

APOSTATES AS A HIDDEN POPULATION OF ABUSE VICTIMS

Hari Parekh and Vincent Egan *

Centre for Forensic and Family Psychology,
YANG Fujia Building,
University of Nottingham,
Wollaton Road,
Nottingham,
NG8 1BB, UK

*Corresponding author; vincent.egan@nottingham.ac.uk

Email: vincent.egan@nottingham.ac.uk

Accepted by: Journal of Interpersonal Violence 01 December, 2019

Running header: Apostasy and abuse

5,157 Words before references and tables

APOSTATES AS A HIDDEN POPULATION OF ABUSE VICTIMS

Abstract

The term ‘apostate’ describes the term used by the religious to describe individuals raised within religious families who once identified as religious, but who have ceased to believe in the existence of God, gods or follow their religious belief, and now identify as non-religious. Given the strong feelings families can have about the rejection of their shared faith, and the difficulty that police forces may have in identifying and understanding the complexities of violence towards the apostate, this study sought to examine the possibility that apostates represent a hidden population of abuse victims within religious households. We recruited 228 persons (102 Male: 119 Female) from an online survey with the support of ‘Faith to Faithless’ – a service within Humanists UK, which supports people that leave their religious faith. Individuals were screened using a modified version of the conflict tactics scale to quantify their experience of assault and negotiation. It was found that persons who identified as apostates experienced more assault (i.e., harmful violence) than non-religious persons. Within this sample, Muslim apostates were significantly more likely to be victimised than Christian apostates. Disclosure of being abused for identifying as an apostate within a religious household to law enforcement was extremely uncommon, thereby preventing detection or prosecution of abusive acts committed by family members and limiting public awareness of this issue. These results are discussed in the context of the broader culture of honour-based (*izzat*) violence which occurs across the Eastern Mediterranean, Middle East, and North Africa, and is also seen in some Protestant Christian subcultures, and common to all Abrahamic religions, rather than Islam alone. Further, this study highlights that within a multicultural society, there remain hidden populations of abuse victims that are vulnerable due to religious, cultural, and traditional constraints made by abusive family members.

Keywords: apostasy, victim, abuse, hidden population, domestic violence.

INTRODUCTION

People typically follow the religious faith observed by their family (Herzbrun, 1999). The term ‘apostate’ is given by the religious to describe individuals raised within religious families who cease to believe in the existence of God, gods or follow the religious belief when they choose to identify as non-religious (Hunsberger, 1983; Hunsberger & Brown, 1984; Hadaway, 1989). The onset of apostasy varies: an individual may leave the religious identity of their family due to non-belief from childhood; discarding childhood beliefs in adolescence (when belief in religious traditions as a child becomes untenable in adolescence); or when actively choosing non-belief in young adulthood (Herzbrun, 1999). Dissatisfaction with the notion of an all-powerful interventionist God, dissatisfaction with organised religion, the development of a scientific outlook and morality, free of supernatural foundations, all provide reasons for some people to identify as an apostate (Fazzino, 2014; Wright, Giovanelli, Dolan, & Edwards, 2011). The transition from adherence to apostasy can be a difficult decision for people to make, as the process of leaving one’s religious faith can cause the individual to re-evaluate their sense of identity. This process has the propensity to cause an individual to question their identity, as this was initially formed by the convergence of religion, tradition and culture, necessitating a new version of this identity (King, 2003; Oppong, 2013).

Disagreement about values between individuals is often problematic, and can particularly cause conflict in families. Arguments about religion can be volatile, as faith often encapsulates shared social values and identities (Tajfel, 1982). While all Abrahamic (Jewish, Christian, and Muslim) scriptures censure apostates (see appendix A), whether this rejection is regarded as a metaphor or physically enforced depends upon how literally one considers the injunction within the belief system. The literal interpretation of injunctions within a belief system begs the question of what safeguarding mechanisms are in place for people if a literal

interpretation is taken as axiomatic (Cooper, 2013; Anthony, 2015; The Guardian, 2015; Shams, 2016).

The assertion by offenders that, they are protecting the honour of their family and community, is regularly used as a rationale for committing a crime (Gilbert, Gilbert, & Sanghera, 2004). From a religious perspective, the apostate can be victimised for dishonouring the collective beliefs of the community and household, and as such, crimes against the apostate can be classified under the umbrella of being ‘honour-based’. Honour-based violence (HBV) can be described as:

A collection of practices used predominantly to control the behaviour of [specifically] women and girls within families or other social groups to protect [or defend] perceived cultural and religious beliefs, values or social norms in the name of ‘honour’... By its nature, hidden. It is mainly (although not exclusively) perpetrated by the victim’s family or community, and may include collusion, acceptance, support, silence or denial [when perpetrators perceive that a relative has shamed the family and/or community by breaking their honour code]. This includes such behaviour on the parts of some community leaders (HMIC, 2015a, p. 29).

Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) is independently responsible for assessing the effectiveness and efficiency of police forces in England and Wales. This organisation inspected HBV, forced marriage (FM), and female genital mutilation (FGM) in the UK, which followed the progression of a victim’s journey from initial contact with the police to the closure of police involvement (HMIC, 2015a). They found a consistent lack of understanding, training, and resources for police forces, causing inconsistent processing of victim reports of crimes, and so increasing the level of risk to the victim (HMIC, 2015a).

Further, the HMIC (2015a) report highlights that even if crimes are reported to the police, the

Crown Prosecution Service (CPS); the principle public prosecution agency for conducting criminal proceedings in England and Wales lacks lawyers experienced or specialised in HBV. HMIC (2015a) asserts that police forces have limited knowledge of legal measures that are available for victims of HBV. Further, police forces may also be unaware that a prosecution can be brought against the perpetrator, even without the co-operation of the victim, to ensure victims are safeguarded, safe and supported (HMIC, 2015a). There is a clear need for police forces and the CPS to be more aware of HBV and how a lack of action can harm the victim.

Statistics reported about HBV are reliant on formal reports by victims to the police. As such, responsibility lies with the understanding police officers have of HBV to identify it as such, otherwise, crimes are not identified and flagged as HBV, which may result in further harm to the victim (HMIC, 2015a). There has been an increase of 32.13% of victims reporting incidents of HBV from 2011-12 ($n = 1,024$) to 2014-15 ($n = 1,353$) (HMIC, 2015b). Even though these statistics suggest that victims are reporting more incidents of supposed HBV, they do not meet the threshold to be categorised as actual crimes. In 2014-15 for example, 2,617 incidents were reported under the categories of HBV, FM, and FGM. Out of these 2,617 incidents, only 32% ($n = 833$) were categorised as criminal, which leaves 68% ($n = 1,784$) reported incidents not being categorised as crimes (HMIC, 2015b). In the same year, there were 1,353 reported incidents of HBV. Of these 1,353 incidents, just under half (48%; $n = 649$) were categorised as HBV crimes. Gender breakdowns indicated that in 86.8% of offences the offender was male, and 76.4% of cases, the victim was female (Crown Prosecution Service, 2016). The differential effects of gender for victims and assailants are not dissimilar to those seen in survivors of intimate partner violence (IPV), or lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT) hate crimes (Fassinger, 1991; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999; Roberts, Williams, Lawrence, & Raphael, 1999). The umbrella of 'honour' remains pertinent

to the apostate, as the decision to identify as being non-religious within the religious household is reliant on how strongly honour, as a notion, is valued within the household and the external community.

The statistics for victims of HBV are likely to underestimate the number of victims that may exist. The cultural, religious and traditional norms of the family and community against apostates increases the level of risk, rejection and possible abuse towards the victim as a result of the individual identifying as being non-religious (Haidrani, 2016; The Telegraph, 2007; Waters, 2010). The academic literature on persons who leave their birth religion is slight. There is, however, an abundance of documented and expressed fear of religious, social and cultural pressures on internet blogs (Carlisle, 2013; Is it Normal?, 2015; Quora, 2014; Tarico, 2015; Wright, n.d.). Some people who identify as apostates claim to live in states of fear and apprehension for “coming out” as non-religious to their religious family. Apostates may further become fearful of violence committed due to their home and family having been dishonoured. This is reportedly similar to the experience of persons identifying as LGBT whom “come out” by expressing their sexual orientation within a socially conservative environment (Breshears & Braithwaite, 2014; Faith to Faithless, 2019; Fruhauf, Orel & Jenkins, 2009; Goodrich, 2009; Rossi, 2010; Trussell, Xing & Oswald, 2015; Wisniewski, Robinson & Deluty, 2009). Official statistics under-represent the non-religious population (Zuckerman, 2007). Realistic fears of abandonment, threats of physical and psychological abuse, and ostracism by the community are good reasons why people are less likely to publicly identify as non-religious within a household or their community. As a result, the fears of the potentially victimised are not irrational (Russell, 2004).

The willingness to impose more severe punishments increases with social distance and social inferiority (Cooney, 2014), and through apostasy a person may acquire both of these qualities, placing them at risk (Johnson, Rowatt & LaBouff, 2012). Given some

families' concerns about honour, one would expect people labelled as apostates or non-religious (e.g., atheist, humanist, secular, or non-theist) to be at risk of discrimination, maltreatment, and abuse within religiously-inclined households (Blanchard, 1991; Bottoms, Goodman, Tolou-Shams, Diviak & Shaver, 2015; Hammer, Cragun, Hwang, & Smith, 2012; Harper, 2007; Novšak, Mandelj, & Simonič, 2012; Regnerus & Burdette, 2006; Stewart, 2013; Simonič, Mandelj, & Novšak, 2013; Stokes & Regnerus, 2009; Weber, Pargament, Kunik, Lomax, & Stanley, 2012). The current study examines the type of abuse that people identifying as apostates may face within religious households, and the help-seeking behaviour it elicits.

Persons who remain in a state of threat, with a heightened awareness for potential risks and danger, show a deterioration in their mental wellbeing (Gilbert, 2009). Methods of coercive control within a household are psychologically abusive and anxiety-provoking and may progress to violence if coercive control appears to fail in reaching the abuser's desired outcome (Tanha, Beck, Figueredo, & Raghavan, 2010). Many victims do not report their victimisation or do not wish to press charges; as with IPV survivors, non-reporting amongst people identifying as apostates may reflect the fear of further psychological and physical abuse. As was once the case for IPV, the family may rationalise what are unlawful actions through the ideology of religion, culture, or tradition (Babu & Kar, 2009; Koenig, Stephenson, Ahmed, Jejeebhoy & Campbell, 2006). Whatever the ideology, the abuse encountered when people decide to leave a milieu they consider to be mentally oppressive is detrimental to their psychological and physical health. The choice made by the abused may also cause them to feel guilt at the possible thought of causing grief to their families (Cline, 2015; Cooper, 2013; Gewirtz & Edleson, 2007; Herrenkohl, Sousa, Tajima, Herrenkohl & Moylan, 2008; Holt, Buckley & Whelan, 2008).

Izzat (honour) is a broad term used in Pakistan, northern India and Bangladesh which crosses all the local faith communities in the region (Cheesman, 1997). The term *Izzat* encompasses the honour of the household under categories of caste and class status to public reputation within the community. This is further evaluated through the generosity that households show to guests and inferiors, which in turn further aims to maintain control over sexuality, reproduction and formed alliances within communities (Werbner, 2007). Families sometimes fear their *izzat* within the community is under scrutiny if a family member declares to not follow the same religious ideology. For the parental migrant generation, *izzat* remains a significant mechanism used to maintain the reputation that a household may have within their community. To enforce conformity, family members may use shame, stigma and violence as drivers to subordinate cultural challenges, and so maintain traditional standards, regardless of the mental health or welfare of the individual who seeks to deviate from tradition (Gilbert, Gilbert, & Sanghera, 2004; Werbner, 2007). The consequences of being responsible for bringing shame and dishonour to the family may further increase the threat response by family members to the apostate.

The number of people in the UK identifying as religious is falling (Booth, 2012; Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2013). Representative data from the UK census (ONS, 2012) suggested the largest faith community was Christian (59.3%; 33.2 million people), the second-largest Muslim (4.8%, 2.7 million people). In 2011 25.1% (14.1 million people) of the population reported being non-religious: this is an increase from 14.8% of the population in 2001 (ONS, 2012). Of the individuals reporting as non-religious, 40% are aged under twenty-five, and over 80% are aged under fifty (ONS, 2013). Compared to the previous census, there was a further rise of 637,000 people aged 20-24 identifying as non-religious (ONS, 2013). The rise of people reporting as non-religious furthers the need to investigate tensions this may cause within religious households.

Moreover, 93% (13 million people) of the UK population who identify as non-religious are from a white ethnic background (ONS, 2013). These statistics do not include the number of people living in religious families privately identifying as non-religious, nor acknowledge the number of people identifying as non-religious within Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities. The under-reporting of people identifying as apostates in BAME communities and religious households means these persons are not recognised (Anthony, 2015), and so their concerns become marginalised; a person who has no visibility may not experience the advocacy of other individuals (Campbell, Sefl, Wasco, & Ahrens, 2004). Whether due to fear of breaching social sanctions or community rejection, under-reporting of abuse relating to apostates may consequently lead to an increase in hidden populations of victims (Heckathorn, 1997; Ogland, Xu, Bartkowski & Ogland, 2014). Conventional values and social norms projected by a strong community fail to protect if they disfranchise and invalidate those who think differently (Devers & Bacon, 2010).

Victims of abuse in hidden populations may be less inclined to report their abuse to the police. Classically, victims of rape are less likely to report their abuse by people they know at home or within a social setting, which may cause the survivor to imagine their complicity in the abuse experienced (Campbell, Greeson, Fehler-Cabral, & Kennedy, 2015). Research on IPV highlights the issues surrounding the difficulties of detecting victims, due to the complicated nature of social, cultural, and relationship factors involved in abuse, which contribute to the victim's inability to make themselves known as a victim of crime (Schackner, Weiss, Edwards, & Sullivan, 2017). There remain limits to the current knowledge, comprehension and discourse regarding the victims of HBV, and how these victims can be protected by the criminal justice system (Biggs, 2010). This is particularly the case if it is believed that disagreements about apostasy should be resolved within their communities, as IPV and child abuse once was (Gangoli & Rew, 2011).

The present study examined the range and magnitude of the levels of familial abuse experienced by people identifying as apostates. A modified version of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale was used to formally measure the abuse participants may have experienced (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). It was hypothesised that persons identifying as apostates within religious families would report increased levels of assault. Moreover, it was hypothesised that victims of such abuse would be less likely to report their abuse to the relevant authorities, as this would enable family members to maintain coercive control over the victim, and place their human rights at risk. Additionally, it was hypothesised that religious-ideological texts which justify abuse and death of apostates, would increase the chances for people identifying as apostates to be victimised in their familial home and within their community. Results are examined concerning birth-faith and care-seeking within their family. Care-seeking can be informal or formal; informal is support from friends and family networks to seek help for the concern whilst formal may involve engagement with medical, social or criminal justice systems (Calton, Cattaneo, & Gebherd, 2016).

METHOD

Participants and Procedures

In the present study, 228 persons were recruited from a questionnaire that was opportunistically sampled from a worldwide population. All procedures were reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Committee at the authors' university. Participants were recruited with the support of the following organisations: "Faith to Faithless", the "Peter Tatchell Foundation", and the "Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain", with the questionnaire being posted on their respective social media platforms. These organisations work to promote

and protect the human rights of people under threat from victimisation due to their identity, sexuality, religious or lack of religious belief within the United Kingdom and internationally.

Participants ranged in age from 17 to 67 ($M = 29.95$, $SD = 10.69$), with 52% self-identified as female ($n = 119$), 45% as male ($n = 102$), and 3% as other ($n = 7$). The ethnicity and birth religion of participants were categorised using the UK's 2011 Census categories (ONS, 2016). For ethnicity, 59% ($n = 135$) people self-identified as White, 29% as Asian/Asian British ($n = 65$), 6% as Mixed or Multiple Ethnic Groups ($n = 13$), 4% as Black/African/Caribbean/Black British ($n = 10$), and 2% as other ethnic groups ($n = 5$). For birth religion, 57% ($n = 130$) people identified as Christian, 30% as Muslim ($n = 68$), 4% as Hindu ($n = 9$), and 1% as Jewish ($n = 3$)¹. There were also 8% ($n = 18$) people identifying as non-religious from birth.

The completion of the survey required participants to confirm they had read and understood the information from the information sheet, that their participation was voluntary, and that their answers were anonymous – but if they wished to withdraw their data they could do so by contacting the authors by quoting their identification answers provided at the start of the survey. The debrief provided details of how participants could withdraw their data, and contact information of charities working to support victims.

Measures

The extent that people in relationships engage in psychological, sexual and physical attacks on each other, and the methods used to manage conflict and negotiation was measured using the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Straus et al., 1996). The CTS was modified (mCTS) in the current study to assess the extent that people within families engage in

¹ The authors understand there are a number of denominations within Christianity and Islam, however, for statistical simplicity, the denominations are categorised under the umbrella-terms of Christianity and Islam.

psychological and physical assaults on each other, following the individual declaring they do not believe in the shared religion, God, or gods. The CTS uses the term 'my partner' to highlight IPV committed by the partner to the victim and in response (Straus et al., 1996: 311-312). This study replaced 'my partner' with the term 'my family', and omitted sexual violence items from this study. Participants were instructed to state how many times they may have experienced conflict in the past year and whether such conflict has occurred outside of the parameter of a year. Responses were rated on a scale from 0 (this has never happened) to 6 (more than 20 times in the past year), with ratings of 7 if there had been incidents in the past. Higher scores on any of the dimensions indicate a greater magnitude of abuse being inflicted.

All participants provided age, gender, sexuality and ethnicity information. Participants also provided their religious or non-religious affiliation from birth, their current religious or non-religious affiliation, whether they had fully rejected religion, and whether their family was aware of their decision.

Data Analysis

The mCTS was tested for validity using exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis (EFA, CFA) using AMOS. Statistical relationships were calculated based on the mCTS scores and questions within the survey. The reliability of these measures was calculated using Cronbach's alpha. Differences between groups were calculated using univariate analysis, and testing if people were victimised due to their lack of religious belief within religious households. A higher score on any of the mCTS dimensions indicates a greater magnitude of abuse being inflicted.

RESULTS

Abuse of Participants

[Table 1]

Table 1 presents the number of people who were religious or non-religious from birth and the number of people that are religious or non-religious currently. Of the 228 participants raised in a religious faith, just 19 were now observant. Most persons had been raised in Christian, Muslim, or non-religious households; as only 12 participants identified Hindu, Jewish, and Sikh family households, hence, the analysis focussed on persons who were Christian, Muslim, or had no reported faith.

[Table 2]

To test if abuse was differentially distributed across groups, two one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were calculated and presented in Table 2. There was a highly significant difference across groups for assault, with post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni test. We found people raised within Muslim households were more likely to identify as victims of assault for not identifying as Muslim anymore, in comparison to people identifying as Christian or non-religious from birth. There was no difference between people who identified as non-religious and those that identified as Christian. These results further indicate that being an apostate within some Muslim households may increase the likelihood of experiencing assault.

Negotiation in Participants

A final ANOVA was conducted to examine the way people manage conflicts in relation to not identifying with the religion of the household. There was no significant difference in attitudes of the family negotiating differences of opinion and conflict in relation to the religion of the family.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis of mCTS.[Table 3]

To test the validity of the mCTS for assessing within family violence and conflict, the scale was assessed initially with EFA to identify the *a priori* loadings, as highlighted in Table 3. These were then tested with CFA. With 20 mCTS items and an *N* of 228, an eigenvalue of 1.0 would potentially produce spurious factors, so parallel analysis (O'Connor, 2000) was used to estimate the criterion above which eigenvalues could be trusted. This revealed a value of 1.74. The data had a KMO sampling adequacy of 0.874. The EFA (with oblique rotation of the factors to accommodate covariation of the factors) produced three oblique factors that rotated in 22 iterations, explaining a total of 50.21% of the variance. The three factors were assault, negotiation, and, negatively loaded, serious assault. A series of CFAs were conducted to test the validity of this structure (additional downloadable content for output of CFA described). The *a priori* EFA structure comprising 3 factors had a CMIN of 2.449 with 121 df. The confirmatory fit index (CFI) for this was 0.898; the root mean square estimate of approximation (RMSEA) was 0.80. This fit is acceptable but inspection of modification indices indicated that many items with very high critical ratios in the assault and serious factors should be associated, and regarding these as separate meant that they could not be added for a better fit. For this reason, we combined the assault and serious assault items into an assault scale. This had a CMIN of 4.408 with 79 df, a CFI of 0.918, RMSEA = 0.112 (90% CI = 0.109 to 0.136). There is a discrepancy between the acceptable fit of the CFI fit index compared to the RMSEA, which is less than ideal. This difficulty of inconsistency of fit indices has been discussed by Lai and Green (2016), who note that increasing numbers of fit indices can sometimes increase the confusion of the validity of a model and focused on the reliability. The negotiation items were examined separately and fitted very well; CMIN = 1.355, with 6 df, a CFI of 0.99, and an RMSEA of 0.039. We, therefore, took general indices

of assault (alpha reliability = 0.92) and negotiation (0.68) as our key indicators from the mCTS.

Disclosure of assault and abuse to the Police

Out of 154 persons assaulted in the cohort, only 9 respondents (5.8%) reported their assault to the police. In terms of consequences for committing an assault, five assailants were given a warning and one was charged. Of the 71 participants who reported reasons as to why they did not report their abuse, 44% ($n = 31$) believed reporting would be disrespectful to their family dynamics and would be perceived as a betrayal of their family and community. A participant said: “...*I was not aware I could; I was too scared to do so; I did not think I would be believed; I knew people who would defend my assailant at all costs; and I knew I would be a pariah in my community.*” Furthermore, 27% ($n = 19$) believed the police would be unable to support them appropriately. For example, another participant said: “*This is something that culturally I couldn't cross; It was taught that getting the "western" system involved with family affairs was wrong, and I cared enough about my family members not to put them in jail.*” Another 10% ($n = 7$) further highlighted that victims remain threatened to inform their family of not identifying with their religious faith due to perceived repercussions of violence by family members, and the lack of support they might receive from Police forces as a result. A participant stated that “... they threatened to kill me; They have beaten me and wanted to kill me; and because I don't practice Islam anymore... they'll kill me for it if they found out”. Victims remain vulnerable by their lack of trust in the ability of Police forces to manage the threat to their lives and provide them with a sense of security and safety from familial abuse.

DISCUSSION

The current study examined the level of abuse experienced by self-declared apostates, hypothesising they represent a hidden population of abuse victims. We enquired whether abuse would be reported to the authorities and whether the abuse and its seriousness differed according to birth faith. We recruited a predominantly Christian and Muslim sample, of whom over 90% had left their religion of birth. We found persons who disclosed being from a Muslim background had a higher likelihood of assault. Negotiation of conflicts was equivalent across communities. Disclosure to the authorities was rare and highlights the complexities found policing cultural issues.

The cultural complexities within any society with a “culture of honour” may be salient for understanding differential effects of violence across differing interpretations of scripture (Ellison, Burr, & McCall, 2003). The patriarchal, hierarchical, and traditionalistic need to maintain *izzat* within the household is essential to earning respect from the community – this is the foundation of many Asian families across Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities (Ballard, 1982). Cultural rules and values, under the guise of ‘honour’, are systematically embedded by communities to prevent individualisation and the demise of traditional cultural norms held by the parental migrant generation. In practice, *Izzat* is often a social mechanism for families to counter secularisation and used to protect and maintain the religio-cultural social norms held by the community against the threat of impending westernisation (Ballard, 1982; Hayes, Freilich & Chermak, 2016).

The UK’s Human Rights Act (1998) specifically aims to protect all members of society under the state of law. A conflict emerges when two kinds of law – secular and religious – seek to legislate the same human conduct rather than cover different magisteria. Offenders may engage or exploit inconsistencies in either system as proves expedient. In practice, the justifications provided by ideological scriptures may justify and excuse the abuse of people identifying as non-religious within a religious household. Neither law then

protects the victim. While the law is improving in relation to the needs and plight of IPV survivors, enforcement of law remains tentative to some cultural complexities (Goldfarb, 2007; Turner et al., 2015).

It is only by disclosing an offence that due legal process can occur. Our study (comprising a sample size greater than the number of reported honour crimes in the UK for 2015-16) found that of 154 persons who self-reported experiences of assault, only one assailant was charged. Most survivors resisted making a complaint due to their belief that disclosure would harm their relationship with their family; that the police would not comprehend their issues, because they were fearful of the social repercussions of openly identifying as non-religious. A victim's internalisation of powerlessness enables abusers to perpetuate their transgressions. The most significant concern for a victim when deciding to disclose their abuse is often the feared response of the perpetrator (Gill, 2004). Collins and Miller (1994) found victims are more likely to disclose their abuse to people whom are receptive and approachable (Brown & Reed Benedict, 2002). Police caution about community relations is understandable, but public scandals that follow from their not taking offences seriously undermines public confidence in the agency (Jay, 2014).

LIMITATIONS

Firstly, the current study gathered data from the community and special interest groups; we are mindful it may provide skewed data given the sampling. However, given the lack of disclosure to police in our sample, basing such research on official data may have revealed little, and suggests that far more offences are occurring than are being reported. The abuse of apostates exists within the broader concept of (so-called) "honour" crime, which encompasses murder, violence, abduction, and genital mutilation. Another limitation is being unable to decompose Christian and Muslim denominations into their various sects, so testing, for example, whether persons from more evangelical Protestant, traditional Catholic, Sunni or

Shia birth families are more likely to be abused if they wish to break away from their religion of birth. We used the information acquired, and the study did not seek to disparage any particular faith. Future studies will seek a larger, broader, and more fine-grained analysis of differing faith and belief communities to redress this need. We suspect that any culture with *izzat* values or their local equivalent may potentially commit "honour"-related crimes (Kulczycki, & Windle, 2011). Thirdly, the use of the mCTS in the survey strongly operationalised violently abusive experiences but did not deconstruct psychological abuse into its underlying components, and there may be a more effective screening tool for victimisation experiences than the CTS. A final limitation is the low number of people sampled from Hindu, Jewish, Buddhist, and Sikh backgrounds.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research on apostasy needs to continue gathering data creatively, using both social media and indirect official data sources such as medical settings, where injured or psychologically abused persons may disclose victimisation, to unravel the true incidence of this kind of abuse. Another task is to increase awareness of the existence of apostate-abuse amongst the general public, by having such persons perceived as survivors, like those affected by IPV now are (Beeble, Post, Bybee, & Sullivan, 2008). Further research is needed to support police officers so they have better cultural knowledge and understanding of apostates disclosing abuse, and the context in which this operates.

Our study found people identifying as non-religious within a religious household are at risk of abuse. This was rarely reported to the authorities. The ideological justification for carrying-out such abuse breaches individual human rights, but without prosecution, increases the likelihood of apostates being victimised within their community. A multicultural society seeks to respect, validate, and protect all its members: it must be mindful of the intimidation which conceals abuse in hidden – and not so hidden—communities.

References

- Anthony, A. (2015, May 17). Losing their religion: the hidden crisis of faith among Britain's young Muslims. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/global/2015/may/17/losing-their-religion-british-ex-muslims-non-believers-hidden-crisis-faith>.
- Babu, B. V., & Kar, S. K. (2009). Domestic violence against women in eastern India: a population-based study on prevalence and related issues. *BMC Public Health*, 9, 129-144. DOI: 10.1186/1471-2458-9-129.
- Ballard, R. (1982). South Asian Families. In M. Fogarty, R. Rapaport, & R. Rapaport (Eds.), *Families in Britain* (pp. 179-204). London: Routledge.
- Beeble, M. L., Post, L. A., Bybee, D., & Sullivan, C. M. (2008). Factors related to willingness to help survivors of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 23(12), 1713-1729. DOI: 10.1177/0886260508314333.
- Biggs, M.I. (2010). The unfolding legal dilemma created by honor and apostasy crimes in the United States, *Liberty University Law Review*, 5 (3), article 6. Available at: http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/lu_law_review/vol5/iss3/6
- Blanchard, G. T. (1991). Sexually abusive clergymen: A conceptual framework for intervention and recovery. *Pastoral Psychology*, 39, 237-246. DOI: 10.1007/BF01040925.
- Bottoms, B. L., Goodman, G. S., Tolou-Shams, M., Diviak, K. R., & Shaver, P. R. (2015). Religion-Related Child Maltreatment: A Profile of Cases Encountered by Legal and Social Service Agencies. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 33, 561-579. DOI: 10.1002/bsl.2192.
- Breshears, D., & Braithwaite, D. O. (2014). Discursive Struggles Animating Individuals' Talk About Their Parents' Coming Out as Lesbian or Gay. *Journal of Family Communication*, 14, 189-207. DOI: 10.1080/15267431.2014.908197.
- Brown, B., & Reed Benedict, W. (2002). Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and policy implications. *Policing: an International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 25, 543-580. DOI: 10.1108/13639510210437032.
- Calton, J. M., Cattaneo, L. B., & Gebhard, K. T. (2016). Barriers to help seeking for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer survivors of intimate partner violence. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 17, 585-600. DOI: 10.1177/1524838015585318.

- Campbell, R., Greeson, M. R., Fehler-Cabral, G., & Kennedy, A. C. (2015). Pathways to help: Adolescent sexual assault victims' disclosure and help-seeking experiences. *Violence against women, 21*, 824-847. DOI: 10.1177/1077801215584071.
- Campbell, R., Sefl, T., Wasco, S. M., & Ahrens, C. E. (2004). Doing community research without a community: Creating safe space for rape survivors. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 33*, 253-261. DOI: 10.1023/B:AJCP.0000027010.74708.38.
- Carlisle, C. (2013, December 2). *Is religion based on fear?* Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2013/dec/02/bertrand-russell-philosopher-religion-fear-christian>.
- Cheesman, D. (1997). Landlord power and rural indebtedness in colonial Sind, 1865-1901. London, UK, Routledge.
- Cline, A. (2015, n.d.). Coming Out to Your Family: Should You Reveal Your Atheism to Family, Parents? *About.com*. Retrieved from <http://atheism.about.com/od/atheistactivism/p/ComeOutFamily.htm>.
- Collins, N. L., & Miller, L. C. (1994). Self-disclosure and liking: a meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin, 116*, 457-475. DOI: 10.1037//0033-2909.116.3.457.
- Cooney, M. (2014). Death by family: Honor violence as punishment. *Punishment & Society, 16*(4), 406-427. DOI: 10.1177/1462474514539537.
- Cooper, R. (2013, April 22). Forcing a religion on your children is as bad as child abuse, claims atheist professor Richard Dawkins. *Mail Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2312813/Richard-Dawkins-Forcing-religion-children-child-abuse-claims-atheist-professor.html#ixzz3rtjQasOs>.
- Crown Prosecution Service (2016). Violence against women and girls: crime report 2016 (inclusive of data on men and boys). UK, Crown Prosecution Service. Downloaded from: www.cps.gov.uk/publications/docs/cps_vawg_report_2016.pdf.
- Devers, L. N., & Bacon, S. (2010). Interpreting Honor Crimes: The institutional disregard towards female victims of family violence in the Middle East. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory, 3*, 359-371.
- Ellison, C. G., Burr, J. A., & McCall, P. L. (2003). The enduring puzzle of southern homicide: is regional religious culture the missing piece? *Homicide Studies, 7*(4), 326-352. DOI: 10.1177/1088767903256463.

- Ebstyne, P. K. (2003). Religion and identity: The role of ideological, social, and spiritual contexts. *Applied Developmental Science*, 7, 197-204. DOI: 10.1207/S1532480XADS0703_11.
- Faith to Faithless. (2019, n.d.). I want to “come out”. *Faith to Faithless*. Retrieved from: <https://www.faithtofaithless.com/how-can-we-help/i-want-to-come-out/>.
- Fassinger, R. E. (1991). The hidden minority issues and challenges in working with lesbian women and gay men. *The Counselling Psychologist*, 19, 157-176. DOI: 10.1177/0011000091192003.
- Fazzino, L. L. (2014). Leaving the Church Behind: Applying a Deconversion Perspective to Evangelical Exit Narratives. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 29, 249-266. DOI: 10.1080/13537903.2014.903664.
- Fruhauf, C. A., Orel, N. A., & Jenkins, D. A. (2009). The coming-out process of gay grandfathers: Perceptions of their adult children's influence. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 5, 99-118. DOI: 10.1080/15504280802595402.
- Gangoli, G., & Rew, M. (2011). Mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law: Domestic violence and legal discourses around mother-in-law violence against daughters-in-law in India. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 34, 420-429. DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2011.06.006.
- Gewirtz, A. H., & Edleson, J. L. (2007). Young children's exposure to intimate partner violence: Towards a developmental risk and resilience framework for research and intervention. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22, 151-163. DOI: 10.1007/s10896-007-9065-3.
- Gilbert, P. (2009). Introducing compassion-focused therapy. *Advances in psychiatric treatment*, 15(3), 199-208. DOI:10.1192/apt.bp.107.005264.
- Gilbert, P., Gilbert, J., & Sanghera, J. (2004). A focus group exploration of the impact of izzat, shame, subordination and entrapment on mental health and service use in South Asian women living in Derby. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 7, 109-130. DOI: 10.1080/13674670310001602418.
- Gill, A. (2004). Voicing the silent fear: South Asian women's experiences of domestic violence. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43, 465-483. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2311.2004.00343.x.
- Goldfarb, S. F. (2007). Reconceiving civil protection orders for domestic violence: Can law help end the abuse without ending the relationship. *Cardozo Law Review*, 29, 1487-1551.

- Goodrich, K. M. (2009). Mom and dad come out: The process of identifying as a heterosexual parent with a lesbian, gay, or bisexual child. *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counselling*, 3, 37-61. DOI: 10.1080/15538600902754478.
- Hadaway, C. K. (1989). Identifying American apostates: A cluster analysis. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 28, 201-215. DOI: 10.2307/1387059.
- Haidrani, S. (2016, September 18). Think ‘honour’ killings don’t happen in the UK? Think again. *The Debrief*. Retrieved from <https://thedebrief.co.uk/news/politics/uk-honour-killings/>.
- Hammer, J. H., Cragun, R. T., Hwang, K., & Smith, J. M. (2012). Forms, frequency, and correlates of perceived anti-atheist discrimination. *Secularism and Nonreligion*, 1, 43-67. DOI: 10.5334/snr.ad.
- Harper, M. (2007). The stereotyping of nonreligious people by religious students: Contents and subtypes. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 46, 539-552. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5906.2007.00376.x.
- Hayes, B. E., Freilich, J. D., & Chermak, S. M. (2016). An exploratory study of honor crimes in the United States. *Journal of Family Violence*, 31, 303-314. DOI: 10.1007/s10896-016-9801-7.
- Heckathorn, D. D. (1997). Respondent-driven sampling: a new approach to the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems*, 44, 174-199. DOI: 10.2307/3096941.
- Herrenkohl, T. I., Sousa, C., Tajima, E. A., Herrenkohl, R. C., & Moylan, C. A. (2008). Intersection of child abuse and children's exposure to domestic violence. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 9, 84-99. DOI: 10.1177/1524838008314797.
- Herzbrun, M. B. (1999). Loss of faith: A qualitative analysis of Jewish nonbelievers. *Counselling and Values*, 43, 129-141. DOI: 10.1002/j.2161-007X.1999.tb00135.x.
- HMIC (2015a). The depths of dishonour: hidden voices and shameful crimes. An inspection of the police response to honour-based violence, forced marriage and female genital mutilation. UK, Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC). Downloaded from: <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/the-depths-of-dishonour.pdf>
- HMIC (2015b). Honour based violence data. Retrieved from: <https://data.gov.uk/dataset/029f83c5-a9ed-430e-aa09-3290dc715bef/honour-based-violence>.

- Holt, S., Buckley, H., & Whelan, S. (2008). The impact of exposure to domestic violence on children and young people: A review of the literature. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *32*, 797-810. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.02.004.
- Hunsberger, B. E. (1983). Apostasy: a social learning perspective. *Review of Religious Research*, *25*, 21-38. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3511309> doi:1.
- Hunsberger, B., & Brown, L. B. (1984). Religious socialization, apostasy, and the impact of family background. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *23*, 239-251. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1386039> doi:1.
- Is it Normal? (2015). *I don't like my religion but I'm scared to leave it*. Retrieved from <http://isitnormal.com/story/i-dont-like-my-religion-but-im-scared-to-leave-it-120020/.§>.
- Jay, A. (2014). *Independent inquiry into child sexual exploitation in Rotherham: 1997-2013*. Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council.
- Johnson, M. K., Rowatt, W. C., & LaBouff, J. P. (2012). Religiosity and prejudice revisited: In-group favoritism, out-group derogation, or both? *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, *4*, 154-168. DOI: 10.1037/a0025107.
- Koenig, M. A., Stephenson, R., Ahmed, S., Jejeebhoy, S. J., & Campbell, J. (2006). Individual and contextual determinants of domestic violence in North India. *American Journal of Public Health*, *96*, 132-138. DOI: 10.2105/AJPH.2004.050872.
- Kulczycki, A., & Windle, S. (2011). Honor killings in the Middle East and North Africa: A systematic review of the literature. *Violence against women*, *17*, 1442-1464. DOI: 10.1177/1077801211434127.
- Lai, K., & Green, S. B. (2016). The problem with having two watches: Assessment of fit when RMSEA and CFI disagree. *Multivariate Behavioral research*, *51*, 220-239.
- Muehlenhard, C. L., & Kimes, L. A. (1999). The social construction of violence: The case of sexual and domestic violence. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *3*, 234-245. DOI: 10.1207/s15327957pspr0303_6.
- Novšak, R., Mandelj, T. R., & Simonič, B. (2012). Therapeutic implications of religious-related emotional abuse. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, *21*, 31-44. DOI: 10.1080/10926771.2011.627914.
- O'Connor, B. P. (2000). SPSS and SAS Programs for Determining the Number of Components Using Parallel Analysis and Velicer's MAP Test. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, *32*, 396-402. DOI: 10.3758/BF03200807.

- Office for National Statistics (ONS). (2012). *Religion in England and Wales 2011* (pg. 1-12). London: Office for National Statistics.
- Office for National Statistics (ONS). (2013). *Full story: what does the Census tell us about religion in 2011?* (pg. 1-18). London: Office for National Statistics.
- Office for National Statistics (ONS); National Records of Scotland ; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (2016): 2011 Census aggregate data. UK Data Service (Edition: June 2016). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5257/census/aggregate-2011-1>
- Ogland, E. G., Xu, X., Bartkowski, J. P., & Ogland, C. P. (2014). Intimate Partner Violence against married women in Uganda. *Journal of Family Violence, 29*, 869-879. DOI 10.1007/s10896-014-9640-3.
- Oppong, S. H. (2013). Religion and identity. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research, 3*, 10-16. DOI: 10.30845/aijcr.
- Quora. (2014, October 3). *How can one overcome the fear of Hell while leaving a religion?* Retrieved from <https://www.quora.com/How-can-one-overcome-the-fear-of-Hell-while-leaving-a-religion>.
- Regnerus, M. D., & Burdette, A. (2006). Religious change and adolescent family dynamics. *The Sociological Quarterly, 47*, 175-194. DOI: 10.1111/j.1533-8525.2006.00042.x.
- Roberts, G. L., Williams, G. M., Lawrence, J. M., & Raphael, B. (1999). How does domestic violence affect women's mental health?. *Women & Health, 28*, 117-129. DOI:10.1300/J013v28n01_08.
- Rossi, N. E. (2010). "Coming Out" Stories of Gay and Lesbian Young Adults. *Journal of homosexuality, 57*, 1174-1191. DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2010.508330.
- Russell, B. (2004). *Why I am not a Christian: and other essays on religion and related subjects* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Schackner, J. N., Weiss, N. H., Edwards, K. M., & Sullivan, T. P. (2017). Social reactions to IPV disclosure and PTSD symptom severity: Assessing avoidant coping as a mediator. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. DOI: 10.1177/0886260517727493.
- Shams, I. (2016, February 17). Why I left Islam and now help others who are doing the same. *Vice News*. Retrieved from <https://news.vice.com/article/why-i-left-islam-and-now-help-others-who-are-doing-the-same>.
- Simonič, B., Mandelj, T. R., & Novsak, R. (2013). Religious-related abuse in the family.

Journal of Family Violence, 28, 339-349. DOI: 10.1007/s10896-013-9508-y.

- Stewart, N. (2013). *Apostasy in Islamic States: a result of too much faith or too little freedom?* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). School of Public Affairs American University, Washington DC.
- Stokes, C. E., & Regnerus, M. D. (2009). When faith divides family: Religious discord and adolescent reports of parent–child relations. *Social Science Research*, 38, 155-167. DOI:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2008.05.002.
- Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The revised conflict tactics scales (CTS2) development and preliminary psychometric data. *Journal of family issues*, 17, 283-316. DOI: 10.1177/019251396017003001.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33(1), 1-39. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In M. A. Hogg, & D. Abrams. (Eds.), *Intergroup Relations: Key Readings* (94-109). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Tanha, M., Beck, C. J., Figueredo, A. J., & Raghavan, C. (2010). Sex differences in intimate partner violence and the use of coercive control as a motivational factor for intimate partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(10), 1836-1854.
- Tarico, V. (2015, April 30). *'I don't believe this anymore': what it's like to leave behind abusive, right-wing religion*. Retrieved from <http://www.alternet.org/belief/i-dont-believe-anymore-what-its-leave-behind-abusive-right-wing-religion>.
- The Guardian. (2015, July 27). Where in the world is the worst place to be a Christian? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2015/jul/27/where-in-the-world-is-it-worst-place-to-be-a-christian>.
- The Human Rights Act (1998). c. 42. London: Stationery Office.
- The Telegraph. (2007, December 09). Muslim apostates threatened over Christianity. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1571970/Muslim-apostates-threatened-over-Christianity.html>
- Trussell, D. E., Xing, T. M., & Oswald, A. G. (2015). Family leisure and the coming out process for LGB young people and their parents. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 18,

323-341. DOI: 10.1080/11745398.2015.1075224

Turner, W., Broad, J., Drinkwater, J., Firth, A., Hester, M., Stanley, N., Szilassy, E., & Feder, G. (2015). Interventions to Improve the Response of Professionals to Children Exposed to Domestic Violence and Abuse: A Systematic Review. *Child Abuse Review*. DOI: 10.1002/car.2385.

Waters, A. M. (2010, September 03). Apostasy and Asylum in the United Kingdom. *Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain*. Retrieved from <https://www.ex-muslim.org.uk/2010/09/apostasy-and-asylum-in-the-united-kingdom/>

Weber, S. R., Pargament, K. I., Kunik, M. E., Lomax II, J. W., & Stanley, M. A. (2012). Psychological distress among religious nonbelievers: A systematic review. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 51, 72-86. DOI: 10.1007/s10943-011-9541-1.

Werbner, P. (2007). Veiled interventions in pure space: Honour, shame and embodied struggles among Muslims in Britain and France. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 24, 161-186. DOI: 10.1177/0263276407075004.

Wisniewski, T. J., Robinson Jr, T. N., & Deluty, R. H. (2009). An evolutionary psychological investigation of parental distress and reproductive coercion during the “coming out” of gay sons. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 57, 163-190. DOI: 10.1080/00918360903446077.

Wright, B. R., Giovanelli, D., Dolan, E. G., & Edwards, M. E. (2011). Explaining deconversion from Christianity: a study of online narratives. *Journal of Religion & Society*, 13, 1-17.

Wright, P. (n.d.). *Losing my religion: thoughts on leaving Christianity*. Retrieved from <http://www.noctua.org.uk/paul/losing.html>.

Zuckerman, P. (2007). Atheism: Contemporary rates and patterns, In: *The Cambridge Companion to Atheism*, 47–66. CUP: Cambridge, UK. doi:10.1017/CCOL0521842700.004.

Zuckerman, P. (2015, July 06). Apostasy in Islam – the trauma of apostasy in Muslim communities. *Psychology Today*. Retrieved from: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-secular-life/201507/apostasy-in-islam>.

Appendix A. The context of apostasy within Abrahamic scriptures.

Deuteronomy 13:6-11:

If your very own brother, or your son or daughter, or the wife you love, or your closest friend secretly entices you, saying, "Let us go and worship other gods" (gods that neither you nor your fathers have known, gods of the peoples around you, whether near or far, from one end of the land to the other), do not yield to him or listen to him. Show him no pity. Do not spare him or shield him. You must certainly put him to death. Your hand must be the first in putting him to death, and then the hands of all the people. Stone him to death, because he tried to turn you away from the LORD your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery. Then all Israel will hear and be afraid, and no one among you will do such an evil thing again.

1 Timothy 4:1:

But the Spirit explicitly says that in later times some will fall away from the faith, paying attention to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons. (NASB)

Mark 9:42-48:

[Jesus is talking to his disciples] And whoever causes one of these little ones believing in Me to fall [*skandalizō*]¹—it would be better for him if instead a donkey's millstone were lying around his neck, and he had been thrown into the sea. And if your hand should be causing you to fall [*skandalizō*], cut it off. It is better that you enter into life crippled than go into Gehenna having two hands—into the inextinguishable fire. And if your foot should be causing you to fall [*skandalizō*], cut it off. It is better that you enter into life lame than be thrown into Gehenna having two feet. And if your eye should be causing you to fall [*skandalizō*], throw it out. It is better that you enter into the kingdom of God one-eyed than be thrown into Gehenna having two eyes—where their worm does not come to an end, and the fire is not quenched. (DLNT)²

Qur'an 4:89:

They wish that you should reject faith as they reject faith, and then you would be equal; therefore take not to yourselves friends of them, until they emigrate in the way of God; then, if they turn their backs, take them, and slay them wherever you find them; take not to yourselves any one of them as friend or helper.

Table 1: Number of people born into a religious faith, and whether they currently identify as religious.

	<i>Birth faith</i>	<i>Current faith</i>
Christian	130	12
Muslim	68	4
No Religion	18	204
Hindu	9	2
Jewish	3	1
Other	0	5

Table 2: mCTS subscale F-Ratios (one-way ANOVA) between apostate participants, broken down by birth faith.

	Non- Religious (N = 18)	Christian (M = 130)	Muslim (N = 68)	<i>F</i> (2, 205)
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	
Assault	1.00 (2)	2.9 (3.6)	6.2 (5.7)*	16.41
Negotiation	4.5 (1.7)	5.0 (1.7)	4.4 (2.1)	2.38

Table legend: mCTS = modified Conflicts Tactics Scale; SD = standard deviation; n.s. = non-significant. * = Post-hoc Bonneferroni test comparison Muslims with Non-religious $P < .001$, Comparison of Muslims and Christians $P < 0.001$, no difference between non-religious and Christians. (Recalculation of assault using non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test chi-square = 27.81, $P < .001$.)

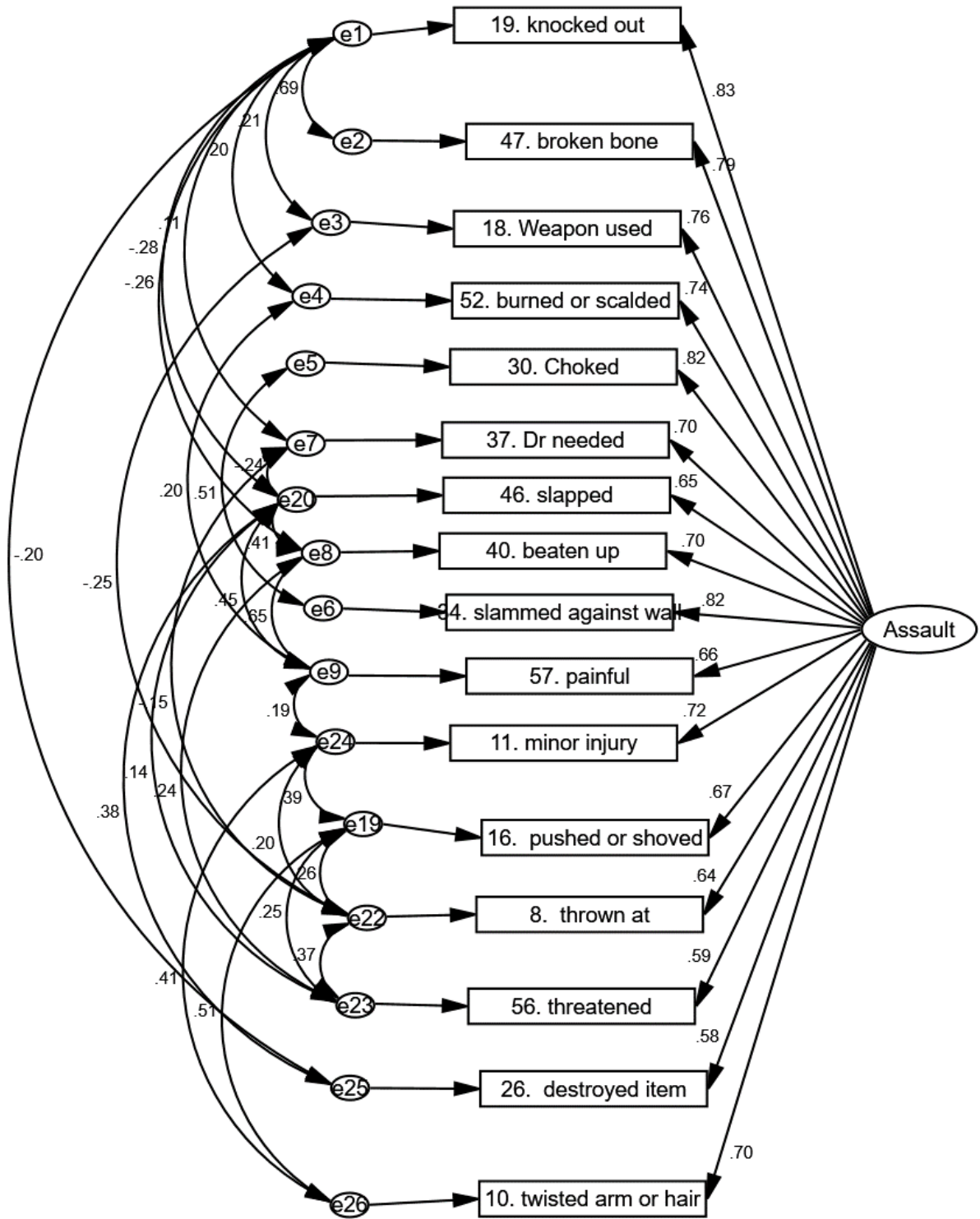
Table 3: Pattern matrix of EFA of mCTS scale ($N = 228$).

mCTS Factor	Component		
	1	2	3
46. My family member(s) slapped me	0.72		
26. My family member(s) destroyed something that belonged to me	0.70		
16. My family member(s) pushed or shoved me	0.70		
42. My family member(s) grabbed me	0.67		
11. I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with family	0.65		
32. My family member(s) shouted or yelled at me	0.63		
6. My family member(s) insulted or swore at me	0.63		
10. My family member(s) twisted my arm or hair	0.60		
8. My family member(s) threw something at me that could hurt	0.58		
54. My family member(s) did something to spite me	0.56		
44. My family member(s) stomped out of the room, house or yard during a disagreement	0.51		
56. My family member(s) threatened to hit or throw something at me	0.45		-0.44
50. My family member(s) suggested a compromise to a disagreement		0.76	
14. My family showed respect for my feelings about an issue		0.67	
2. My family showed care for me even though we disagreed		0.66	
62. My family members agreed to try a solution I suggested		0.59	
35. I said I was sure we could work out a problem		0.53	
4. My family explained their side of a disagreement to me		0.42	
19. I passed out from being hit on the head in a fight by my family members			-0.79
47. I had a broken bone from a fight with members of my family			-0.77
52. My family member(s) burned or scalded me on purpose			-0.71
37. I needed to see a doctor because of fight with members of my family, but I didn't			-0.68
18. My family member(s) used a gun or knife on me			-0.65
30. My family member(s) choked me			-0.59
40. My family member(s) beat me up			-0.56
57. physical pain that still hurt the next day as fight with family			-0.56
27. I went to a doctor because of a fight with my family			-0.55
34. My family member(s) slammed me against a wall			-0.50
Rotated eigenvalue	9.04	2.65	2.38
Percentage variance	32.27	9.45	8.49

Table legend: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. Loadings under 0.40 not shown.

DOWNLOADABLE STATISTICAL APPENDIX

CONFIRMATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE mCTS



1 factor CTS aggression without item 6.amw

Analysis Summary

Date and Time

Date: 08 November 2019

Time: 12:16:19

Title

1 factor aggression without item 6: 08 November 2019 12:16

Groups

Group number 1 (Group number 1)

Notes for Group (Group number 1)

The model is recursive.

Sample size = 229

Variable Summary (Group number 1)

Your model contains the following variables (Group number 1)

Observed, endogenous variables

CTS_57

CTS_40

CTS_37

CTS_34

CTS_30

CTS_52

CTS_18

CTS_47

CTS_19

CTS_10

CTS_26

CTS_11

CTS_56

CTS_8

CTS_46

CTS_16

Unobserved, exogenous variables

LV1

e9

e8

e7

e6

e5

e4
 e3
 e2
 e1
 e26
 e25
 e24
 e23
 e22
 e20
 e19

Variable counts (Group number 1)

Number of variables in your model: 33
Number of observed variables: 16
Number of unobserved variables: 17
Number of exogenous variables: 17
Number of endogenous variables: 16

Parameter Summary (Group number 1)

	Weights	Covariances	Variances	Means	Intercepts	Total
Fixed	17	1	0	0	0	18
Labeled	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlabeled	15	25	17	0	0	57
Total	32	26	17	0	0	75

Models

Default model (Default model)

Notes for Model (Default model)

Computation of degrees of freedom (Default model)

Number of distinct sample moments: 136
Number of distinct parameters to be estimated: 57
Degrees of freedom (136 - 57): 79

Result (Default model)

Minimum was achieved
 Chi-square = 348.193
 Degrees of freedom = 79
 Probability level = .000

Group number 1 (Group number 1 - Default model)

Estimates (Group number 1 - Default model)**Scalar Estimates (Group number 1 - Default model)****Maximum Likelihood Estimates****Regression Weights: (Group number 1 - Default model)**

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
CTS_57 <--- LV1	1.408	.128	10.955	***	
CTS_34 <--- LV1	1.485	.101	14.687	***	
CTS_52 <--- LV1	.991	.071	13.991	***	
CTS_18 <--- LV1	1.175	.080	14.754	***	
CTS_47 <--- LV1	1.056	.044	24.191	***	
CTS_19 <--- LV1	1.000				
CTS_30 <--- LV1	1.424	.098	14.600	***	
CTS_11 <--- LV1	1.786	.147	12.165	***	
CTS_16 <--- LV1	1.816	.166	10.969	***	
CTS_8 <--- LV1	1.713	.166	10.312	***	
CTS_56 <--- LV1	1.731	.183	9.454	***	
CTS_26 <--- LV1	1.545	.180	8.575	***	
CTS_10 <--- LV1	1.815	.154	11.810	***	
CTS_46 <--- LV1	1.832	.193	9.485	***	
CTS_37 <--- LV1	1.368	.110	12.403	***	
CTS_40 <--- LV1	1.618	.152	10.674	***	

Standardized Regression Weights: (Group number 1 - Default model)

	Estimate
CTS_57 <--- LV1	.663
CTS_34 <--- LV1	.824
CTS_52 <--- LV1	.737
CTS_18 <--- LV1	.761
CTS_47 <--- LV1	.785
CTS_19 <--- LV1	.828
CTS_30 <--- LV1	.821
CTS_11 <--- LV1	.721
CTS_16 <--- LV1	.666
CTS_8 <--- LV1	.637
CTS_56 <--- LV1	.592
CTS_26 <--- LV1	.578
CTS_10 <--- LV1	.704
CTS_46 <--- LV1	.647
CTS_37 <--- LV1	.704
CTS_40 <--- LV1	.705

Covariances: (Group number 1 - Default model)

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
e9 <--> e8	1.156	.109	10.650	***	
e8 <--> e1	-.199	.025	-7.867	***	
e6 <--> e5	.358	.065	5.526	***	
e3 <--> e1	.100	.022	4.474	***	
e2 <--> e1	.268	.034	7.813	***	
e1 <--> e20	-.287	.040	-7.188	***	
e4 <--> e1	.085	.019	4.548	***	
e7 <--> e20	-.489	.116	-4.207	***	
e8 <--> e20	1.000				
e9 <--> e24	.356	.071	5.003	***	
e9 <--> e4	.200	.046	4.344	***	
e26 <--> e19	1.306	.195	6.688	***	
e9 <--> e20	1.065	.105	10.118	***	
e3 <--> e22	-.362	.083	-4.350	***	
e25 <--> e20	1.239	.211	5.882	***	
e22 <--> e19	.763	.177	4.319	***	
e7 <--> e22	-.296	.116	-2.547	.011	
e7 <--> e1	.069	.027	2.579	.010	
e26 <--> e24	.898	.162	5.560	***	
e24 <--> e19	.930	.171	5.438	***	
e23 <--> e19	.831	.177	4.686	***	
e8 <--> e23	.626	.114	5.484	***	
e23 <--> e22	1.242	.217	5.713	***	
e23 <--> e20	.496	.157	3.157	.002	
e24 <--> e22	.493	.142	3.469	***	
e1 <--> e25	-.206	.042	-4.958	***	

Correlations: (Group number 1 - Default model)

	Estimate
e9 <--> e8	.647
e8 <--> e1	-.262
e6 <--> e5	.514
e3 <--> e1	.214
e2 <--> e1	.688
e1 <--> e20	-.284
e4 <--> e1	.201
e7 <--> e20	-.237
e8 <--> e20	.411
e9 <--> e24	.189
e9 <--> e4	.201
e26 <--> e19	.508

	Estimate
e9 <--> e20	.449
e3 <--> e22	-.253
e25 <--> e20	.381
e22 <--> e19	.262
e7 <--> e22	-.150
e7 <--> e1	.107
e26 <--> e24	.413
e24 <--> e19	.386
e23 <--> e19	.251
e8 <--> e23	.236
e23 <--> e22	.368
e23 <--> e20	.141
e24 <--> e22	.201
e1 <--> e25	-.203

Variances: (Group number 1 - Default model)

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
LV1	.691	.092	7.494	***	
e9	1.744	.143	12.220	***	
e8	1.831	.140	13.064	***	
e7	1.318	.135	9.737	***	
e6	.718	.081	8.857	***	
e5	.676	.076	8.895	***	
e4	.570	.059	9.720	***	
e3	.691	.073	9.438	***	
e2	.479	.051	9.308	***	
e1	.316	.031	10.300	***	
e26	2.318	.235	9.875	***	
e25	3.280	.320	10.240	***	
e24	2.037	.202	10.062	***	
e23	3.841	.362	10.602	***	
e22	2.972	.290	10.245	***	
e20	3.226	.254	12.682	***	
e19	2.854	.274	10.416	***	

Modification Indices (Group number 1 - Default model)

Covariances: (Group number 1 - Default model)

	M.I.	Par Change
e26 <--> e22	4.105	.243
e26 <--> e23	4.093	.262
e1 <--> e26	8.613	-.068
e3 <--> e24	7.140	-.156

		M.I.	Par Change
e3	<--> e2	5.342	.044
e4	<--> e22	6.877	-.186
e5	<--> e1	8.105	.039
e5	<--> e2	4.284	-.040
e7	<--> e5	10.825	-.176
e8	<--> e20	6.154	-.174

Variances: (Group number 1 - Default model)

	M.I.	Par Change
--	-------------	-------------------

Regression Weights: (Group number 1 - Default model)

		M.I.	Par Change
CTS_16	<--- CTS_46	4.907	.083
CTS_46	<--- CTS_40	8.346	-.129
CTS_46	<--- CTS_57	4.005	-.097
CTS_56	<--- CTS_26	4.667	.103
CTS_11	<--- CTS_18	4.284	-.127
CTS_10	<--- CTS_8	4.661	.079
CTS_10	<--- CTS_56	6.191	.083
CTS_19	<--- CTS_10	6.032	-.022
CTS_19	<--- CTS_30	4.020	.026
CTS_18	<--- CTS_47	6.778	.116
CTS_52	<--- CTS_8	4.712	-.046
CTS_30	<--- CTS_37	5.264	-.068
CTS_40	<--- CTS_46	6.403	-.059

Minimization History (Default model)

Iteration	Negative eigenvalues	Smallest Condition #	eigenvalue	Diameter	F	NTrises	Ratio
0	e	22	-2.708	9999.000	3114.255	0	9999.000
1	e	20	-.580	2.441	1940.715	19	.225
2	e	10	-1.770	1.019	1139.715	5	1.034
3	e*	3	-.771	.333	837.413	5	.943
4	e	1	-.225	.176	736.626	4	.772
5	e*	0	38841.231	.566	534.334	7	.800
6	e	0	7683.347	1.092	448.433	3	.000

Iteration	Negative eigenvalues	Condition #	Smallest eigenvalue	Diameter	F	N Tries	Ratio
7	e	0	17380.566	.537	418.332	1	.421
8	e	0	8722.454	.173	363.873	1	1.218
9	e	0	4912.806	.053	350.329	1	1.196
10	e	0	3469.031	.014	348.280	1	1.121
11	e	0	3302.609	.003	348.193	1	1.033
12	e	0	3247.526	.000	348.193	1	1.002
13	e	0	3241.243	.000	348.193	1	1.000

Model Fit Summary

CMIN

Model	NPAR	CMIN	DF	P	CMIN/DF
Default model	57	348.193	79	.000	4.408
Saturated model	136	.000	0		
Independence model	16	3402.546	120	.000	28.355

RMR, GFI

Model	RMR	GFI	AGFI	PGFI
Default model	.317	.860	.758	.499
Saturated model	.000	1.000		
Independence model	1.747	.177	.067	.156

Baseline Comparisons

Model	NFI Delta1	RFI rho1	IFI Delta2	TLI rho2	CFI
Default model	.898	.845	.919	.875	.918
Saturated model	1.000		1.000		1.000
Independence model	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Parsimony-Adjusted Measures

Model	PRATIO	PNFI	PCFI
Default model	.658	.591	.604
Saturated model	.000	.000	.000
Independence model	1.000	.000	.000

NCP

Model	NCP	LO 90	HI 90
Default model	269.193	215.121	330.812
Saturated model	.000	.000	.000
Independence model	3282.546	3095.934	3476.462

FMIN

Model	FMIN	F0	LO 90	HI 90
Default model	1.527	1.181	.944	1.451
Saturated model	.000	.000	.000	.000
Independence model	14.923	14.397	13.579	15.248

RMSEA

Model	RMSEA	LO 90	HI 90	PCLOSE
Default model	.122	.109	.136	.000
Independence model	.346	.336	.356	.000

AIC

Model	AIC	BCC	BIC	CAIC
Default model	462.193	471.378	657.915	714.915
Saturated model	272.000	293.915	738.986	874.986
Independence model	3434.546	3437.124	3489.486	3505.486

ECVI

Model	ECVI	LO 90	HI 90	MECVI
Default model	2.027	1.790	2.297	2.067
Saturated model	1.193	1.193	1.193	1.289
Independence model	15.064	14.245	15.914	15.075

HOELTER

Model	HOELTER .05	HOELTER .01
Default model	66	73
Independence model	10	11

Execution time summary

Minimization: .053
Miscellaneous: .634
Bootstrap: .000
Total: .687