

Silence as Protection: Construction and Deconstruction of Violent Subjects in Media Portrayals of South-Asian and White Incidents of Domestic Violence

*(Title)*

by

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### **Abstract**

This paper focuses on the ways the West silences South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence in the diaspora. My literature review illuminated a gap in the dominant literature where the phenomenon of silence is focused within the South-Asian community and rarely contextualized within the power system of racism in the West. Through a review of critical literature, it was clear that we must shift our gaze to how the West silences South-Asian women, due to the presence of the 'White external gaze' onto the community. This literature suggests that the members of the South-Asian community do not have control over how an issue within the community is taken up by the West to perpetuate racism once the issue is publicly talked about. This research paper includes an analysis of this 'White external gaze' in regards to how exactly it contributes to the silencing of South-Asian women. Western news media was selected as a form of the 'White external gaze' due to the influence its 'talk' has over the public and its context in the West, where White superiority exists. I conducted a comparative Foucauldian discourse analysis of news materials discussing three incidents of domestic violence involving South-Asian subjects and three involving White subjects. Each set included one incident from Canada, the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). Through my analysis, I found domestic violence being generalized within the South-Asian community and individualized within the White community as well as the subject production of the violent South-Asian man and the distancing of the White man from their perpetuated violence. This research paper has proved the racism that is perpetuated by the media, a form of the 'White external gaze', when speaking about incidents of violence within the South-Asian community. As a result, this project provides insight into how the silence of South-Asian women is a means to protect their community from the racism perpetuated by the 'White external gaze' within the West.

## **Chapter 1: Introducing the Project**

### **Concepts and Terminology**

United Nations (1993) defines violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering... including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in private or public life”. Throughout this paper, I use the term “domestic violence” to refer to this same nature of violence within the home. The term, domestic violence, has been described as difficult to define neatly as it can also include abuse towards children or grandparents in the home (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). For the purposes of this paper, I will be using this term to refer to such violence perpetuated by the person’s current or former partner, which includes in marriage and common-law. This term is used interchangeably with intimate partner violence, spousal abuse and wife abuse. I also recognize that there are men who experience domestic violence, however in this paper I will be focusing on violence towards women as they represent the majority among affected populations (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002).

Domestic violence takes on many forms: physical, sexual, emotional/psychological as well as indirect violence (verbal, threats, denigration, etc.) (Gill, 2004). Examples of physical abuse has been provided by women in their personal stories which includes but is not limited to slapping, pushing, retraining, choking and hitting with a hand or object (Gill, 2004). Most of the selected data set includes incidents of domestic violence that has resulted in the death of the woman involved. Emotional abuse and psychological abuse includes verbal attacks, name-calling, humiliation, victim blaming (Gill, 2004), insulting and controlling decisions (Mahapatra, 2012). Lastly, Abraham (1999) describes sexual abuse in three forms: marital rape and sexual

assault, controlling the woman's reproductive rights and either threatening to or actually having sexual relationships with other women.

My research focuses on the South-Asian population. "South-Asian" includes people of Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Nepali, Bhutanese and Maldivian ancestry (Merchant, 2000; Mahapatra, 2012; Raj & Silverman, 2002, 2003, 2007). I am interested in the experience of domestic violence amongst the South-Asian population who are located specifically in the West (the diaspora). Since "the West" is a socially constructed concept, I will be using this term to refer to where it is most commonly used to reference: Canada, United States, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. The research is focused on Canada, the United States and United Kingdom due to my selected data set.

Throughout this paper, I use the term "White" to refer to a marker of race. In the Western world, where racism is an established characteristic (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), White subjects are favoured over non-White subjects. Thus, with a White identity, comes power and privilege in the West. I also use "Western society" and "mainstream White society" interchangeably to refer to the West, where the practice of White superiority exists. I define the "White external gaze" as being mostly comprised of White subjects, looking into the South-Asian community from the outside. This gaze implies judgment and surveillance over non-White subjects, which acts as a form of social control. This gaze poses danger to non-White subjects as its judgments and surveillance are based on "White" being what is correct and the standard. This concept implies that while the mainstream White society is not a part of the community, it still holds enough power in society where its gaze into a non-White community results in understandable fear of producing and maintaining racism.

I refer to media as the form of broad communication regarding major news in society, such as newspapers, news channels and news on the radio. When discussing its impact, I include media available on every medium as being influential in producing dominant discourses resulting in knowledge, power and subject positions. In regards to my research specifically, the media I used was news materials, mostly news articles, published online.

### **Explaining My Project and My Relation to the Research**

The purpose of this research is to explore the ways in which the Western society silences South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence. I specifically analyze the news media, as a form of the 'White external gaze' to determine how this public talk about the South-Asian community perpetuates racism and ultimately silences South-Asian women.

My interest in the topic of domestic violence in South-Asian communities came from my personal experiences. My aunt's life was taken by her former partner, which has had significant implications to my understanding of domestic violence. It is through experiences like this that I noticed the phenomenon of silence around this issue and wondered why we were told to avoid talking about it.

I believe my position as an insider, as I am a South-Asian woman who has witnessed different forms of domestic violence, helped me in doing this research. This is because I approached my project with personal experience which can provide valuable insight into the research being done. However, I also had to be careful in making assumptions as every experience of domestic violence is unique and I only offer one perspective. I cannot speak for all of the South-Asian community for the same reasons. I also take on the position as an outsider, as I have the privilege of conducting research. My fears regarding this project included not wanting to contribute to the dominant discourse that culturalizes violence in the South-Asian community.

Research has great potential to do harm and has the power to present certain information as the truth. Throughout this project, I have been informed by a consciousness of the racist society in which I am pursuing this project in order to guide and anchor how I conduct, analyze and discuss my research.

My major research question was determining how the West silences South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence. In order to answer this, I chose to research how the 'White external gaze' specifically perpetuates racism, which ultimately silences South-Asian women from speaking about the violence they have faced. I analyzed the news media as a form of the 'White external gaze' by looking into news materials about three incidents of domestic violence involving South-Asian subjects and three involving White subjects. I found and explored the ways that violence is generalized within the South-Asian community, individualized within the White community as well as how South-Asian men are constructed as violent whereas violence is distanced from White men.

This project is important in understanding the unique experiences of the South-Asian community located in the West, where the role of racism in their experiences of domestic violence is largely neglected in mainstream society. The consequences of not appropriately contextualizing this experience within the racist society includes blaming solely the South-Asian community for this silence, which is a narrative commonly used within research and society as a whole. This blame results in absolving the West for their significant role in silencing South-Asian women in these experiences, thus leading to a lack of necessary social change. We need to shift our gaze to the harm the West perpetuates, rather than only focusing on the marginalized communities. Another consequence includes the maintenance of stereotypes about South-Asian subjects, specifically South-Asian men being violent, which determines how their bodies are read

and treated in society. An evident example of this is police discrimination towards Brown men because of how they are portrayed. This project aimed to disrupt these discourses by exploring how they are created in the first place.

I will begin by setting the foundation of my research in chapter two through a thorough literature review and critique of the dominant literature available on domestic violence in South-Asian communities using critical literature. I will also explain important concepts that have served as my theoretical framework: Critical Race Theory, discourse, power and subjectivity. In chapter three, I will explain why I chose to conduct a comparative Foucauldian discourse analysis and how I utilized this form of study. I will also explain the specifics of using news materials in my research and my process of collecting, organizing and analyzing data. My fourth chapter is where I analyze what I found in my research in regards to how the media perpetuates racism and the implications of such. I demonstrate how South-Asian men are portrayed and generalized as the violent “other” while White men are portrayed as individuals who made a single mistake. Through proving the harm that is perpetuated when incidents of domestic violence within South-Asian communities are publicly talked about in the West, my research offers significant insight into understanding silence as a method of protection against systems of racism and White superiority, which is emphasized further in both the discussion and conclusion sections.

## **Chapter 2: Resisting Dominant Discourses around Culture and Patriarchy**

### **Literature Review**

#### **Importance of Studying Domestic Violence in South-Asian Families**

Domestic violence is a very serious issue and is recognized as prevalent in almost every society around the world (Dasgupta & Warriar, 1996). At least two to four million women are physically abused each year (Merchant, 2000) and the World Health Organization (2013) reported intimate partner violence as one of the most common forms of violence against women. It is clear that domestic violence is a major health issue for all women (Claudia, 2001).

While domestic violence is a global issue, it has also been noted that social workers specifically have not adequately met the needs of clients with varying ethnic backgrounds (Ross-Sheriff & Jones, 1997). Similarly, South-Asian women are researched in ways that result in our understanding of 'their' issues in particular ways. This results in a lack of accurate information regarding the unique issues impacting this group and their intersection of gender, ethnicity, culture and residency status (Ahmad, Riaz, Barata & Stewart, 2004; DasGupta, 1993) as well as interlocking systems of oppression. Violence against South-Asian women occurs in a context where these women are simultaneously being subjected to class and racial oppression by Western society (Jiwani, 2005; Razack, 2003; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005).

Much of the literature on domestic violence in the South-Asian community discusses the prevalence of this issue. One particular study by Raj and Silverman (2002), which has been cited in numerous articles, had found that 40% of a sample of 160 South-Asian women in Boston reported violence in their current relationship. Canada's media continues to portray domestic violence in minority groups as more prevalent than in Western society (Fong, 2010). Through a study done by Madden (2015), it was found that South-Asian women do not experience domestic

violence at higher rates than the general public. The literature has suggested that South-Asians largely deny the existence of domestic violence in their community (Dasgupta, 2000) and there is a large amount of underreporting by the community (Goel, 2005).

Moreover, domestic violence has severe impacts. These include lower levels of self-esteem, depression, anxiety (Kallivayalil, 2010), loss of identity, suppressed anger, post-traumatic stress disorder (Midlarsky et al., 2006), sleep disturbances, fatigue, headaches, pains in chest, limbs and back ((Blasco-Ros, Sánchez-Lorente & Martinez, 2010). Studies have also demonstrated that domestic violence increases the risk of suicide and self-harm among South-Asian women in the United States and United Kingdom (Abraham, 1998).

### **South-Asian Cultures as an Entry Point**

Mahapatra (2012) states that the experience of domestic violence differs based on the community's culture, societal norms and history. This suggests that without a consideration of culture, it is probable that these women's experiences will be misinterpreted and neglected. The literature discusses how culture has a major impact on how South-Asian women understand the abuse and their responses. There is also a common agreement among the literature on domestic violence in South-Asian communities that culture needs to be considered in order for social services to be better equipped to serve South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence (Madden, Scott, Sholapur & Bhandari, 2015; Raj & Silverman, 2002; Midlarsky et al., 2006).

These discourses in the literature ignore the role of racism and sexism in Western societies that greatly shape the help-seeking behaviours of South-Asian women. While it is clear that culture is an important entry point in contextualizing the existence of differing experiences, it is extremely important to caution its improper use in practice and the dangers of using these narratives for cultural competency. Cultural competency is defined by Green (1999) as the ability

to “deliver professional services in a way that is congruent with behavior and expectations normative for a given community and that are adapted to suit the specific needs of individuals and families from that community” (p. 87). Pon (2009) argues that cultural competency is a new form of racism due to implying an absolutist nature of cultures leading to stereotyping, ignoring the role of power and systems of oppression in this work and its othering of those who are not White. Culture is not static and differs from person to person. An example includes people who are second generation of minority groups and how literature on cultural competency lacks consideration of such factors (Wong et al., 2003). Sakamoto (2007) discusses how cultural competency ignores the role of Whiteness in social work, including the profession being built on Whiteness, where Whiteness is considered the standard that determines how cultures are conceptualized. The othering of minority groups is then demonstrated in processes of colonization and racism (Pon, 2009). Also, following this idea, culture is often assumed as something that can be understood and taken as knowledge. However people outside of the culture can never understand it. In fact, Wong et al. (2003) demonstrated that even when someone is a part of a culture, they cannot fully understand how others in the same community engage with the same culture. Therefore, cross-cultural practice needs to involve a critical approach that centers the influence of power (Wong et al., 2003). This is why I prefer the term “cultural safety”, which was developed by Maori nurses, to move away from addressing culture through a check-list approach and instead towards a critical examination of existing power imbalances (Peiris, Brown & Cass, 2008). Baskin (2016) describes this concept as involving reflections and awareness of racism, power relations, power and privilege, oppression and marginalization and historical, economic and social contexts. This practice involves

understanding ‘culture’ as the intersections of the person’s multiple positions, including ethnicity, class, race, sex and age (Baskin, 2016).

Similarly, Burman, Smailes and Chantler (2004) discuss how service providers should avoid “culture-blaming” which involves using cultural assumptions and stereotypes to fault culture as a cause of violence. This is extremely problematic as it “others” South-Asians and assumes a violent culture. The authors also discuss the concept of “cultural privacy” which happens when service providers dismiss the violence out of fear of being “racist” (Burman et al., 2004). Pon (2009) would argue that the racism exists in the assumption that the social worker is attributing the violence to the culture through false stereotyping. Volpp (2003) talks about how these narratives assume cultures as frozen which happens in a society where people with power are seen as having no culture and are rational whereas people without power are irrational and act due to their culture. Social workers should give space to South-Asian women to define their own experiences instead of this being defined for them through racist assumptions.

### **The Importance of the Intersectionality Framework**

Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It’s not simply that there’s a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LGBTQ problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things (Crenshaw, 2017 June).

When discussing violence against women in her own community, Crenshaw (2017 May) describes a feeling of ambivalence where she wants to stand against the racism towards Black men by mainstream White society as well as against sexist instances towards women like her. She describes this “internal division” as her experience as a Black woman where she is oppressed by both systems of racism and sexism; an experience that cannot be separated into two but should rather be understood as a combination of both (Crenshaw, 2017 May). This relates to

discussing domestic violence in South-Asian communities, especially the exploration of what prevents South-Asian women from speaking about this violence. This discussion greatly involves the feeling of ambivalence where South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence face a dilemma. They are put in a situation where speaking out about this violence puts South-Asian men in a position where racist stereotypes are made by mainstream White society and where not speaking silences their experiences of violence. This dilemma is the cause of their intersectional identities of being both South-Asian and a woman, which needs to be understood together. Fedders (1997) discusses this as well and how domestic violence should be addressed in a way that does not contribute to police racism and discrimination of men of colour.

The chapter “The Question of Silence” in *The Dark Side of the Nation* by Himani Bannerji (2000) is very important to this understanding of silence and speaks to the same dilemma. Bannerji (2000) discusses women of colour’s public silence on violence against women in their communities involving the fact that speaking out about these issues involves the responsibility women of colour hold to themselves and to others in their community as what is publicly said becomes fixed. Women of colour do not have control over how what they say is received by those outside of their community and “who consider us not as people but as ethnic communities” (Bannerji, 2000, p. 153). “We are worried, understandably, to break silence because of not being even minimally in control of the public and political domains of speech or ideological construction” (Bannerji, 2000, p. 156). Bannerji (2000) validates the dilemma when discussing how speaking and not speaking both result in different issues. Bannerji states that “the doors of the community open as we speak out” (Bannerji, 2000, p. 153) which allows the West to insert the racism that comes with their external gaze.

Jiwani (1999) argues that the understanding of racism needs to be included in understanding violence as it is a system that informs everyday life of racialized individuals, but is often erased in dominant discourses. This supports the need to approach this topic through the concept of intersectionality through not only considering the existing racism towards South-Asian men, but also the racism South-Asian women face. Razack (2003) discusses how domestic violence in South-Asian communities is due to the creation of a “violent space”, which is not only caused by patriarchy, but the marginalization of South-Asian women in Western society. In order to address violence within the community, violence against the community must also be challenged which includes racism, economic exploitation, police brutality (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005), migration, isolation, and a sexist and racist host country (Bannerji, 2000). These systems also shape what it means to “belong” in Canada. Farrah Khan, at a Feminist Lunch Hour at University of Toronto Mississauga, spoke about the ways in which the Canadian state tells women of colour they do not belong and need policing through politics and bills such as “Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Acts” (Shaikh & Sarouji, 2015). The idea of needing help from mainstream White society is problematic when discussing domestic violence in South-Asian communities as it wrongly assumes that South-Asians need help due to their own community and ignores its own contribution to the violence.

### **Major Themes in Literature on Domestic Violence in South-Asian Communities with Significant Critiques and Considerations**

#### **Patriarchy and gender roles**

##### ***Patriarchy***

Much of the literature discussed the South-Asian culture and community being patriarchal. Patriarchy is a set of beliefs and principles that justify the domination of men over

women (Ahmad, Riaz, Barata & Stewart, 2004). It has been found that domestic violence is prevalent in most patriarchal societies (Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

Ahmad et al. (2004) found that higher levels of agreement with patriarchal beliefs correlated with lower levels of identifying domestic violence as violence and a problem. It was found that 52.6% of a sample of 47 South-Asian immigrant women in the Greater Toronto Area agreed with patriarchal beliefs and did not believe that domestic violence was occurring in the story provided (when the story was in fact about domestic violence) (Ahmad et al., 2004). The literature also suggests that patriarchal beliefs inform both men and women's understanding of violence against women. This is demonstrated in a study carried out by Madden et al. (2015) where 55.2% of a sample of 188 South-Asian women in Southern Ontario believed that women often lie or exaggerate their accounts of domestic violence, suggesting the connections between patriarchal beliefs and the normalization of violence.

Although this is an important concept to consider, the ways in which the literature on domestic violence in South-Asian communities discuss patriarchy is problematic. While patriarchy exists in the South-Asian community, the literature discusses this in a way that implies a higher level of patriarchal nature compared to Western society which is not true. Bannerji (2000) discusses how patriarchy exists in all societies and has been historically present for a long time. Everyone in the West, regardless of ethnicity, is surrounded by this system which makes the existence of violence against women not surprising in communities that share these same social conditions which is then reinforced further by the Canadian state (Bannerji, 2000). Additionally, Kanji (2017) discusses how violence against women in minority groups is referred to by judges and politicians as "horrible, evil and barbaric" that "have no place in Canada"

without acknowledging Canada's own extreme issues of violence against women. She goes on to say:

It is as if Canada is not a place where one woman is killed by her partner every six days; where 362,000 children witness or experience family violence every year; where police dismiss thousands of sexual assault complaints every year as "unfounded" because of institutional internalization of rape myths; where 73 per cent of women who sought refuge from abuse at shelters last winter were turned away because there wasn't enough room; where the law of provocation has reduced sentences for men who kill their wives or girlfriends because they were "provoked" into it — disproportionately excusing the violence of white men (Kanji, 2017).

The reason why people from the West attribute a higher patriarchal nature to minority groups is because violence in the West is seen as being done by a few outliers rather than being due to Western culture, whereas violence in immigrant communities are viewed as being representative of entire cultures (Kanji, 2017). By placing the blame on other cultures, it allows Canada and the rest of the West to deny their own need for action regarding violence against women, as well as the connection of the violence against minority women to the disadvantages presented by the West (Kanji, 2017).

### ***Gender roles***

#### *Gender role expectations of South-Asian women*

Much of the literature discusses, without critique, that the South-Asian culture defines the feminine ideal as self-sacrificing (Goel, 2005; Abraham, 1999; Midlarsky et al., 2006), nurturing and quiet (Abraham, 1999). Much of the expectation of women revolves their identity of being a wife and mother (Midlarsky et al., 2006; Abraham, 2000). As a wife and mother, the woman is socially constructed and expected to sacrifice her wishes to meet the wishes of her family (Dasgupta & Warrier, 1996; Abraham, 1999; Midlarsky et al., 2006; Raj & Silverman, 2002b; Kallivayalil, 2010).

The literature on domestic violence in South-Asian families also discusses how a woman is often defined by her marriage and role as a wife. Dasgupta (2000) suggests that women are seen as failing if their marriage does not last and her children are left without a father. In interviews with women who have experienced violence, Abraham (1999) found that the women felt they needed to maintain their marriage as a significant part of their identity. Similarly, Dasgupta and Warriar (1996) found that some women wanted to remain in the marriage due to their belief that it was their responsibility as a mother to keep the family together. The most prominent theme found in this study was the women discussing the socialization they experienced to be a “good wife” (Dasgupta & Warriar, 1996).

This literature discusses gender role expectations as static. There is danger when discussing these gender role expectations of South-Asian women as these ideas are often used to view this group as weak and vulnerable by Western society, shaping them as passive victims (Mehrotra, 1999). Mehrotra (1999) interviewed a group of South-Asian women who experienced domestic violence and found that the women engaged in various forms of resistance which disproved the assumption that South-Asian women are helpless and in need of rescuing.

Farrah Khan also discussed how all racialized women are institutionally made to look like “the other” (Shaikh & Sarouji, 2015). Bannerji (2000) also describes women of colour as the “others” of White women whereby they are seen as homogenized yet racialized subjects and differences are neglected through a multicultural narrative. It is clear that Western society often views differences as deficiencies. South-Asian women are not weak or in need of help by mainstream White society. The problem exists when the West does not allow space for women to seek support if they do not conform to the Western way of “speaking out”. Gender role expectations are also only talked about in the literature as being ways that prevent help-seeking

by South-Asian women and not about the positives that these can bring, for instance, wanting to try their best to keep their family together.

*Gender role expectations of South-Asian men*

This literature also discusses how men are highly valued due to patriarchal beliefs and, more specifically sons are valued more than daughters in families as they carry the family name (Midlarsky et al., 2006). The literature defines masculinity in the mainstream South-Asian culture by virility and power (Midlarsky et al., 2006; Abraham, 1999). While women take on the responsibility of the family, the men are expected to take on the responsibility of finances (Raj & Silverman, 2002b; Midlarsky et al., 2006; Thandi & Lloyd, 2011). The husbands are seen as the source of support to the wife (Goel, 2005). It is important to consider how these gender roles are challenged by the country's labour market when people migrate. In Canada, women are disproportionately affected by precarious employment (Oxfam Canada, 2005) which results in women obtaining jobs faster and becoming the source of income for the household. This causes a shift in the family dynamics and in Multani's research (2017), it was found that many men face pressures to maintain their masculinity when the roles in the household change.

In this literature, South-Asian men are most often being spoken about without their voices present. In order to understand the men's perspectives deeper, Thandi and Lloyd (2011) and Multani (2017) conducted interviews with service providers who work with South-Asian men (Multani's research focused on Punjabi men) who have engaged in domestic violence and identified major themes in these conversations. Multani (2017) found that many participants contextualized the men's violence through substance abuse, specifically alcohol misuse. The endorsement and acceptance of alcohol was seen as connected to Punjabi masculinity, socializing and reducing stress (Multani, 2017). Multani (2017) also found that many men in

intervention programs experienced or witnessed violence in their childhood which proves the importance of contextualizing violence through the intergenerational impacts of domestic violence. Moreover, it was found that the men often wanted to reconcile for the children by finding a resolution that addresses the issue while keeping the family together (Thandi & Llyod, 2011; Multani, 2017). Also, it was demonstrated that these South-Asian men found their obligations to provide for their family to be stressful as these pressures are further complicated by migration factors such as un(der)employment, settlement, racism and social isolation (Thandi & Llyod, 2011; Multani, 2017). While this is not an excuse for violence, it does offer the added layers of surviving in the West where the intersections of capitalism and racism have great impacts on the lives of South-Asians. Additionally, it was discussed how many are unable to abandon the benefits that come with their male privilege (Thandi & Lloyd, 2011). The men's understanding of their male privilege begins at a young age through socialization and identity formation (Multani, 2017). This has clear connections to being situated in a sexist and racist Western society where South-Asian men hold some privilege due to their maleness and are also oppressed due to their race. In a society where racism and police discrimination are every day threats to men of colour's lives (Fedders, 1997), the action of holding onto male privilege can be understood as a way of survival as this is rewarded in Western society.

### **Immigration related factors**

A lot of the literature on domestic violence in South-Asian families includes consideration of the extra layer of immigration and the unique factors this brings into the domestic violence experience. It has been found that domestic violence impacts immigrant women disproportionately due to the unique factors this brings that increase the women's vulnerability to this violence (Raj & Silverman, 2003; Merchant, 2000; Ahmad et al., 2004;

Menjivar & Salcido, 2000; Raj & Silverman, 2002b). These factors include cultural and linguistic barriers, isolation from and contact with family and community, and economic and legal status (Menjivar & Salcido, 2000). These factors are then layered with systems of oppression such as racism and classism, which further the vulnerability of immigrant women (Menjivar & Salcido, 2002; Dasgupta, 2000), and manifests in different ways such as shelters requiring proficiency in English for access (Sorenson, 1996). This also results in barriers to accessing social services when needed (Bayne-Smith, 1996).

Many authors discuss the prevalence of immigrant related social isolation and its significant correlation with and impact on the domestic violence experienced by immigrant women (Raj & Silverman, 2003; Gelles, 1997- in Abraham 2000; Raj & Silverman, 2002b). In Abraham's interviews (2000) with South-Asian immigrants who experienced abuse, three forms of isolation were identified: quality of interactions with husband, interactions with friends, family and coworkers as well as access to the ethnic community and formal services. Women experience loneliness and social isolation in a new environment (Abraham, 2000) in which they fear being single (Dasgupta & Warriar, 1996). Isolation results in a lack of access to support, from family (Dasgupta, 2000) as well as social services due to the lack of awareness of services resulting from social isolation (Raj & Silverman, 2003).

Moreover, the literature discuss how men have historically been primary immigrants while women entered the country as their dependents (Dasgupta, 2000; Gill, 2004). Authors argue that this contributes to the wife's vulnerability and dependency on their abusive husband (Merchant, 2000; Dasgupta, 2000; Midlarsky et al., 2006; Bhattacharjee, 1992). An abusive husband may use this to their advantage through threatening deportation (Dasgupta, 2000), controlling finances (Abraham, 2000), creating emotional dependency (Midlarsky et al., 2006)

and generally continuing to control their wives (Raj & Silverman, 2002b). Raj and Silverman (2002) also discuss economic insecurity impacting the stress of the husband. These processes interact with racism in Western society, which Tania Das Gupta (1994) demonstrates when she discusses how the exclusion of female South-Asian immigrants in Canada derived from racist intentions as it tried to ensure the non-permanence of South-Asian communities.

Many authors talk about the fact that the South-Asian community holds the status of a 'model minority' by mainstream society (Goel 2005; Dasgupta & Warriar, 1996; Merchant; 2000; Midlarsky et al., 2006; Thandi & Llyod, 2011). South-Asians have gained this reputation of a 'model minority' due to successfully adapting to the American society (Dasgupta & Warriar, 1996), following the law, being hardworking and self-sufficient (Goel, 2005), only practicing aspects of their culture acceptable to Canada, being grateful to Canada for having them and assimilating (Thandi & Lloyd, 2011). It is argued that this reputation results in South-Asians hiding the reality of domestic violence in order to maintain this image (Gill, 2004). Midlarsky et al. (2006) also notes that this pressure to maintain the image follows the second generation and impacts how immigrant parents raise their children. The desire of the South-Asian population to maintain this image connects to the fear of being exposed to further racism in the form of wrongly stereotyping if they spoke about domestic violence.

This literature on domestic violence in South-Asian families focuses on the ways the abusive husband can use immigration related factors as control, but pays less attention to the barriers, racism and injustices immigrants face in Western societies. The increase in violence against South-Asian immigrant women is very much connected to the barriers presented by the West which includes the fear of poverty (women of colour earn 32% less than White men on

average), the fear of losing immigration status and being traumatized by racist police (Kanji, 2017).

### **Cultures and values unique to the South-Asian population**

The literature on domestic violence in South-Asian families discusses traditional values to the South-Asian culture that influence help-seeking behaviours which includes karma (destiny), fatalism (acceptance of fate), filial piety (sacrificing own wishes to meet needs of family), collectivism and valuing kinship over individuality (Merchant, 2000). Honour and shame are also concepts that were mentioned in the literature to have value to the South-Asian culture (Gill, 2004; Tonsing & Barn, 2017; Thandi & Lloyd, 2011). Honour is defined in terms of status and reputation (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Gill suggests that the notion of shame values ‘saving face’ (2004) and surrounds the fear of external gaze (Tonsing & Barn, 2017). The literature discusses these concepts as fear of gaze from the community due to a value of reputation, but not why the external gaze from the Western society is dangerous due to the existence of extreme racism. Also, Mucina (2015) discusses the misconceptions of honour, as the West often uses “honour” related violence to justify cultural racism towards the South-Asian community and to push the notion that South-Asians need to assimilate to the West.

Moreover, the literature talks about the concept of karma, which is the idea that one’s current life is the product of their past actions (Kallivayalil, 2010), which implies that their situation is fate (Dasgupta, 2000) and can result in self-blame (Mahapatra, 2012; Kallivayalil, 2010). The literature also discusses how the South-Asian culture involves a high level of privacy, viewing family issues as personal (Mahapatra, 2012; Ahmad et al., 2004; Abraham, 1999), suggesting this relationship to the underreporting of domestic violence. This also has clear connections to the dangers of involving Western society’s gaze into the community. This is

demonstrated through South-Asian women's fear of ruining the reputation of their community and inviting racist stereotypes about South-Asian men (Gill, 2004).

It is also suggested in this literature that maintaining the family's honour is considered to be the responsibility of the woman (Dasgupta & Dasgupta, 1996). In the interviews with South-Asian women by Dasgupta and Warriar (1996), the women discussed not wanting a divorce due to feeling responsible for their family's reputation. This follows a strong cultural value of family (Dasgupta, 2000; Midlarsky et al., 2006). The literature suggests that there are consequences if a woman chooses to speak out about domestic violence which includes impacting the financial well-being of their children (Gill, 2004) and being a burden to her parents by causing them worry (Raj & Silverman, 2007).

These scholars also discuss how South-Asian culture views divorce as taboo (Raj & Silverman, 2007). This literature suggests that divorced women are defined by this (Midlarsky et al., 2006) and seen as selfish, unlucky and a burden to their parents (Menjivar & Salcido, 2002) as well as lessen the family's status (Dasgupta & Warriar, 1996). Due to these reasons, women fear rejection and stigmatization by community (Tonsing & Barn, 2017; Mahapatra; 2012; Raj & Silverman, 2007). Dasgupta (2000) also discussed how accusing a South-Asian woman of being a traitor to her culture and community is considered to be very harmful to her.

This literature on domestic violence in South-Asian families proposes that cultural aspects influence the help-seeking behaviours of South-Asian women. Again, culture cannot be simplified and generalized as it differs and does not apply to all South-Asian families the same way (Soni, 2013). It is dangerous if this information presented by the literature is taken up by White social workers and other helping professionals and assumed to be completely understood, which would follow the idea of cultural competency. It is important to acknowledge differences

in cultures, otherwise proposed “solutions” would instead be harmful such as pressuring divorce when the South-Asian woman wants to try to preserve her family instead. The fact that many South-Asian women who have been interviewed in the literature discuss these cultural themes prove their part in shaping their experiences. However, it is dangerous to solely look at culture as this approach ignores the systems of oppression and barriers that South-Asian women face in Western societies (Kanji, 2017). This is why culture is only an entry point.

### **Domestic violence services and the “justice” system**

Much of the literature discussed the inadequacy of mainstream domestic violence social services in regards to meeting the unique needs of South-Asian women and emphasized the necessity for contextualizing women’s experiences with cultural considerations (Preisser, 1999; Gill, 2004; Goel, 2005; Raj & Silverman, 2002; Midlarsky et al. 2006; Thandi & Lloyd, 2011). The assumption that Western individualistic models are the only solution results in confliction with South-Asian values such as the importance of reputation and putting family first (Midlarsky et al., 2006), issues surrounding communication and interpretations (Merchant, 2000; Preisser, 1999) and often inflicts more harm than help when using proposed “solutions” (Goel, 2005), which are often intrusive (Preisser, 1999). I believe the major reason for these inadequate services comes down to the centrality of Whiteness. Their inadequacy is not because they are not “culturally competent”, but rather they view everything in relation to what is considered “right” or “normal” based on White being the standard. This emphasizes the importance of community led and grassroots organizations. For instance, Punjabi Community Health Services (n.d.) seeks to address these gaps in services. One example of a service they provide is the ‘Better Families Program’ where unique needs of South-Asian families in Canada experiencing violence are met such as: linguistically and culturally safe services; discussions about parenting in Canada;

Eastern and Western differences; and understanding the Canadian legal, education and child welfare systems (Punjabi Community Health Services, n.d.).

Moreover, there are additional factors involved in the lack of utilization of domestic violence social services by South-Asian women (Raj & Silverman, 2002). Some of these barriers to accessing services include linguistic barriers (Raj & Silverman, 2007), as well as the unfamiliarity of domestic violence services and laws surrounding this issue (Raj & Silverman, 2007; Raj & Silverman, 2002b). In addition, some women believe disclosing the abuse will put them at more of a risk to violence (Gill, 2004) or some women may not even understand their experiences as abuse (Ahmad et al., 2004). Raj and Silverman (2002) recommend the need for community based education, using accepted terms, to promote the recognition of domestic violence which is thought to decrease the stigma of seeking help and increase the use of services. Raj and Silverman (2007) found that the women are more likely to seek support through their personal relationships such as their family. It has also been found that South-Asian women avoid disclosing abuse in fear of ruining the reputation of their culture and community (Dasgupta & Warriar, 1996; Dasgupta, 2000). This is extremely important as it demonstrates the role of racism in speaking out.

Further, the literature talks about the avoidance South-Asian women engage in with criminal justice services. In Raj and Silverman's study (2007) where 44 South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence were surveyed, not one woman reported using criminal justice services. This may be due to South-Asian women viewing the involvement of police as embarrassing (Volpp, 1996), and sources of shame and oppression (Dasgupta, 2000). Racism has a major role in the avoidance of police involvement. Abraham (2000) discusses the fact that formal institutions hold negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities which deters South-Asians

from seeking help. It is dangerous when White social workers or other professionals push the involvement of police, assuming this will always provide protection and not realizing the extent of oppression the law enforcement system holds over South-Asians. Moreover, racialized men are disproportionately imprisoned in Western society (Fedders, 1997). It was found through a study from the University of Ottawa that White men were more than twice as likely as racialized men to successfully claim the defence in court (Kanji, 2017). Thandi and Lloyd (2011) also found that South-Asian men felt mistreated, judged and not given the opportunity to speak by police.

### **Critical Reflection on Literature Review, Gaps and Moving Forward**

Completing this literature review highlighted the great complications of talking about and addressing social issues in one's own community within a society where the racist discourse of White superiority exists. How do racialized individuals talk about and address issues in our own community without contributing to racist beliefs taken and perpetuated by mainstream White society? This is why the inclusion of systems of power and oppression, specifically racism are needed in these conversations. I believe great danger can exist when White researchers, journalists, social workers and other helping professionals engage with research and talk about domestic violence in South-Asian communities. 'Talk' is a powerful tool in how ideas are formed, messages are spread and identities are constructed. Depending on the person's power and position in society, their 'talk' can be taken as undisputed truth when it may not be. Forms of public talk, such as research and the news, inform how the public understands a certain issue and group of people. These messages and beliefs then seem permanent in Western society, making them very difficult to resist against and prove wrong. This is why it is important to constantly evaluate how this research is being done, what it says and how it says this. This connects to how

Bannerji (2000) talked about our lack of control over how what we say is understood by those who are not us.

It is clear that the macro implications of research and addressing an issue should always be of high consideration. My entry point into this literature review was to explore how South-Asian women and differences in cultures are silenced and neglected by the centrality of Whiteness in mainstream social services. This interest came from my personal experiences and wanting to highlight the importance of grassroots and community led organizations. Throughout my research, the intersections of racism and sexism have emphasized that culture is only an entry point. Also, even when critiques of cultural competency are included, it is still important to acknowledge the ways in which the information can still be taken up by a non-South-Asian to support their idea of “cultural competency”. This can even be taken up by a South-Asian person through assuming the position of the ‘Native informant’ which comes from the assumption that someone is the expert of their own race simply due to belonging to that race (Abagond, 2009). This is problematic as it ignores the diversity within the community and assumes homogenous experiences.

The dominant literature available on domestic violence in South-Asian communities includes ways in which culture is discussed in a static way. They also talk about the lack of help-seeking behaviours by South-Asian women as mostly being due to the culture, rather than the interlocking systems of oppression they face. Much of the literature focused on the silencing that occurs within the community, but lacked focus on how Western society silences South-Asian women. These are gaps in the dominant literature. By understanding the silence of South-Asian women as being a culture or community problem, it absolves the West from addressing the violence and silencing they perpetuate onto the community. It also allows the West to continue to

“other” the South-Asian community, resulting in harmful stereotypes and exclusion in society. The West is then able to talk about issues within the South-Asian community in ways that benefits them and creates an image of innocence and superiority in comparison. By shifting the focus from why South-Asian women are silent to how the West silences South-Asian women, it forces the West to take responsibility of the violence they perpetuate. It also resists discourses that blame the South-Asian community without consideration of the systems of power and oppression they are subjected to.

My interest revolved around why South-Asian women avoid talking about domestic violence. Throughout this literature review, the idea of silence with the analysis of intersectionality kept circling back to the presence of Western society looking into the community. This fear of the ‘White external gaze’ into the community and the dangers this brings to a community already faced with extreme forms of racism clearly impacts how members of a community discuss the issues they face. Literature suggests that the members of the South-Asian community do not have control over how an issue within the community is taken up by the West once it is talked about. With my research, I wanted to fill a gap in the dominant literature on domestic violence in South-Asian communities by further exploring the ways in which the West silences South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence, focusing on the ‘White external gaze’.

The literature demonstrates that the primary approach taken when researching South-Asian women’s accounts of domestic violence is through interviewing. In order to step away from the dominating research methods, I pursued my research through an analysis of media in the form of news articles; a significant form of the ‘White external gaze’. There is very little attention in the literature to the role media has on understanding these themes. The news is a

major form of the ‘talk’ I discussed previously. It has the power in society to inform the public’s understanding of a certain group through the ways they talk about them, even- if not especially- through subtle ways. This ‘talk’ is often taken up as truth. This misinformation and misunderstanding shapes how systems of power interact and intervene with the South-Asian community, for instance, through police involvement and the justice system. Through this method, I researched the different ways the ‘White external gaze’ perpetuates violence against the South-Asian community through its ‘talk’ about violence occurring within the community. In my data analysis, I demonstrate how the media constructs the subject of the violent “other” through the racialization and culturalization of South-Asian men and deemphasizes the violence perpetuated by White men while emphasizing their individuality. This dangerous contrast in how the media presents different instances of domestic violence contributes to our understanding of an important function of silence; a method of protection against systems of racism in Canada, US and UK.

## **Theoretical Framework**

The theories and concepts that informed my research were significant in how I understood the workings of racism in this space and the consequences of such within the larger society. The major theories and concepts I utilized were Critical Race Theory, discourse, power and subjectivity. I have described the aspects of each theory and concept that have been influential in how I understood and conducted my research.

### **Critical Race Theory**

Critical race theory (CRT) understands racism as being embedded within and a known characteristic of Western society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). This theory aims to challenge and change the existing relationships between race, racism and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), with the goal of racial justice (Tate, 1997). CRT establishes that White subjects depend on non-White subjects in order to achieve and maintain superiority (Dyer, 1997). In plain language, racism advances White interests (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). One way this is done is through the difference of portrayal of racialized subjects and White subjects (Ladson-Billings, 2000), which my research examined. CRT rejects the idea of neutrality and objectivity, and instead views these narratives as camouflages for self-interest of the powerful (Tate, 1997). My research aligns with this rejection by analyzing the political work of news articles, which are supposed to be “neutral” and “objective”. I looked into how different discourses in the news are used to benefit and maintain White superiority and racism.

CRT is extremely important to my research as it helped to examine how dominant narratives about Whiteness and racialized subjects are produced. This greatly involves how racialized subjects are “othered”. The notion of the “other” is produced due to power and the normalization of dominant Western ways of existing (Hall, 2007). CRT aims to resist against the

marginalization and exclusion of racialized subjects from mainstream Western society. “CRT challenges the universality of White experience/judgement as the authoritarian standard...” (Calmore, 1992, p. 2160). In this quote, Calmore (1992) is demonstrating that White judgement is taken up by Western society as the standard in determining what is moral and immoral. This White judgment can also be seen as the ‘White external gaze’ in which the West is using themselves as the standard of what is normal and right in order to evaluate issues within racialized communities. White supremacy gives power to this gaze to determine how these issues are discussed, which is taken up as true even if it is not. White supremacy also gives high value to White voices, specifically when they talk about racialized subjects. This is how the ways we think and come to “know” are constructed.

CRT also understands race as a social construction (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Race is not objective, fixed or biologically real, but rather products of social thought and relations which are created, manipulated and ended by mainstream society based on what is convenient (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). While it is obvious that people with common origin share physical traits such as skin colour, this has little to do with higher-order traits such as personality and intelligence (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Bell (1989) also discusses how social realities are constructed through individual stories, which is what my research looked at as it involved analyzing how individual stories are generalized. Views of racialized subjects by mainstream society also change over time. For instance, at one time Muslims were seen as harmless but odd due to a different religion from mainstream White society which has now shifted to being understood as security threats due to events such as 9/11 (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). This illustrates the power society has in defining and redefining how racialized subjects are widely understood.

A key component of CRT is examining how Whiteness is viewed as neutral, unmarked and the standard. Through constructing non-White subjects as chaotic, White subjects are automatically constructed as colourless, stateless, rootless and a race of “angels” (Fanon, Sartre & Farrington, 1963). The White subject is not attached to a larger community but rather seen as an individual. This helps to explain how and why incidents of violence by White subjects are seen as individual acts and not generalized to the entire community like the way violence is to racialized communities. This also helps to explain why culture is only understood as belonging to racialized communities. “As long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they function as the human norm” (Dyer, 1997, p. 10). The idea of Whiteness being unmarked gives White subjects the freedom of defining who they are, instead of society deciding this for them which is done to racialized subjects. My research involved marking and naming Whiteness and how it works when analyzing my data in order to resist against the privileges of being unmarked. This helps to understand discourses around White subjects and the maintenance of the individualization of Whiteness.

Kimberlé Crenshaw, an important critical race scholar, brings the intersectional framework into race discussions, as discussed in my literature review. Without including intersectionality, one cannot adequately contextualize the lived realities of women of colour (Crenshaw, 1993). Women of colour are situated between categories of race and gender, which are wrongly treated as mutually exclusive (Crenshaw, 1993). Crenshaw (1993) discusses three types of intersectionality: structural, political and representational. Structural intersectionality demonstrates that women of colour exist within overlapping systems of subordination (Crenshaw, 1993). Political intersectionality explains how women of colour are minimized

through political and discursive practices when the issue involves gender and race (Crenshaw, 1993). Crenshaw (1993) provides the example of silencing public discussions of domestic violence in order to protect the integrity of the Black community, which is exactly what my research looked at with the South-Asian community. In this case, the women of colour's issue surrounding gender is minimized due to the danger public discussions have on their race.

Representational intersectionality is when certain narratives are constructed for women of colour based on the combination of gender and race (Crenshaw, 1993). This connects to how submissive and passive subjects are created for South-Asian women.

### **Discourse**

Many scholars describe what discourse is in different ways. Weedon (1987) describes it as a structuring principle of society that creates thought and subjectivity which is reproduced in institutions of power. Whereas Fairclough (2013) discusses it as a complex set of relations including various forms of communication, such as speech and text, and communicative events, such as conversations and newspaper articles. It involves relations between discourse and moments as well as other elements of the social world, including persons, power relations and institutions (Fairclough, 2013). Fairclough (2013) stated, "Discourse is not an entity we can define independently. We can only arrive at an understanding of it by analyzing sets of relations" (p. 3). While the concept of discourse is complicated, what discourses do is clear; they socially construct meaning (Fairclough, 2013).

Discourse is a way of constructing meaning and "truths" about the social world, specifically to particular groups, cultures and events (Gavey, 1997; Waitt, 2005). The meanings that are produced are determined by social factors, power and practices (Hollway, 1983). Power and discourse are closely intertwined as discourse is both exercised through power as well as

results in the establishment and perpetuation of power (Gavey, 1997). This aligns with what Fairclough (2013) discussed with regards to power and discourse being different elements but flowing together; as power is partly discourse and discourse is partly power.

Certain discourses become dominant due to power which allows them to produce certain meanings as the truth even if they are not (Chambon, 1999). This is how people come to “know” what they “know”. Power in discourse also results in “particular meanings [being] favoured, often being counted as knowledge, while others are excluded and silenced...” (Waite, 2005, p. 170). This demonstrates that the ways “knowledge” is constructed comes from particular perspectives, a certain agenda, leaves many voices out and aims to benefit the powerful subjects in society. Gavey (1997) also stated that these dominant discourses appear “natural”. This suggests the subtle nature of dominant discourses that make them difficult to identify and resist against. This is why an analysis of discourses is important to research in order to make public the subtle discourses impacting our everyday lives and existence in society.

The main characteristic of discourses is how they make meaning. Discourses are everywhere, in many forms and includes anything that produces meaning about the social world and the subjects within it. For the purpose of my research, it is important to highlight that what is being referred to as discourse in this research paper goes beyond solely language. In my analysis of news articles, I examined anything that creates meaning and produces knowledge, power and subject positions. This aligns with Foucault’s ideas, which Parker (1999) illustrates:

Foucault’s maxim that discourses are ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’ is useful here, for it draws attention to the way these ‘practices’ include patterns of meaning that may be visual or spatial, that may comprise face-to-face interaction or the organization of national boundaries. The ‘objects’ that such practices create (or ‘form’ in Foucault’s words) will include all the things that we see, refer to and take for granted as actually existing ‘out there’ (p. 3).

## **Power**

In this context, power is associated with hegemony rather than force or violence (Fairclough, 2013). Foucault did not conceptualize power as being hierarchal, but rather understood power as existing everywhere (Waitt, 2005). “It circulates through negotiated social practices in all levels of social existence” (Waitt, 2005, p. 173). Foucault suggested that both the oppressor and oppressed move throughout this cycle through negotiations of discursive norms (Waitt, 2005). This implies that our position in relation to power is constantly shifting depending on our interactions with discourses. For instance, while I am a South-Asian woman and lack power in society due to the intersectional systems of oppression I face, I am also given power by a powerful institution (York University) to do this research which produces certain discourses. Foucault also did not solely understand power as a negative entity, but rather considered it necessary for the oppressed to demonstrate resistance (Waitt, 2005).

It is clear that the understanding of power is extremely important as it produces discourse, knowledge and subject positions (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). It is through discourses that relations of power are established, maintained, enacted and transformed (Fairclough, 2013). Foucault talked about power and discourse in a way where power determines one’s position in discourse (Besley, 2002). In other words, are you doing the talking or are you being talked about? This relates to how subject positions are created, as it is those with power who have control over dominant discourses, “determining whether a person can speak, what is sayable and by whom and whether or whose accounts are listened to” (Besley, 2002, p. 138). This circles back to the exclusion of certain voices in dominant discourses, resulting in an incomplete or untrue narrative, where the excluded voices often belong to those who the discourses are about.

Often, dominant discourses distort realities of the “other” in order to maintain power and oppression (Ladson-Billings, 2000).

The inclusion of power emphasizes the agendas behind certain discourses. As Parker (1999) says, “... as we use language we are also used by it” (p. 5). This is because we do not have control over the meanings we are subjected to when we lack power in society (Parker, 1999). We are used by dominant discourses to create certain meanings about our subject positions, which may not be true. The meanings attached to us influence how we exist in society and how we are allowed to exist, through the relations between discourse and systems and institutions, what Foucault (1969) referred to as ‘discursive practices’.

Moreover, power and knowledge are extremely connected (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002), as discussed in the discourse section. It is power that determines what discourses are ‘dominant’, listened to and taken up as knowledge compared to the discourses that are ignored and disregarded (Waite, 2005). “...Knowledge is understood to be not neutral; it is closely associated with power. Those who have the power to regulate what counts as truth are able to maintain their access to material advantages and power” (Gavey, 1997, p. 462). Chambon (1999) discusses how power and knowledge are utilized for social control. This makes me reflect on the popular saying, “knowledge is power” where it seems that it is actually power that creates knowledge in the first place. How we come to “know” something depends on where the information comes from, and often it comes from those with power. Foucault coined the term “power/knowledge” to reflect the mutually dependent relationship between power and knowledge (Waite, 2005). The news has a great amount of power over what the public considers to be true which influences people’s attitudes and behaviours as well as how systems of power operate. For instance, discourses that produce a violent subject position for South-Asian men influence how they are

understood in society, how people treat them, how they understand themselves, and how systems of power such as the justice system intervene in their lives. Since Foucault (1980) believed the truth of knowledge is actually unattainable, because knowledge is socially constructed through discourses, he suggested to instead focus on the ways the effects of the truth are created in discourse.

An analysis of discourse should focus on the relations between the discourse and the social world, between people and the world and between the powerful and powerless (Matheson, 2005). Power should be at the center of analysis, in order to examine how power is working and for what purpose (Weedon, 1987). Through a close look at the workings of power, it is also possible to discover ways to resist against it.

### **Subjectivity**

People who are subjected to meanings through discourse (which is everyone) are “subjects”, which is the process of “subjectification” (Chambon, 1999). Subjects are constantly under construction and transformation (Chambon, 1999). Thus, discourses create “subject positions” which is essentially the shaping and regulation of identities and the meanings attached to them (Besley & Peters, 2007; Gavey, 1997). These meanings vary in regards to positions of power and determine how certain subjects are understood and viewed by society as well as how they understand themselves and the world around them (Gavey, 1997; Chambon, 1999). Power determines which discourses are dominant which allows those with power to construct the subject of the “other” in ways that maintain power and oppression (Besley, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2000). The construction of subjects serves the purposes of both defining the individual and controlling their conduct (Besley & Peters, 2007). This follows the logic that humans are not free or autonomous due to the fact that dominant discourses frame how our bodies are read and

acted upon (Chambon, 1999). The subject positions people take up or are viewed as taking up influence how they are treated in social structures and institutions.

An analysis of discourse then involves examining the ways “social beings come to be made into certain types of subjects... through various modes of seeing, knowing, and talking about the world” (Carter, 2000, p. 28). My research involved analyzing how different discourses in the media produce certain subjects for the South-Asian population. For instance, violent and cultured subjects and how these are generalized amongst the entire community. The subject production of the violent South-Asian man results in real practices within society, for example contributing to and maintaining police discrimination against South-Asian men.

In the following chapter, I explore how I utilized my reviewed literature and theories to conduct research on the ‘White external gaze’ and its harm on the South-Asian community. This chapter offers important insight into the set-up of my research. I provide a thorough explanation of my decision to apply a Foucauldian discourse analysis as well as the steps I took to collect, organize and analyze my data. In the subsequent chapter on data analysis, I will show that domestic violence in South-Asian families is a highly politicized affair in multicultural societies of Canada, US and UK. While White men are portrayed as individual familial subjects whose violence is limited to a single mistake, South-Asian men are portrayed as violent “others” whose patriarchal gender norms pose a threat to host societies. These media portrayals prove that the silence by South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence serves a significant role in protecting the South-Asian community from systems of racism in the West that perpetuate the same harm found in the media.

### **Chapter 3: Preparing for a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis of the ‘White External Gaze’**

#### **Methodology**

##### **“Researching Back”**

The dominant ways in which domestic violence in South-Asian communities is researched has often further perpetuated racist stereotypes. This is clearly shown in my literature review where the dominant literature on domestic violence in South-Asian communities focuses on culture and patriarchy, which shapes the image of South-Asian men as inherently violent. The research in the dominant literature uses stories and interviews with South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence while continuing to discuss violence within the community in ways that invite racism. The use of these stories in research seem to be for the purpose of gaining “credibility”, however the literature discusses these stories in ways South-Asian women cannot control. This practice of researchers takes advantage of vulnerable populations and uses what they say to support their own agenda. This violent research clearly demonstrates a form of the ‘White external gaze’. My project aims to “research back” (Kovach, 2015) by researching the West and how it perpetuates violence towards the South-Asian community, instead of researching the South-Asian community on their experiences. Kovach proposes “researching back” due to the fact that many vulnerable populations are over researched and in harmful ways (Kovach, 2015). There is great resistance in shifting our gaze onto the ‘White external gaze’ itself; the act of researching the entity that has been researching us. “Researching back” is a concept from Indigenous methodologies. In utilizing this model in my research, I highly value the influence Indigenous theories have on not only this research project, but also in addressing the violence research has perpetuated in general.

### **Exploring my Choice of Methodology**

I used a discourse analysis in order to consider how the ‘White external gaze’ silences South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence. When violence in the community is publicly talked about and the doors of the community open for the ‘White external gaze’ to look in, members of the South-Asian community do not have control over how the violence is taken up by the West (Bannerji, 2000). This silences South-Asian women from talking about violence within their community due to fear of the ‘White external gaze’ and the racist narratives it produces. My research analyzed this gaze, the violence it perpetuates and how this is done. I chose discourse analysis in order to explore the political work of discourses. A discourse analysis analyzes how spoken and written language produces social and cultural perspectives and identities (Gee, 2004). ‘Discourses’ refer to “a system or aggregate of meanings... through which certain social phenomena – ‘need’, ‘knowledge’, ‘intervention’ – are constructed... in other words... sets of language practices that shape our thoughts, actions, and even our identities” (Healy, 2014, p. 3). Fook (2002) highlights the role discourse analysis has in the resistance of dominant systems by rejecting the ideas presented and pointing out contradictions. I did this in my research by identifying the commonly overlooked ways that dominant discourses perpetuate and maintain racism towards South-Asian communities and exploring contradictions when White subjects are talked about. A discourse analysis helped in analyzing the subtle violence in dominant discourses and assisted in rejecting and resisting against these narratives.

More specifically, I chose to undergo a discourse analysis using a Foucault informed approach. I chose to use a Foucauldian discourse analysis over using a critical discourse analysis because I wanted to look beyond solely language practices. This methodology looks at how power relations are created and maintained through narratives that shape our understanding of

the world (Carabine, 2001). I looked at all discourses present in my data set that contribute to racism towards South-Asians resulting in silencing South-Asian women. Foucault's ideas emphasize the importance of placing discourses, including language, within larger political contexts. My research was placed within the larger context of racism. How racism towards South-Asian communities works and looks like informed how I contextualized discourses. This includes narratives around South-Asians being violent and the "other". This understanding of racism comes from my education, my literature review and my personal experiences. Foucault also talked a lot about "subjectification" where subjects are constantly under construction and come to be through dominant discourses (Chambon, 1999). The power that these dominant discourses have make it possible to take an untrue instance and produce it as truth (Chambon, 1999). The dominant discourse I analyzed was media in the form of news articles. Media is a powerful system that produces certain subjects every day without the mainstream society even realizing it. A Foucault informed discourse analysis aims to unsettle taken-for-granted narratives by questioning discourse (Graham, 2005). I did this by looking for subtle ways the media produces certain subjects, for instance violent South-Asian men, and situated this data within the system of racism to consider how this perpetuates racism and ultimately silences South-Asian women. While a discourse analysis will not tell us what is "correct", it will bring attention to the interconnectedness of meaning, power and knowledge (Foucault, 1980).

Using a Foucauldian approach also involves understanding discourses through their historical roots through the notion that the self cannot be understood outside of history (Chambon, 1999). Using this framework involves knowing how a discourse developed and how it has been used to create a certain narrative. Some of the discourses I looked for include the

South-Asian population generalized as being violent and the “other”. I will discuss examples of historical events that demonstrate the foundations of these discourses.

To begin, early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a few thousand South-Asians migrated to British Columbia and the Pacific Coast of the United States, where they received higher wages and encouraged other South-Asians to follow (Johnston, 2006). Negative attention by Canadians and Americans due to racial prejudices and fears of economic competition resulted in Canada preventing immigration from India in 1908 and the United States doing the same in 1910 (Johnston, 2006). An example of Canadians’ hostility towards South-Asian immigration was in 1907 when 10 000 people in Vancouver protested Indian immigration (Canadian Museum for Human Rights, 2017). While the United States planned to use their existing regulations as strictly as they could to keep South-Asians out, Canada developed two regulations for the same purpose in 1908 (Johnston, 2006). The first regulation allowed them to deny entry to anyone who did not come by a continuous journey from their home country, which was with clear purpose as there were no ships that made a continuous journey from India to Canada (Canadian Museum for Human Rights, 2017). The second regulation was to require Indian immigrants to provide \$200 (Johnston, 2006) which was eight times the amount required for the entry of White immigrants (Canadian Museum for Human Rights, 2017). These discriminatory immigration regulations set the stage for the Komagata Maru incident in 1914 (Johnston, 2014). The Komagata Maru was a ship with 340 Sikhs, 24 Muslims and 12 Hindus, who were common British subjects to Canadians (Singh, 2007), but were denied entry into Vancouver and forced to return to India (Johnston, 2006). A Vancouver newspaper, the Daily Province, released news articles once they heard about the ship’s destination demonstrating South-Asians were not welcome, one titled “Hindu Invasion of Canada” (Singh, 2007). Canada’s rejection of South-Asian immigration

unmistakably illustrated the belief held by White Canadians that Canada was “a White man’s country” (Johnston, 2014) which is a clear foundation of the “othering” of South-Asians now. This idea of “othering” involves exclusion, marginalization and sends a very clear message that South-Asians do not “belong” here.

Additionally, in the early 1980s, Canada’s Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau proclaimed the multiculturalism policy, which was influential in constructing and defining the “other” (Thobani, 2007). The discourses around this policy constructed the source countries of incoming immigrants as “pre-modern, tradition bound and culturally backward” (Thobani, 2007, p. 163). Non-Western cultures were constructed as more patriarchal than the West and immigrants were seen as essentialized, cultured and frozen into “traditional” subjects (Bannerji, 2000; Thobani, 2007). This policy made it seem as though immigrants wanted the same practices they experienced in their source countries. Instead, the concerns raised by immigrant communities were in regards to racism and discrimination rather than needs for multiculturalism (Bannerji, 2000). This focus by the state on culture had clear political gains as it effectively deflected attention away from addressing power inequalities faced by immigrant communities (Gupta, 1994b; Bannerji, 2000). Thus, the multiculturalism policy had power in the culturalization of the “other” which provided a solid foundation for the West to ‘talk’ about domestic violence in South-Asian communities in particular ways, using these same narratives of culture.

Another major historical event was 9/11, which heavily influenced the dominant discourse of South-Asian men being violent. After this event, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International reported a large number of South-Asians being harassed and subject to hate crimes by airlines, police and the common public due to what they constructed as what “terrorists” look like (Prashad, 2005). This was because they shared or were perceived as sharing

the national background or religion of al-Qaeda members thought to be responsible for the plane attack of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon (Prashad, 2005). 9/11 had significant influence on the construction of Brown bodies being violent, especially Brown men. It involved the West producing narratives that generalize this violence to all Brown bodies and attributing violence to people's appearance, culture, religion and language. This is demonstrated in airport security when often it is Brown men who are "randomly selected" for additional security based on aspects such as their appearance and name on their passport. This discourse of violent Brown men has been so entrenched in the media, news and how government officials talk about country security and crime to the point where Brown men are automatically attached to being violent. This is contrasted by the narratives surrounding White men responsible for large-scale crimes, who are rarely labeled as terrorists, but rather discussed as "lone wolves". This has clear connections to my research regarding not only the dominant discourse of violent South-Asian men, but also the discourse of South-Asian communities being homogenous and therefore generalized.

## Methods

### Selected Data Set

I selected six incidents of domestic violence that were discussed in the news, three of them being incidents involving South-Asian subjects and the other three involving White subjects. For both the data sets for South-Asian and White subjects, there is one incident from Canada, one from the United States (US) and one from the United Kingdom (UK). I wanted to have this selection based on location because my focus is on the West, rather than one country. The way I selected the incidents in the news was searching the terms: domestic violence, abuse, kill, wife and husband along with Canada, US or UK in Google and news websites. I then chose the incidents based on what I needed for my data set, specifically the location and “race”. All of the incidents I selected involved either a South-Asian man perpetuating violence towards a South-Asian woman or a White man perpetuating violence towards a White woman. I purposefully did not select incidents of domestic violence in biracial couples, as this involves multiple layers, making the comparison to other incidents difficult. See Appendix A for the incidents of domestic violence selected.

The way I selected the news articles to analyze for each incident involved searching the name of the man who perpetuated the violence in each incident in Google. I then selected and saved all the publicly accessible Western news materials on the incident in the results until the tenth page of the Google search. I decided to collect the news materials this way in order to select them in the same way for each incident, as well as analyze the materials most available to the public. I did not exclude any news articles based on the race of the author, as I understood the article to be a product of a larger Western system. For the incident involving South-Asian subjects in Canada, one link provided multiple links to articles from the Ottawa Citizen which I

included in my data set. Table 1 displays the number of news materials collected for each incident selected, along with what these news materials consisted of. Table 2 shows the year each incident of domestic violence occurred. It was important to me to find recent incidents of domestic violence in order for my research to be relevant in understanding how these systems are operating presently. There were a variety of news outlets. As long as the nature of the article or other material (i.e. video) was reporting news, I included it in my data set. Appendix B displays the news outlets of the articles I selected for each incident.

Table 1  
*An Overview of News Materials Selected*

	Canada	US	UK
South-Asian	<b>50</b> (44 news articles, 5 videos, 1 post on Facebook page of news outlet)	<b>21</b> (all news articles, 2 of which had a video)	<b>24</b> (all news articles, 2 of which had a video)*
White	<b>8</b> (7 news articles, 1 video)	<b>53</b> (all news articles, 23 of which had one video, 7 had 2 videos and 6 had 3+ videos)	<b>39</b> (37 news articles, 17 of which had 1 video, 1 had 2 videos and 2 videos)

Table 2  
*The Year of Occurrence of Each Incident of Domestic Violence*

	Canada	US	UK
South-Asian	<b>2014</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2018*</b>
White	<b>2014</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>2017</b>

\* The court case for this incident of domestic violence was not completely finished at the time of my data collection. He had been charged with murder and the plea hearing was set for February 6<sup>th</sup> and a provisional trial for April 8<sup>th</sup>. I stopped collecting data on January 21<sup>st</sup>.

### **Organizing, Coding and Determining Themes**

When I was going through each news material, I decided to organize my notes into five sections: language describing the violence; pictures used; article titles relevant to research questions; how the background of the men were described; and other important notes. As I went through each news material, I took the notes I thought were important to my research and kept

track of the articles I took notes on in my list of articles collected. I also tallied the number of uses of language describing the violence (e.g. murder and kill) in order to explore if this language was used more often in incidents involving South-Asian subjects. I did not end up using this data in my analysis because the amount of language used to describe the violence did not significantly differ in comparison between incidents involving South-Asian and White subjects.

Once I took notes on every article, I colour coded my notes using highlighters to distinguish between different techniques of racism the media was utilizing. These codes included: representation, background, generalizing versus individualizing and violence being emphasized or deemphasized. I then decided to organize my data analysis into three main themes: the general representation of South-Asian men and White men; the emphasis of the South-Asian identity in conversations about violence; and generalization versus individualization. My data analysis was informed by my understanding of Foucauldian concepts of power, discourse and subjectivity as well as my literature review and additional literature I believed to be important to incorporate. I then tied my analysis of the racism perpetuated by the media back to the silence of South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence in the West.

### **Ethical Considerations**

While I did not have overt ethical considerations, as my research did not involve human participants and my desired data was all publicly accessible, I still had ethical questions. I used people's stories in a way that they did not consent to being used. These stories are public in the media, but still involve real people and their real names. While my focus was not on them specifically, but rather how the West talks about them, it was still extremely important for me to demonstrate respect to the people being talked about.

Teresa Macías' writing (2016) about the ethics in archival research, specifically involving testimonies of torture, informed my understanding of the great importance of considering and addressing ethical concerns when conducting non-human research, especially research involving people's stories. Such research involves perpetuating less obvious forms of violence, such as decisions regarding how to code, contextualize data, use data to frame arguments, and deciding which stories to include and exclude (Macías, 2016). It is important to pay attention to the reasons behind our decisions, instead of assuming these decisions do not result in violence. In my research, I brought personal and intimate stories into the academic world. This is not without consequence, as the analytical nature of academics brings about a distant and colder approach to personal stories. Also, as Macías (2016) discussed, I took these stories out of the context they were originally and used them to frame my own arguments.

In order to address these ethical concerns, I anchored my research with my research question which involved examining how the West silences and perpetuates violence onto the South-Asian community. With this research question, I did not analyze the stories themselves, but rather how the stories are being presented by the media. My focus was on deconstructing the violence by the West rather than deconstructing the personal stories. I also wanted to remain

mindful throughout my research that I am looking at people's stories and experiences of violence in order to avoid becoming desensitized to this fact and seeing the stories only as data. Moreover, including the real names of the people involved in the stories made the research very personal to people I do not know and do not have permission to talk about. I have included the names of the men involved in my appendices for the purpose of transparency in my research. However, in order to address these concerns, I have avoided using their names when talking about my research and how I have chosen to analyze the articles. I thought about this specifically when reflecting on how I would not want someone using my aunt's name repeatedly throughout their research paper without even knowing her. I have also decided not to include the photos I have analyzed from news articles in my paper for the same reasons, especially as it would involve including pictures of South-Asian subjects in discussions about the violence they have perpetuated. I did not want my research to replicate the same harm I analyzed in the media.

The following chapter outlines my data analysis. I provide a thorough examination of the ways certain discourses are produced and the implications of such. I consistently prove the harm perpetuated by the media towards South-Asian communities which is contrasted by the privileges the media's 'talk' brings for White communities. The major themes I studied included: the general representation of the men involved, the emphasis of the South-Asian identity in conversations about violence and generalization versus individualization. These themes provide important insight in understanding the silence of South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence through proving the role silence has in protecting the community from systems of racism and White superiority in Canada, US and UK.

## **Chapter 4: Data Analysis - The Production and Generalization of the Violent “Other”**

### **The Person behind the Violence: The General Representation of South-Asian Men versus White Men**

A major theme found when comparing the portrayal of South-Asian men and White men in news articles is how they are represented in a more general sense. As Ladson-Billings (2000) stated, one way racism is demonstrated in Western society is through the contrasts in portrayals of racialized subjects and White subjects. This involves depicting a certain representation of the kind of person they are in different ways, for instance through pictures or particular comments from friends and neighbours. The inclusion or exclusion of such depictions are controlled by the media and have clear agendas that result in consequences. The major questions I have asked myself is why the media has chosen to show or say something when discussing incidents of domestic violence involving South-Asian subjects, while the process is different when reporting incidents involving White subjects. What does this imply? What messages does this send to the public? What does it result in? I have considered this comparison very important in order to prove contradictions in the media and prove the news to be a racist system with clear goals. This aligns with the rejection of neutrality and objectivity by critical race scholars (Tate, 1997).

#### **Photos used**

To begin, the pictures used in the news articles demonstrate a great example of how South-Asian men and White men are portrayed in particular and subtle ways in regards to the person they are. This can only really be seen through a comparison analysis. Through my research, I have found that news reporting on incidents of domestic violence involving South-Asian men include pictures of the man (1) with a serious affect, (2) looking away from the camera, and (3) often without their family. By contrast, in news articles discussing White men who have perpetuated domestic violence, the pictures included are more often (1) involving

smiling, (2) looking at the camera and (3) with family. What do these themes imply about the person being talked about? I argue that the use of these types of pictures humanizes White men, while it dehumanizes South-Asian men which is a process with significant implications. These discourses become dominant due to the power the media holds which results in the production of certain subject positions that frame how the men's bodies are read and acted upon (Chambon, 1999). I will explain how these portrayals connect to the production of violent and less violent subjects.

(1) I will first discuss the difference in pictures showing a majority of serious expressions compared to a majority of pictures showing the man smiling. Through the use of pictures showing a serious affect, I argue that it is easier for the media to produce a violent subject for South-Asian men. This notion comes naturally, as the public reads the description of the violence perpetuated which is matched with a majority of serious photographs. These photos align with what an "abuser" or "murderer" is expected to look like, which makes the violent subject easy to produce. I have compared this to the incidents of domestic violence involving White subjects analyzed, where the majority of pictures of the man include him smiling. This is especially prevalent in one of the highly publicized incidents involving White subjects in the United States. This does the exact opposite, and disrupts what an "abuser" or "murderer" is expected to look like. It forces the public to question his level of danger, when they are bombarded with pictures of him smiling. This is why I argue that by including these pictures, the media does not produce the same violent subject as they do with South-Asian men. These pictures serve to disconnect violence from the person, in a very subtle way.

(2) The majority of pictures used for South-Asian men involve him looking away whereas the majority of pictures used of White men include him looking at the camera. I argue

that this has a similar effect as the previous theme of serious versus smiling. When pictures are shown of the man looking away, it disconnects the reader from the person. It is easier to not see the man as a person because the reader is unable to look into their eyes. This is contrasted by the reader having access to view the White men's eyes, which makes it easier to humanize them. Additionally, critical race scholars have written very interesting literature on eyes in regards to the act of looking and being looked at. Namely, Razack (1998) discusses the politics of eyes in her book *Looking White People in the Eye*. She discusses a lack of eye contact by racialized and Indigenous people being seen by White people as a sign that they are "unreliable, remorseless and uncooperative" (Razack, 1998, p. 75), which is a gesture by these communities that is often criminalized (Cheema, 2009). However, it is clear that racialized and Indigenous people face a dilemma as direct eye contact, especially with White people, can be seen as disrespectful and to be punished (Razack, 1998). It is not surprising that this phenomenon is intensified in interactions with police and the justice system. In this case, the majority of the pictures provided display the South-Asian man looking away which the literature has provided insight into how this is read as guilt by White people and the larger society. I believe it is important to analyze these seemingly small choices the media makes, as they heavily influence how the media produces particular subjects for South-Asian men and White men.

(3) The inclusion or exclusion of pictures of the men with their family has significant implications on how the men are portrayed by the media, the subjects that are produced and how the public takes this up to understand the person behind the violence. The majority of pictures involving South-Asian men show him alone, whereas the majority of pictures used in incidents involving a White man show pictures of the man with his family. This is especially highlighted in the US incident involving White subjects, where the man killed his pregnant wife and

daughters. The news articles reporting this incident were filled with pictures of the man with his family as well as him with his wife, in which they were all smiling. This is juxtaposed by a picture used in one of the incidents involving South-Asian subjects. This picture is a cropped photo of the South-Asian man who appears to be serious and looking down. This particular cropped photo is repeated throughout the news articles reporting on this incident. However, in only one news article and one news video I analyzed, the full version of this picture is shown. The original picture is of the South-Asian man walking with his children, with his arm around his son. Why was this picture cropped when the pictures of the White man with his family were not? Why was this cropped picture the repeated photo used in the news articles? What is the purpose of the inclusion and exclusion of photos with family?

I argue that this serves to produce South-Asian and White men as certain subjects. By including pictures with their family, it sends the message that this man is or at least was a good father, husband and good person. It humanizes them by defining them beyond simply the violence they perpetuated. This also distances them from being constructed, and thereby understood, as a violent subject, as the violence is not the only aspect being focused on. In comparison, when the South-Asian man is more often shown alone and without his family, it allows the public to remain focused on the violence they have perpetuated. As other aspects of themselves are not shown, such as their role as a father or husband, the subject of a “killer” or “abuser” are more easily produced, as well as more easily used as defining the person completely.

### **Other ways the media humanizes and dehumanizes White and South-Asian subjects**

The news articles have used ways other than pictures to represent the men in certain ways and produce particular subjects. These ways often speak to the same themes the pictures do,

however I will include specific examples found in the news articles analyzed. I will begin by discussing the highly publicized incident involving a White man, which involved the vast majority of pictures being of the man with his family smiling. In these news articles, the media seemed obsessed with creating this particular image of “the perfect family” and how this was destroyed. This phrase was repeated throughout the news articles. This was also accompanied by news articles including comments from others speaking to the man’s character and his role as a father and husband. This included a video his wife made not long before the incident, saying that he is the best thing to ever happen to her. In addition, there were accounts by people saying he was a loving father. There was an account by his neighbour saying, “he was a good mechanic if you needed help with your car- he’d help you out. If you needed help with furniture, he’d be over there in a heartbeat to help you out” (Haythorn, 2018). News articles also included a video of his daughter saying her dad is her hero, along with videos of the man playing with his daughters. There is also this emphasis of how he is “normal”, especially from his parents who insist in their interviews that “he is not a monster”. He is often referred to as “Colorado dad/husband/father”. Again, the inclusion of these accounts allow the instance of violence to be distanced from the man, as many other sides of him are shown. The reader now views him as not just a “murderer”, but also a good father, a good husband and a helpful and kind neighbour.

A similar account was found in another one of the incidents involving White subjects that I analyzed, where out of the 39 news publications I analyzed, 26 of them had article titles that mentioned he is an ex/former Ukip Councilor. The articles repeat that he is a former British politician, which is accompanied repeatedly with a picture of him in a suit and a ribbon on his chest. While these are facts about the man involved in the incident, the repetition of such emphasizes that he is more than just a “murderer”; he is a former British politician which comes

with prestige. In addition, a former politician the man used to work with said he still considered the man “a friend”, that “these things happen” and that “he still regard(s) [him] a fundamentally decent man who has found himself in circumstances beyond his control” (Merrill, 2018).

Showing positive aspects of these men works to humanize them, rather than define them through the violence they have perpetuated. This sort of information is not included when discussing the incidents involving South-Asian subjects. Rather, the focus of the news articles remain on the violence they have perpetuated which makes it easier for a violent subject to be produced, especially when this is not complicated by showing positive aspects of their character. The news did not provide “redeeming” opportunities for South-Asian men by including these positive accounts. I argue that this is done purposefully, in order for the public to only view South-Asian men as “abusers” and “murderers”.

In the highly publicized incident involving a White man, the articles include unnecessary and irrelevant comments. Two examples include: “Tanned and fit, he looked in the camera-apparently in anguish-and begged for his family to come home” (Jeltsen, 2018) as well as a caption under pictures of his strip search: “[He] has been on a fitness kick before he enacted his evil plan” (Cox, 2018). A parallel of this was found in another incident involving a White man I analyzed where there were two pictures included from the man’s past with the caption: “[Him] in his body-building days” (Pattinson, 2018). Why is the news commenting on these men’s bodies like this when reporting on the violence they have committed? I found this to be extremely inappropriate and highly unnecessary. It takes away from the focus of the violence and shifts the readers’ attention to something completely irrelevant. This connects to another aspect of the highly publicized incident; the White man who killed his wife and daughters received many love letters from women since going to prison. The reason for this is beyond the scope of my

research. However I am focused on what the media, a form of the ‘White external gaze’, includes and excludes when reporting domestic violence incidents and what this results in. Out of the 53 articles I analyzed for this particular incident, 10 of them had an article title that centered around the man receiving love letters. While this is an interesting occurrence to analyze and question, for news articles to focus so much on this, once again results in distancing the man from the violence he has perpetuated. In other words, focusing on these types of information serves as a distraction from the violence, and thus furthers the process of humanizing. The articles for this specific incident are also quite long, which speaks to what the articles are unnecessarily including. This includes detailed pictures of text messages between the man and his wife as well as pictures of the love letters sent by other women to the man once he was charged. In the news articles I analyzed of the incidents involving South-Asian men, irrelevant details to the reporting of violence of this nature were not included. This may be influenced by how the West understands what relationships should be like, specifically the normalization of public displays of affection. The pictures of text messages between the man and his wife may be irrelevant to the reporting of violence, but may be considered relevant to how the public understands the relationship, and thus the incident of domestic violence. Still, it is interesting that these details were not included in the incidents involving South-Asian subjects as a chance for the public to “understand” their relationships. Instead, the articles on these incidents remained focused on the violence perpetuated.

### **The Emphasis of the South-Asian Identity: The “Other” as Violent**

The way the background of the man is shown in the news is significant to analyze in order to explore how the media connects particular races and cultures to violence while disconnecting Whiteness from violence. Related to this, I have also looked at how Whiteness is

constructed as “raceless”, as White subjects are constructed as colourless, stateless and rootless (Fanon, Sartre & Farrington, 1963). These constructions allow for individualization rather than generalization. This is why this section connects strongly with the following section regarding generalization versus individualization. Generalization begins with how the media emphasizes the backgrounds of the South-Asian men. In this section specifically, I argue that by emphasizing the background of South-Asian subjects while talking about the violence they have perpetrated, it links the South-Asian identity to violence. This is possible due to the creation of subject positions by discourses, which shapes identities, and more specifically the meanings attached to them (Besley & Peters, 2007).

To begin, the articles reporting the incidents involving South-Asian subjects have often overtly specified their background. The ways this was done were as follows: referring to the man, wife and mistress as “three Indian-origin Canadian nationals” (Acharya, 2016); saying the wife is a Native of Karachi, Pakistan; the mistress is a native of India; and referring to the man as a Pakistani-American. One article explains that the man was sponsored so he “could leave India for a better life in Ottawa” (Dimmock, 2016). Not only does this emphasize that they are South-Asian, but also that they are not “from here”, that they are not White and are therefore the “other”.

One way the media makes the background of South-Asian men clear is through the pictures used. It is clear that they are the “other” simply by providing a picture showing their skin colour. While this cannot be avoided when including a picture of the man, it cannot be denied that this has power in how the media and public understands an incident of violence after knowing it has been perpetrated by a South-Asian man, given that racism is embedded in Western society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Similarly, there is power in including and

repeating the man's name as this is another way the public gains information about the South-Asian background of the man, and also makes it clear that they are not White. Again, this cannot be avoided when reporting an incident of violence but the power in the use of the man's name is very significant to how the South-Asian background of the man is made clear to the public.

Aside from pictures of the man simply showing their skin colour, I also found that the photos used in South-Asian incidents often involved cultural or religious attire. A caption of one photo explicitly said, "[Husband] and [wife] are seen in this picture wearing traditional Pakistani clothing" (Bentley, 2011). One repeated photo of the man is him wearing a ramal. These also include pictures of the extended family at the funeral service in two incidents involving South-Asian subjects and a video of the family praying. These photos and videos display and make obvious the culture and religion of the family. There seems to be an emphasis on showing or talking about these intimate moments among the family where they engage in religious practices such as praying. In one incident, the family prayers are emphasized through how much it was mentioned, including specifying Sikh prayers as well as the video showing the family praying in religious attire including men in turbans. The inclusion of such images is significant due to the West's construction of particular religious attires as violent. For instance, in a study by Banaji and Al-Ghabban (2006), they examined the experience of watching the news during and after 9/11 through interviews with Indian viewers in Bombay as well as British-Asian viewers in South-East England. Many participants named the power of the photos used due to the meanings people have attached to the them, in particular all bearded and turbaned men were constructed as dangerous and a threat (Banaji & Al-Ghabban, 2006).

Moreover, the media has unnecessarily included and emphasized the South-Asian background of the man. One important example was in regards to the man's language and

accent. Following different quotes by the man, four news articles included this: “[He] said in a thick East Indian accent” (Carrocetto, 2016). A few articles also included “[He] said/admitted through a Punjabi interpreter” (Gillis, 2016). The inclusion of these statements are very unnecessary, especially the ones regarding his accent. I argue that it is clear that the purpose of including this in the news is to emphasize the background of the South-Asian man. I do not understand the reasoning otherwise. In contrast, the UK incident involving White subjects centered a White man with a British accent (observed from the recordings of his 999 call) but this was never mentioned in the news articles. While it would be a different context all together as British accents are associated with power, it is still important to question why the accent of the South-Asian man was emphasized and not the British accent. Another unnecessary detail included in an incident involving South-Asian subjects was that before the violence occurred, the wife was watching a Bollywood movie. Although this seems like a small detail and not much to speak to, I argue that it is unnecessarily making the non-Whiteness of the family clear. While I have identified details that are “unnecessary” and “irrelevant” to the reporting of violence, they are clearly relevant to the discursive construction of the subjects as violent and the “other”.

Another significant factor to consider when analyzing these articles is the racialization of Muslims. The concept of ‘racialization’ allows for more insight into how the Muslim experience is racial through many factors including: the “othering” of cultural traits (Modood, 2005); the essentialization of cultures (Bonilla-Silva, 2010); and the fact that individuals who hold a Muslim identity have shared experiences of hatred and discrimination from the society (Selod & Embrick, 2013). This process is seen in one of the incidents involving South-Asian subjects where their identity as Muslims is made very clear. Examples from these articles include: repetition of the fact that the timing of the violence occurred while they were celebrating

Ramadan, referring to the man as a young Muslim and one article title starting with, “Muslim man who had his mistress gun down his wife...” (Bentley, 2011). In another incident involving South-Asian subjects, the fact that the wife converted from Hinduism to Islam was also repeated. By contextualizing the media’s inclusion and emphasis of the Muslim identity within the social reality of rampant Islamophobia in the West, it is clear that the media is trying to stress a connection between the Muslim identity and violence. This narrative has been historically present, especially since 9/11, which has constructed those who are Muslim and Brown bodies as violent and a threat. Abbas (2001) talks about how Muslims in Britain believe their representation in the media is distorted and stereotypical. The media has a major role in producing this dominant discourse and subject position for Muslims and Brown men, where those who are being talked about do not have power to reject these discourses.

The implications of the “othering” of South-Asian subjects is extremely important to examine. The concept “the other” has been used to describe how non-White subjects are seen and understood due to the existence of White superiority. This concept has significant meanings, specifically how the Western ways of existing are considered the standard (Hall, 2007). Due to this standard, the “other” is often seen as abnormal and the depictions of them almost always involve violence and a lack of morality (Goldberg, 1993) as “Western values” are seen as moral (Narayan, 1998). Specifically, racialized subjects are portrayed as “wild”, “primitive” (Ladson-Billings, 2000), and dangerous (Hesse, 1997). Thus, South-Asian subjects as racialized “others” are constructed as violent due to the fact that they are not seen as belonging to the standard of normality and morality.

I argue that the media’s emphasis on the South-Asian identity, and simultaneously their non-Whiteness thus the “other”, is also used to construct particular meanings for South-Asian

cultures. The common distinction made between Western and non-Western cultures has been understood as a politically motivated colonial construction, where non-Western cultures are essentialized and “Western cultures” are considered superior (Narayan, 1998). The discussion of “Western cultures” is interesting as the White community is more often seen as being cultureless. Volpp (2003) discusses this by highlighting that individuals with power are seen as having no culture and are rational whereas people without power are seen as acting due to their culture and are irrational. Thus, the emphasis of non-Whiteness also implies “cultured” subjects. This allows the media, and as a result the public, to engage in “culture blaming” through using essentialized assumptions and stereotypes to blame the culture for the violence perpetuated by non-White subjects (Burman, Smailes & Chantler, 2004).

In comparison to the incidents involving White subjects, the news articles do not comment on the backgrounds of the men but only mention where they live. An emphasis on culture and religion is not done. In fact, White subjects are often constructed as “raceless” and “cultureless” (Dyer, 1997; Volpp, 2003). The following are what the news articles used to describe the White subjects: “A Saskatoon man” and “Colorado man”. Never do we see news articles report on the backgrounds of the men, because it is implied that they belong in Canada or the United States, in these examples. They are seen as Canadian or American, whereas this is not true when speaking about South-Asian subjects. This speaks to both belonging as well as how race is a social construction (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). I will further discuss the concept of White subjects being “raceless” in the following section, as this discourse has great implications to how White subjects are individualized.

### **Generalization versus Individualization**

Throughout my research, I discovered ways in which the media generalizes violence across the South-Asian community as well as individualizes violence done by members of the White community. This is done in subtle ways and a comparative analysis helps to prove the existence of these discourses. While every theme interacts with others, this section and the previous section in particular are very closely related and should be understood together.

#### **How South-Asian subjects are generalized in incidents of violence**

As mentioned earlier, we cannot talk about the generalization that occurs without talking about the media's heavy focus on the background of the South-Asian person. When news articles constantly emphasize that the person who has perpetuated violence is someone of South-Asian background, the entire South-Asian community is brought to the space of conversation. As critical race scholars emphasize, individual stories of racialized subjects are used to construct social realities (Bell, 1989). This emphasis results in the person being viewed as a member and thus a byproduct of the community, whereas White individuals who perpetuate violence are seen as an individual person as their community is not emphasized at all. When someone's community is constantly included in the discussion of violence, it is clear that the media is trying to say something about the community as well, instead of remain focused on the individual. Otherwise, why else would this focus on background exist? Why does it not exist in discussions about White subjects?

As Bannerji (2000) discusses in *The Question of Silence*, South-Asian women do not have control over how what they say about the violence they have faced is taken up by the West and used to generalize and produce particular subjects. In my research, I have found a prime example of this and it is the title of an article from the Independent about the UK incident

involving South-Asian subjects. The article title is, “After a woman was killed with a crossbow in London this week, we need to talk about domestic violence in South-Asian communities” (Khan, 2018). This is exactly what generalization of violence looks like, and is done so in quite an overt way. This one news article is very powerful in connecting an individual incident to the entire community. While it is extremely important to talk about domestic violence, this type of generalization does not happen with White subjects. It is almost laughable to imagine an article title like this speaking about White subjects, because it is commonly understood that this would never happen. The fact that this does not happen to White communities proves that the West constantly constructs “other” communities as more patriarchal, while denying their own patriarchal issues (Kanji, 2017). By doing this to “other” communities, it allows the West to take on a place of innocence in comparison to how these communities are represented to the public. Kanji (2017) also emphasizes the fact that violence in the West is seen as being perpetuated by a few individuals, whereas violence within “other” communities is seen as being representative of the entire culture, allowing for the misconception of a higher level of patriarchy. The actual article proceeds to talk about underreporting of domestic violence in the South-Asian community, specifically regarding cultural differences among services available. I believe the focus of the title should then be the inadequacy of the social services, rather than the South-Asian community. Nonetheless, I am specifically highlighting the power of this article title in the generalization of domestic violence across the South-Asian community. Article titles are very influential in creating discourses. It is not uncommon for members of the public to read an article title to inform their understanding of a certain situation quickly, and to avoid reading the actual article.

### **How White subjects are individualized in incidents of violence**

Not only does this generalization not happen in incidents of violence involving White subjects, there are many ways that White subjects are individualized further. As said by Khaled Beydoun,

Remember: the greatest privilege attached to Whiteness is individuality. Unlike Muslims, Black, Brown and other individuals of color, whites are never expected to condemn the violence of a white culprit. No burden of collective responsibility. No assignment of collateral guilt (Khaled Beydoun, 2018).

Throughout my research, I have explored how this individualization happens subtly in the news and have found three major ways: the media heavily focusing on the concept of domestic violence; demonstrating a certain fascination with the individual person; as well as the “raceless” construction of White subjects. By ‘a focus on the concept of domestic violence’, what I mean is the media emphasizes that the incident was an event of domestic violence, rather than violence in general. When the idea of domestic violence is emphasized, I argue that this is seen by the public as an individual event that is isolated to this person and their home. This allows for the individualization of the violence. This emphasis on domestic violence was found in a number of ways in the incidents involving White subjects I analyzed. In the incident occurring in Canada, the news articles had statements about the man having a pattern of domestic violence with women. The articles focused on his jealousy, rejection and anger issues in relationships. The parole board decision stated, “A psychological assessment of October 2017, indicated you are viewed as a high risk of violence towards a partner and as a low risk to violence towards others at this time” (Giles, 2018). It is clear that the violence perpetuated by this man is repeatedly being isolated to domestic violence concerns, rather than being presented as violence in general. These statements also serve to deemphasize the violence perpetuated. This specific quote suggests that the man is not a violent *person*, but rather demonstrates violent *behaviour* in

*specific circumstances*, in this case in relationships. Additionally, in the incidents involving White subjects occurring in the US and UK, a similar focus on domestic violence was found through statements such as: “domestic violence killings are common and rarely get sustained national media attention” (Jeltsen, 2018), “domestic abuse continues to take place behind closed doors” (Lumby & Pilgrim, 2018) and “we had a dedicated team of domestic abuse specialists who ensure the correct response is provided to the victims...” (Ardehali & Robinson, 2018).

Furthermore, the fascination of the person serves to individualize them as aspects such as their individual characteristics and body language is closely focused on, rather than aspects such as their membership of a community. In the incidents occurring in the US and UK specifically, especially the highly publicized one occurring in US, the media seems fascinated with trying to understand the person and their mind. In the US incident, the media is very focused on the question of “why?” and the articles have statements from the court proceeding such as, “how can a seemingly normal husband and father annihilate his entire family?” (Foody, 2018). The articles constantly discuss his changing behaviours, with articles that include very detailed timelines including pictures, text messages and letters with specific dates and times. The media has discussions trying to “figure him out” and specifically trying to understand his mind. These practices by the media force the public to view him as an individual person, rather than in connection with anyone else. In the incident occurring in the UK, there was a similar fascination with the man and his mind. In particular, the media seemed intrigued by the man’s 999 call, a recording of which was included in 20 of the articles I analyzed. In his 999 call, he told the officer he had just killed his wife in a calm and matter-of-fact manner which was followed by him saying ‘Happy New Year’. This fascination of the person forces the public to remain focused on the individual person. These instances prove that White subjects who perpetuate

violence are seen as “odd”, “strange” and in need of being “figured out”, implying that they are far from what the White community is like. By “odd”, this really means “odd one out”, allowing for individualization. This same process happens in police violence against racialized and Indigenous Peoples through the discourse of “a few bad apples”, rather than holding the entire system accountable.

I have briefly discussed the phenomenon of White subjects being constructed as “raceless” in the previous section. The connection of “racelessness” to the individualization of White subjects is clear. By portraying non-White subjects as racial, “cultured” and violent, White subjects are then seen as colourless, rootless and “a race of angels” (Fanon, Sartre & Farrington, 1963, p. 218). Whiteness is considered the human norm as they are not racially seen or named (Dyer, 1997). White subjects are not seen as members of a larger race or community, but are rather seen as humans (Dyer, 1997). This allows White subjects to create their own identities, rather than their identities being produced for them due to their belonging to a larger group. When a White individual perpetuates violence, the entire White community is not analyzed, because they are seen as one individual. Non-White subjects do not have the privilege of being seen as individuals. They are seen as members, and thus products of, their racial and cultural communities. Also, the essentialization of non-Western cultures depicts these communities as homogenous, which also speaks to how the generalization of violence happens. If everyone in a particular group is seen as the same, then the violence that one member perpetuates will be understood as widespread among the community. By contrast, as White subjects are seen as cultureless, this same process of generalization does not happen. White subjects are seen as human, and thus unique from each other, and having the freedom of being understood as individuals.

## Discussion

Through the analysis of my research, I have placed the discussion of individual incidents of violence within their contexts of racism; an established and embedded characteristic of Western society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The media, as a form of the White external gaze, supports the West's racist agendas through: the difference in general representation of South-Asian and White subjects; the emphasis of the South-Asian identity in conversations of violence; and how violence is generalized across the South-Asian community and individualized in the White community. The process of watching the news has been confirmed to be a deeply and constant political activity, as found by the majority of the sample in the study by Banji and Al-Ghabban (2006). The media has produced particular meanings as being attached to the South-Asian identity (Besley & Peters, 2007), specifically a subject position of violent South-Asian men. The power the media has allows these discourses to become dominant, which constructs them as the truth even when this is not the case (Chambon, 1999). This has important implications to how South-Asian subjects are widely understood (Chambon, 1999).

This analysis has proven the harm the media inflicts, as a form of the White external gaze, when speaking about incidents of violence occurring in the South-Asian community. As Bannerji (2000) suggests, women of colour do not have control over how the West takes up these stories of violence to perpetuate racism. As discussed earlier, "the doors of the community open as [they] speak out" (Bannerji, 2000, p. 153), allowing the White external gaze to insert surveillance, judgement and the production and generalization of South-Asian men as violent subjects. Crenshaw (2017 May) also spoke to the "internal division" women of colour experience due to wanting to stand up against racism towards their community but also the oppression they face through sexism. Thus, this research validates the silence demonstrated by South-Asian

women experiencing domestic violence, by displaying how the West takes up stories of violence within the community to perpetuate racist generalizations and stereotypes. Silence should not be understood as a simple choice; rather what appears to be a necessity to avoid the harm done by the ‘White external gaze’.

In the final chapter, I tie my research project together by emphasizing silence as a method of protection, encouraging a more multilayered understanding of the phenomenon. This chapter highlights the importance of shifting our gaze toward the West and its responsibility for this silence. I also provide other concluding thoughts I have about media, research and practice.

### **Chapter 5: Concluding Thoughts – Understanding Silence as Protection**

In concluding this research, I have explored how the West silences South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence through the ‘White external gaze’ onto the community. The research has proven the harm this gaze perpetuates in maintaining and furthering racist generalizations and stereotypes in a variety of subtle ways. The vast differences and contradictions in how the media discusses South-Asian subjects compared to White subjects were made visible using a comparative Foucauldian discourse analysis. Namely, it was found that the media works to generalize violence within the South-Asian community using ‘talk’ about race and culture and construct South-Asian men as violent subjects. In contrast, the violence perpetuated by White subjects were individualized to that one person as well as distanced from them.

This harm by the West, through the ‘White external gaze’, has significant implications for the silence of South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence. In this context, silence is often discussed as a choice. This research disrupts this narrative by working to understand silence as rather a method of protection from the racism the South-Asian community is subjected to in the West, which is furthered when incidents of violence within the community are publicly discussed. The dominant literature consistently associates this silence to culture, resulting in the blame solely being attributed to the community, which works to relieve the West of any responsibility. This research proves the need to shift our view to the West and contextualize these experiences within their context of racism. The analysis of the racist context is extremely important and largely missing from the dominant research.

This research provides great insight into the discourses we are faced with in the media every day, often without conscious realization. The media is a powerful system and influences

how we understand the world, others and ourselves. It is crucial to situate what we are reading within larger systems of power and oppression. We need to understand the media as not an “objective” source of information, but rather a part of these larger systems. This often becomes clearer when comparing how the media discusses marginalized populations to the more dominant groups, specifically rich White men. The media can be understood as a harmful gaze on many other communities, which is why a critical examination of what is said and how is imperative.

I also believe this project is a valuable contribution to the work of shifting the focus of research from individuals’ experiences to systems of power and oppression, as Kovach named “researching back” (2015). This shift in research acknowledges and addresses the harm research does when vulnerable populations are over researched yet still made invisible (Kovach, 2015). In research about domestic violence in different communities, this approach to research emphasizes that marginalized individuals are simultaneously subjected to systems of oppression in the West, which needs to be understood as a significant part of the experience. This project also highlighted the power research has in constructing certain subjects, which results in clear consequences. I look forward to further research that is also inspired by the concept of “researching back” as I believe it adds a considerable amount of value in viewing the world differently; in a way we are not yet used to being told about.

In regards to practice, this research is significant in disrupting the common ways that helping professionals work with South-Asian women experiencing domestic violence. I believe it encourages professionals to rethink their approaches and reflect on biases they hold when working with different communities. It also pushes for a safer space for women, where they should be able to define their own experiences rather than this being assumed through notions of ‘cultural competency’. It is important for professionals to have a constant awareness of the

systems of power and oppression their clients face, which is an awareness that should be taught in their professional education. Without this awareness, they will never be able to see the full picture of their clients' experiences and their work will have great potential to replicate the same harm as the larger systems of oppression clients are already facing.

Overall, this research is important because it appropriately speaks to the responsibility the West has in furthering oppressive experiences through racist 'talk'. It proves silence about domestic violence within diasporic South-Asian communities to be complicated and rejects simplistic attributions of blame. While it is easy for the West to solely blame the communities while claiming a position of innocence, it is untrue, harmful and unhelpful. The phenomenon of silence is multilayered and must be understood as such.

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**Appendix A: Selected Incidents of Domestic Violence in the News-  
Names of the Men who Perpetuated the Violence**

	<b>Canada</b>	<b>US</b>	<b>UK</b>
<b>South-Asian</b>	Bhupinderpal Gill	Kashif Parvaiz	Ramanodge Unmathallegadoo
<b>White</b>	Clint McLaughlin	Chris Watts	Stephen Searle

**Appendix B: Media Outlets of News Articles Selected**

<b>Incident of Domestic Violence</b>	<b>Media Outlets in Data Set</b>
Bhupinderpal Gill	Ottawa Sun (2), Canoe, CTV (3), 580 CFRA News Talk Radio, 1310 News (2), Calgary Sun, CBC, National Post, South Western Ontario, Northern News, Ottawa Citizen (32), Gulf Times, SBS, Vancouver Sun, Winnipeg Sun
Kashif Parvaiz	Daily Record (2), NJ, CBS New York (2), Las Vegas Sun, News 12, Daily Mail, NBC 4 New York, Intelligencer, BBC News, HuffPost, NY Times, NY Daily Mail, CBS News, 1450 & 95.9, Lowell Sun, The Sydney Morning, Deseret News, New York Post, ABC News
Ramanodge Unmathallegadoo	The Guardian (2), BBC, Mirror, The Sun (2), Breitbart, Daily Mail (2), Independent (2), Ilford Recorder, CNN, Evening Standard, Fox31, news.com, The Telegraph, Coffs Coast Advocate, MEAWW, New York Post, Fox News, WTVR, Washington Post, NBC News
Clint McLaughlin	Saskatoon Star Phoenix (3), Global News, CBC (2), Panow, CTV News
Chris Watts	WSOC-TV, 9 News, AOL (2), Fox 8, ABC News (3), US, HuffPost Canada, news.com, Mercury News, Denver Post, New York Post, Sky News, Global News, NBC News, ABC11, ABC15, Daily Beast, OK Magazine, BBC, WLWT, News-Mail, Express, Fox News, ATI, Denver 7, CBS Denver, Washington Post, NZ Herald, CBS News, Inform NY, AI TV, The Sun (4), Toronto Sun, Inside Edition, The State, People, International Business Times, Daily Mail (2), Mirror, EOnline (2), Rolling Stone, AJC, CNN, INSIDER, MEAWW
Stephen Searle	Evening Standard, Mirror, Express, ITV News, Cambridge News, Daily Star, Daily Record, Metro, Guernsey Press, Birmingham Mail, Huffington Post, Town 102, Suffolk, Bury Free Press, UK News, SBS, Island FM, Forces, World News, Vector News, The Sun (2), RWSfm, The Times, EADT (3), BBC (3), Independent, Guardian (2), Sky News (2), News Video, Daily Mail, The Telegraph, Suffolk Now

## Appendix C: Ethics Approval Form - TD1

		Office of the Dean York University	230 York Lanes — 4700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3	tel: (416) 736-5521 gradstudies.yorku.ca/
<b>Form TD1: Thesis/Dissertation Research Proposal</b>				
Submit completed research proposals to your graduate program office. DO NOT submit forms directly to the Office of Research Ethics (ORE).				
<b>Student information</b>				
Surname Sodia		Given name(s) Jasmine		
Student number 216070948		E-mail [REDACTED]	Phone [REDACTED]	
Program Social Work		Degree & year of study MA 1	Current status full-time	
Title of Research Proposal How the West Silences South-Asian Women's Experiences of Domestic Violence- A Comparative Foucauldian Discourse Analysis of the 'White External Gaze' on South-Asian and White Subjects				
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Thesis <input type="checkbox"/> Dissertation <input type="checkbox"/> Pilot Project <sup>1</sup>				
<b>Type of Research</b>		<b>Documents to submit</b>		
Please check one:		Programs will forward the following to the Office of the Dean, Graduate Studies, 230 York Lanes		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> A	No human participants and no secondary data analysis <sup>2</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TD1 (signed by student, supervisor, and graduate program director)</li> <li>• Thesis/Dissertation Proposal</li> </ul>		
<input type="checkbox"/> B	Human participants, minimum risk <sup>3</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TD1 (signed by student, supervisor, and graduate program director)</li> <li>• Thesis/Dissertation Proposal</li> <li>• TD2 (signed by student and supervisor) (original + 1 copy)</li> <li>• Sample informed consent and other relevant documents (original + 1 copy)</li> <li>• TCPS Tutorial Certificate</li> </ul>		
<input type="checkbox"/> C	Secondary Data Analysis not conducted as part of a faculty research project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TD1 (signed by student, supervisor, and graduate program director)</li> <li>• Thesis/Dissertation Proposal</li> <li>• TD2 (signed by student and supervisor) (original + 1 copy)</li> <li>• Informed consent and other relevant documents (original + 1 copy) if applicable</li> <li>• TCPS Tutorial Certificate</li> </ul>		
<input type="checkbox"/> D	Research involving Aboriginal/Indigenous Peoples <sup>4</sup> (Do NOT use TD2 form; use HPRC form) <sup>5</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TD1 (signed by student, supervisor, and graduate program director)</li> <li>• Thesis/Dissertation Proposal</li> <li>• HPRC Protocol Form (signed by student and supervisor)</li> <li>• Sample informed consent and other relevant documents</li> <li>• Checklist for Researchers: Research Involving Aboriginal People</li> <li>• TCPS Tutorial Certificate</li> <li>→ FGS will forward to Aboriginal Research Ethics Advisory Group (AREAG) &amp; HPRC for non-delegated review</li> </ul>		
<input type="checkbox"/> E	Human Participants, data collected under faculty research grant with HPRC Approval Certificate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TD1 (signed by student, supervisor, and graduate program director)</li> <li>• Thesis/Dissertation Proposal</li> <li>• TD4 (original + 1 copy)</li> <li>• HPRC Approval Certificate for Supervisor's research project</li> <li>• TCPS Tutorial Certificate</li> </ul>		
<input type="checkbox"/> F	Animals or biohazards (must be under faculty supervision)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TD1 (signed by student, supervisor, and graduate program director)</li> <li>• Thesis /Dissertation Proposal</li> <li>• TD4 (original + 1 copy)</li> <li>• Animal Care Committee (ACC), or Biosafety Committee (BCC) Approval Certificate for Supervisor's research project</li> </ul>		
<input type="checkbox"/> G	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human Participants, more than minimal risk, or</li> <li>• Research involving Clinical Trials (Do NOT use TD2 form; use HPRC form)<sup>5</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TD1 (signed by student, supervisor, and graduate program director)</li> <li>• Thesis /Dissertation Proposal</li> <li>• HPRC Protocol Form (signed by student and supervisor)</li> <li>• Sample informed consent and other relevant documents</li> <li>• TCPS Tutorial Certificate</li> <li>→ FGS will forward to HPRC for non-delegated review</li> </ul>		
<p>TD1 = Thesis/Dissertation Research Proposal Form  TD2 = Research Ethics Protocol Form for Graduate Students  TD4 = Statement of Relationship between Proposal and an Existing HPRC Approved Project  TCPS= Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Tutorial Course on Research Ethics</p>				