 years	NOT INTERVIEWED					
7	Gulfidan	42	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	13 years	Didem	16	Kurdish	Alevi	Student	13 years
8	Gulse	40	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	19 years	Yeliz	16	Kurdish	Alevi	Student	16 years
9	Gun	40	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	24 years	Ayla	19	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Student/Part time sale assistant	19 years
10	Hatice	34	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	19 years	NOT INTERVIEWED					
11	Halide	45	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	18 years	Serin	19	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Student	18 years
12	Huriye	48	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	12 years	Meltem	25	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	10 years
13	Kadriye	41	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	18 years	Diler	19	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Student	18 years
14	Kubra	37	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	18 years	Esra	18	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Student	18 years
15	NOT INTERVIEWED						Handan	18	Kurdish	Alevi	Student	12 years
16	Reyhan	36	Kurdish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	16 years	NOT INTERVIEWED					
17	Selen	40	Kurdish	Alevi	Unemployed	12 years	Esin	18	Kurdish	Alevi	Student	12 years
18	Sena	47	Turkish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	14 years	Mehtap	16	Turkish	Sunni Muslim	Student	14 years
19	Sirma	50	Turkish	Sunni Muslim	Unemployed	27 years	Gozde	24	Turkish	Sunni Muslim	Learning disability mentor	24 years

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