Crimes of Honour
– Females’ Right for Support in the Multicultural Society

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Abstract

This research demonstrate how crimes of honour functions and consequently could lay the path in which females do need help and support in order to escape from (or manage) their environment of oppression. Thus, females all over the world are violated in the name of honour and every year around 5,000 women and girls are murdered in the name of honour by her relatives. The exact number how many that is affected by crimes of honour could only be guessed, due to, we only see the registered crimes. Nevertheless, this phenomenon is still evident within multicultural societies as in Sweden. Hence, those females that do not want to live in oppression or expose themselves to violence and crimes such as murder, instead escape and as a result necessitate protection and societal aid. The legal and practical support targeting these victims must therefore be known. The aim with this research is to highlight this support in an empirical research. In addition, various theoretical and legal perspectives explain a broader understanding of the phenomenon of crimes of honour; in which relevant regulations of the Swedish jurisdiction and the Human Rights are dispositional. The empirical research takes departure from semi-structured interviews with eight local agents in the city of Malmö (Sweden), and also, an interview with a woman affected by crimes of honour was conducted in order to highlight strengths and weaknesses of the local support. The result demonstrates that both the legal and practical support has its affirmative elements; however this support is also limited. For instance, victims of honour crimes lack information how to access this support. Moreover, the Swedish Penal Code do not have any uttered criminal classification about this sorts of violence, leading to the lack of registration unless not considered being a crime according to the Swedish Penal Code. Since crimes of honour affects many people’s lives and exists in many different shapes, conducts and societies it is required that the right kind of support is carried out; whereas the importance of local agents taking responsibility must be acknowledged.

## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>IDVP</td>
<td>The Integrated Domestic Violence Programme</td>
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<td>OT</td>
<td>Own translation</td>
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<td>HCHR</td>
<td>The High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Woman</td>
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<td>ECHR</td>
<td>European Convention for the protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms</td>
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<td>CRC</td>
<td>Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<td>IMER</td>
<td>International Migration and Ethnic Relations</td>
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Acknowledgements

Special thanks to the woman that has the courage, will and bravery to participate in the interview in this essay. Most importantly, I admire her courage to leave everything behind and see her future from a different and self-made angle. Hopefully, her statements will provide some help and support that many others need in their search for freedom, thus, her wisdom and experience of crimes of honour will act as a guideline and inspiration for change for those who are affected and for those who should be affected by this phenomenon. I also want to thank all the representatives that I interviewed, who give their excellent insights and knowledge about Crimes of Honour; hence, without them this study would not be fulfilled with as much wisdom as it turned out to be. With good support from my supervisor, Maria Appelqvist, this research was even better and more enhanced than I could imagine. Also, with great gratitude, I want to thank my friend Jenny Thomsen, who gave helpful comments and notes, which were required in this research. Last, but absolutely not least, I want to thank my dear cohabitee and boyfriend, Miran Zuljevic, who has been a great support throughout the entire research; who also have given his improving annotations in the research, which I could not been without.
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A minor collection of relevant Swedish Legislation  
The International Conventions on Human Rights  
Interview Guide – The Representatives  
Interview Guide – The Woman
1. Introduction

Some females live in constant fear. They live in constant fear because they could have their spying brother as their worst enemy, their mother as a tyrant and their father’s honour depending on how they behave socially. These females ought to obey the norm that exists otherwise she could be forced to marriage someone, abused or murdered. Hence, within this environment it is not uncommon that crimes of honour could be seen as heroic deeds and carried out in a predetermined sense. Therefore, this research has an ambition to give a theoretical perspective that these violations is created by different social attributes of honour vs. dishonour, control, shame, gender and religious interpretations that also could be based on aspects of tradition and heritage. Even though females such as Fadime Sahindal, Sara (Maisam Abed Ali) and Pela Atroshi have lived in a multicultural society as in Sweden, they all have been murdered in the name of honour by their relatives. An estimation of around 5,000 females is killed annually worldwide in the name of honour. The exact number of females that have been exposed, affected or victimised by crimes of honour is not known, neither international or in Sweden. This research concerns victims of honour crimes and females access for support in the Swedish society. This topic is highly relevant as an IMER issue since it challenge the multicultural society with features of segregation, culture conflicts and gender inequalities. Also, it is evident within crimes of honour that strong elements of ethnicity, heritage, tradition and religious interpretations do oppress females thus reflecting discrimination within specific groups and/or cultures. Thereby, this research demonstrates those Human Rights and Swedish laws that could function as a support and protection for the females that has been victimised by crimes of honour. In addition, eight local agents in the city of Malmö have been interviewed in order to illustrate how they provide their support, and also, a woman’s perspective about this support is revealed, since she has been affected by crimes of honour. The victims of these crimes ought to be given support and aid, but, there is no specific law or convention that actually gives its support; hence the legal remedy comes from relevant regulations. Consequently, the support and punishments that is given could be limited: in a sense where it is misdirected and wrongly carried out, thus unfavourable for those females that really need a good support. Still, it is not only legislations and some aspects of the support that need to be extended, peoples mind too.

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2 http://www2.amnesty.se/krg.nsf/Webbdokument/068BF061DAACB8D2C1256C94003E2E00?opendocument and Ockrent and Treiner (2007) p. 73
1.1 Aim and Purpose of the Research

The aim of this research is to gain a deeper comprehension about crimes of honour as a phenomenon and understand it from a point of view where females that have been victimised do need support and protection. Thus, this support is studied from a legal approach in which the aim is to enlighten relevant conventions and laws within the framework of the Human Rights and the Swedish jurisdiction. Furthermore, besides the legal approach, the aim is to demonstrate how supportive actions, opinions and measurements are shown from a local angle in the city of Malmö (Sweden). The primary purpose behind the research is to reveal eventual limitations that might surround the legal approach and the support given from a local view. Thereby, the research questions below ought to be answered

1. What are crimes of honour and how can we understand it as a phenomenon?

2. How do the Human Rights and the Swedish legislation support those who are victims of crimes of honour?

3. How do local agents engage and give their support to the victims of crimes of honour in the city of Malmö?

4. How is the local support perceived by a female that is affected by crimes of honour?

1.2 Delimitations

This research is delimitated to concern only with the insights of nine chosen informants in the city of Malmö, Sweden. Hence, these interviews are surely not representative for the entire system of support in the city of Malmö; since there are several others that are vital both nationally in Sweden and international. Consequently, some representatives are selected out from the empirical findings, which in itself create a research sample that is consciously picked out. But due to time-shortage and a limited set of pages (unfortunately) there could not be more informants in this research. Nevertheless, those nine interviews that have been carried out have been very contributory to the comprehension about how the support is provided and perceived in the city of Malmö. Furthermore, the research is delimited to concern only with females due to the above described problematic, and also, the idea that this gender is affected by honour crimes in a very vulnerable and subordinated manner. Yet, it is vital to not neglect the males in this context, since they are too victims of honour crimes; although their difficulties are not emphasised in this investigation.
1.3 Disposition

The thesis starts with an introductive part in which Introduction, Aim and purpose and Delimitations is revealed in chapter 1. This leads to chapter 2, Method, where the Interview Procedure and Ethical Considerations are positioned (based on a qualitative approach). Thereafter, three main angles of the research are emphasised. The first angle is positioned within chapter 3 (Crimes of Honour) whereas, for instance, a definition on crimes of honour are explained. The second angle, chapter 4 (the Legal Foundation), demonstrates the relevant regulations within the Human Rights and the Swedish jurisdiction. In chapter 5 (the Empirical Findings) are crimes of honour in the city of Malmö situated as the third angle, whereas, every ending of the nine interviews are presented. Thereafter, chapter 6 – the Analysis, which demonstrates the outcome from the empirical findings and the theoretical part. Lastly, own thoughts, opinions and endings of the research are positioned in chapter 7 – the Conclusion.

2. Method

Qualitative research methods allow researchers to be able to hear the voices of those who are ‘silenced, othered, and marginalized by the dominant social order’, as the methods ‘ask not only “what is it?” but, more importantly, “explain it to me – how, why, what’s the process, what’s the significance?”’

A qualitative method offers the researcher a close interaction with its research object, whereas a descriptive face to face interviewing could be carried out. Since the underlying thought of this research was to achieve nine interviews (eight agents and one woman), thus receive a deeper comprehension about the specific support that ought to be given to these females, it was therefore suitable with a qualitative approach. Also, Jan Hartman clarifies that qualitative investigations give the researcher a deeper understanding about the lifeworld within a specific group therefore do this approach offer a variety of aspects in which human behaviour could be researched in numerous of ways. Besides the interviews, the research is based on sources from a legal framework; hence Human Rights and Swedish legislations are demonstrated. Some of the theoretical references (thus previous research) are collected mainly from Unni Wikan and Lynn Welchman and Sara Hossain; since their literature gives excellent explanations how crimes of honour operates and functioning.

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6 See References in the end of the research.
2.1 The Interview Procedure

The selection of sample in this research is based upon two categories, to be precise, target interviews and snowball sampling. These methods were used because some interviews were planned ahead and some interviews were accomplished (as the interview with the woman that is affected by honour crimes) by the help from other informants in the research, in other words snowball sampling. In addition, Pranee Liamputtong highlights the difficulty to gain access to vulnerable individuals (as they try to stay hidden and secure) but interviews can be carried out through ‘snowball sampling’, thus the assistance from essential agents can provide those contacts that might be necessary. Furthermore, the informants in this research were selected from a view that they seemed to be vital representatives engaged in honour crimes in the city of Malmö, thereby, the interview procedure continued with sending the interview guide by e-mail to the informants before the actual interview occurred. This was highly appreciated, since they could have some time to look it over and have a chance to think about their answers before the interview took place. The Interview Guides was shaped in line with a semi-structured approach where a set of prearranged questions was used. The interview guide is essential, though, it is also very important to be flexible and open to the informants own answers and perspectives when using semi-structured interviewing. By using this method, interesting answers could be achieved from a perspective where they are not limited and restricted by the questions themselves. Rather, the answers are leading to a more in-depth interview whereas new aspects might be highlighted and revealed, instead of forgotten.

The interviews took place in the informant’s offices and/or by telephone. The interviews took about 30 minutes up to an hour each, and was filled with not only answers relating to the Interview Guide, but also, the informants own interesting thoughts and opinions about honour crimes. Every interview was perceived as well-performed, thus, the ending comment in every interview finished with my gratitude and appreciation. Also, the importance of anonymity was emphasised, especially when talking to the woman that had been affected by honour crimes, due to her situation as hidden at Embla (the shelter housing). This is also highlighted by Liamputtong who claims that one must take consideration to the harm one can bring to its (vulnerable) informants, hence, anonymity and confidentiality must always be considered if it is the informant’s wish. Furthermore, the interviews were carried out in Swedish so the

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8 See appendix, Interview Guide – The Representatives and The Woman.
transcription of the interviews were carried out in the Swedish language and then translated to English. Surely, using two different languages could create some misunderstandings and eruption, although there was awareness of this, thus e-mails were sent to the informants (to those who wanted it) consisting of the outline from the interview: in order to erase any misunderstanding etc. In addition, the ninth interview\footnote{See chapter 5.1.9 Interview with a woman that is affected by crimes of honour.} was somewhat differently approached, and also, due to her situation as a hidden woman, were the interview carried out over telephone. Additionally, Liamputtong states that this method, telephone interviewing, have become more and more popular as a qualitative method since some informants might not have the possibility to participate in an in-depth face to face interview.\footnote{Liamputtong (2007) p. 100} Moreover, the approach for this interview was different in a sense where the purpose was not based upon a thought that every question has to be answered, rather her own will to inform, enlighten and give her insights was of primary consideration.

2.3 Ethical Considerations

Conducting research on vulnerable people raises numerous ethical issues and these require careful consideration … Sensitive researchers must carefully manage the emotions of the participants and ensure that by participating in their studies, the vulnerable research participants are not left with painful experiences.\footnote{Liamputtong (2007) p. 32}

Liamputtong’s statement above emphasises the critical and vital issue of taking the participants experience as a primary consideration when performing the interview. Only one out of the nine interviews conducted in this research could be considered vulnerable and highly sensitive, thus ethical considerations must be known. Since the interviewed female has been victimised and affected by crimes of honour it is crucial to reconsider this when one is both creating the interview guide and performing the interviewing. Hence, the aim is not to hurt, offend or humiliate the respondent with any question etc, rather ought respect and the informants own will be in focus. Additionally, the interview with the woman started by enlightening that the woman was not obligated to answer a question she did not have the will to answer, and also, she could end the interview whenever she wanted. The ambition throughout the interview was to create a secure and good setting, so the woman could feel as she wanted to answer the questions, thus not forced or pressured to do it etc. Another ethical consideration that ought to be emphasised is that the role as an investigator/researcher could
sometimes be challenged; hence it depends on which informant one is interviewing. Even though the researcher must consider being as objective as possible: the statement by Martyn Denscombe comes to surface

The researcher’s identity, values and convictions cannot totally be eliminated from the process of the analysis … Among the qualitative researcher’s is it generally accepted that the researcher’s ego unavoidable constitutes an important part in the analysis – and will be recognised by this.14 (OT).

Thereby, some own reflections are unavoidably rooted in some sections, especially when dealing with vulnerable informants. Although one must always consider the experience and outcome of the interview itself, because this must be portrayed with the informant’s well-being leading. Lastly, all interviews were very interesting, though, the reflections from the woman is truly of primary importance in a context where supporting actions ought to be carried out.

3. Crimes of Honour

I can still hear the same whispering from the desert as my brothers. My mothers and my aunt’s voices still pursue me, saying over and over again as they did during my whole childhood: “A woman is like a cup; if someone drinks from it, then, no one wants it … A woman is like a sheet of glass; once shattered it can’t never be repaired again… After Dalia’s death they repeated their mantra for me: “If you have a rotten apple in you basket, then take it away before it destroy the rest.” To them, Dalia was a rotten apple, and her father and brothers took her away before she could harm the rest of their reputation.15 (OT).

The quotation by Norma Khouri16 emphasizes several features that exist within the concept of crimes of honour. Central features as parenting, internalisation of honour, gender issues, the importance of the family’s reputation, and so forth, must be reconsidered when dealing with crimes of honour. Khouri’s story is not a unique situation for those who live within a context where honour is something that should be highly considered, instead of the personal will. Approximately 5,000 women per year are murdered in the name of honour17 and even within

14 Denscombe (2000) p. 244
16 The quote that is taken from Norma Khouri’s book, Forbidden Love, is based on a true story in Jordan: where Khouri had a friend that was murdered by her own family. The murder was carried out with the intentions that the family’s good reputation was to be damaged only because the daughter was in love with the ‘wrong man’ and therefore had to die because she brought shame and dishonour to her family.
17 http://www2.amnesty.se/krg.nsf/Webbdokument/068BF061DAACB8D2C1256C94003E2E00?opendocument and Ockrent and Treiner (2007) p. 73
multicultural societies as in Sweden, females do become discriminated and abused in the name of honour, and unfortunately, we do not know exactly how many this concerns. In order to grasp as completely as possible why there is a need for support within a Swedish context one must find a deeper comprehension within a theoretical framework. With the theoretical approaches from mainly sociologists and anthropologists is the below components described in following sections with an attempt to answer research question number one, to be precise, what are crimes of honour and how can we understand it as a phenomenon? Within this framework ought concepts as the definition of Crimes of Honour and its subheadings the notion of Honour, the notion of Control and the notion of Shame, furthermore, the Religious Interpretation, Features of Gender and The Power of Tradition and Heritage come alive. These causal components are very decisive and vital in order to comprehend the concept, crimes of honour, and why there is a need for support to begin with.

3.1 The definition of Crimes of honour
The definition of crimes of honour and its similar synonyms: honour related violence, honour crimes and violence based upon honour and so forth, is a complex concept. Even though ‘the right definition’ is strived for (since there are many variants of definitions) one must at least acknowledge that the concept must be defined by some prominent key characteristics, thus, following sections ought to answer some of the most important features. Foremost, the crimes that are associated with honour are often carried out in a premeditated manner, either by a male juvenile (in order to minimize the governmental punishment) or another male relative; who uses a knife, a gun, a stone, paraffin oil or acid to abuse or kill the victim.\textsuperscript{18} The victims could then be found unburied without any ceremony, as in Iraq: naked, scarred and without one hand (this amputated hand is given to the head leader: in the clan, in order to confirm the death).\textsuperscript{19} These crimes are carried out from a view and belief where their honour is re-established if the victim is killed or punished. The importance within this context is that the proceedings and crimes are not carried out by isolated individuals; rather a whole collective of people is in control. In this environment the females must obey the specific instructions. This type of instructions are incorporated within a patriarchal hierarchy where male figures (such as the woman or girl’s father or uncle) are at the top of the hierarchy and the females are at

\textsuperscript{18} Ockrent and Treiner (2007) p. 78
\textsuperscript{19} Ockrent and Treiner (2007) p. 92
the lowest and weakest position, especially unmarried daughters.\textsuperscript{20} If the girl or woman do not follow the specific instructions she might risk being locked into a room, be transferred to another country, unwillingly and forced to be married with an unknown man and in worst case scenario she could end up being murdered by her own family or relatives.\textsuperscript{21} From a geographical view, honour crimes are mostly represented in areas such as the Middle East, the North of Africa and Europe and Central- and South of Asia, whereas, killings in the name of honour has occurred in countries like Egypt, Israel, Sweden, Turkey and China.\textsuperscript{22} Therefore, some immigrants (that live in, for instance, Sweden) who have their origin in these parts of the world are educated, internalised and influenced by the whole system surrounding crimes of honour. Not surprisingly then that these sorts of crimes are carried out in other environments than the immigrants country of origin. Moreover and in brief, crimes of honour consist of a symbolic definition such as one that is made by the Co-Directors of the Crimes of Honour Project (among other things) Dr. Lynn Welchman and Sara Hossain. They underline that it is a “type of violence against women characterised by (claimed) ‘motivation’ rather than perpetrator or form of manifestation”.\textsuperscript{23} Hence, the females come from a background where they cannot choose their own clothes, lifestyle, boyfriend or friends, and, cannot shape their own future regarding education and/or occupation, thus they live a very controlled life.\textsuperscript{24}

In addition, the differences between crimes of honour and other variants of crimes must be known, such as those who are built upon passion instead of honour. This is clarified by Welchman and Hossain

\begin{flushleft}
\ldots the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim. The difference here lies in the murder of the woman by those who are or have been their sexual intimates (husbands, lovers) and those who have not been (close blood relatives).\textsuperscript{25}
\end{flushleft}

The definition of crimes of honour consists of several different features and mechanisms where concepts as shame and honour merely are two very important features.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{20}http://www.malmo.se/download/18.365accf7116191cc84080022910/Yrkesgemensam+Handbok+07.pdf
(Yrkesgemensam Handbok – för personal som möter personer utsatta för hedersrelaterat våld och förtryck).
\textsuperscript{21}http://malmo.se/stadsdelar/sodrainerstenad/individfamilj/kvinnofridsprogrammet/embla.4.5a5624a010fa00b434d80006327.html
\textsuperscript{22} Wikan (2003) p. 81 and http://www2.amnesty.se/krg.nsf/Webbdokument/068BF061DAACB821256C94003E2E00?opendocument
\textsuperscript{23} Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 4
\textsuperscript{24}http://malmo.se/stadsdelar/sodrainerstenad/individfamilj/kvinnofridsprogrammet/embla.4.5a5624a010fa00b434d80006327.html
\textsuperscript{25} Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 11
\end{flushright}
3.1.1 The notion of Honour

Since the notion of honour neither is a new modern feature nor only a belonging of ‘the other’ (in Middle East) it must be reconciled that the notion have lived trough many centuries to this day. With this in mind, and in addition, honour is internalised and exercised within different places and times to this day, in many conducts. Therefore, in a pragmatic sense, is honour not a fixed and stabilised subject, rather, experienced and carried out in numerous of ways, whereas it is something you have (as your nose - if one is using the social anthropologist Unni Wikan’s terminology) or do not have, and something that also could be lost. Wikan suggest that honour could be based upon specific ‘honour codes’ and she means that

… honour codes, a set of rules that specify what brings honour and what is not bringing honour. In relation to these rules honour could not only be won but also lost … honour is a claim of right, in parity with legal right, to be treated as an equal. But honour is also something that is tied to a collective: the family, the relatives, the clan or the tribe… the family members have a common honour. One’s dishonour affects the others.

Thereby, the honour rules and codes should be followed by the females otherwise they could and/or will be punished, since a whole group of people’s (the collective’s) honour is tied to her (dis)honour. In this sense a shared honour is created where the member’s status and reputation is highly prioritised. Additionally, Dr Purna Sen (a programme director at Amnesty International) states that honour and dishonour could be attained in a conduct where honour is based upon one’s tribe, collective, clan’s, family’s etc. philosophies about honour and dishonour. So the harm and dishonour in this sense lies in the fact that if one of the members does something wrongly and people outside of the own group finds out, and then it is very bad for the family’s reputation in general. On the other hand, if the secret of dishonour stays within the own group the punishment is not as severe as it could be. Still, one must not forget that this statement is not necessarily a fact that concerns all groups in the society that prioritise different philosophies of honour, on the contrary, the punishment that is carried out is presumably very differently approached depending on which context it is in. Furthermore, Welchman and Hossain explains the concept by underlining the importance to preserve the honour

…’honour killings’, assault, confinement or imprisonment, and interference with choice in marriage, where the publicly articulated ‘justification’ is attributed to a social order claimed to require the preservation of a

26 Wikan (2003) p. 69
27 Wikan (2003) p. 65
28 Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 47
29 Wikan (2003) p. 67
concept of ‘honour’ vested in male (family and/or conjugal) control over woman and specifically women’s sexual conduct: actual, suspected or potential.\textsuperscript{30}

Thereby, it is evident that the notion of honour is something that ought to be protected and controlled by the group and especially by females; who are constrained to follow the specific honour rules and codes that exist. Consequently, many see no other choice than to obey these rules. It is very important in this context to acknowledge that honour is also in a specific relation to a male and female perspective. Thus, a female’s honour is not the same thing as the male’s honour in these contexts, since they have different social orders and norms to follow. As an example, honour crimes could rarely or never be carried out by a woman, it is only a male that could re-establish the honour. Also, the female’s behaviour is in fact directly affecting the male’s and her family’s honour. In a sense where the girl or woman bring dishonour she could, according to Sen

\begin{quote}
… associate with male friends, having a boyfriend, attending college or going to work without permission, violating dress codes, choosing one’s own marriage partner … honour can be resituated through either the modification of the transgressor’s behaviour (e.g. a forced marriage) or erasure of the carrier of the dishonour (killings).\textsuperscript{31}
\end{quote}

Apparently, forced marriage is just a solution, among other things, for ‘a dishonoured family’ in order to restore their honour. As it seems, honour is a complex concept whereas the notion of control must be illuminated.

3.1.2 The notion of Control

\begin{quote}
… frameworks of ‘honour’, and its corollary ‘shame’, operate to control, direct and regulate woman’s sexuality and freedom of movement by male members of the family…the rights of woman (and girls) to control their own lives, to liberty or freedom of expression, association, movement and bodily integrity mean very little.\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

Dr Radhika Coomaraswamy’s (former UN Special Rapporteur on violence against woman etc.) statement above demonstrates that the control of the female’s behaviour is a very distinct feature within the definition of crimes of honour; hence female’s freedom is delimited. Also, Wikan means that the women must be controlled since they symbolise the families and the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{30} Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 4
\textsuperscript{31} Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 47
\textsuperscript{32} Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. xi
\end{flushright}
relative’s solidarity, and also, the male’s cultural and national identity.\textsuperscript{33} It is also very essential that the girl’s and woman’s \textit{sexuality} is controlled, for instance, some females must be a virgin until her wedding night – in this situation they must bleed (sometimes in front of other family members) in order to prove their virginity.\textsuperscript{34} Some girls and women can only socialise with males that is her own relatives. Thus, the group express their control by limitations both mentally and physically, whereas, it not only influences the female’s sexuality, body and mind, but also on social and economical levels.\textsuperscript{35} Khouri states that almost every Muslim woman cannot work (in Jordan) and therefore the woman must depend on her husband to give her food, cloths and so forth\textsuperscript{36}, consequently, she is limited on both social and economical levels in the society. From these views, it is evident that the control is violating the girls and women’s rights, and it is in this sense that concepts of crimes of honour become very clear. According to Coomaraswamy, the typical honour crimes could be based upon violations of female’s rights, such as

“\textit{violate rights to life, liberty and bodily integrity, the prohibition on torture or other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment; the prohibition on slavery; the right to freedom from gender-based discrimination and sexual abuse and exploitation; the right to privacy, to marry and found a family; the duty to modify customs that discriminate against woman; and the right to an effective remedy}”\textsuperscript{37}.

From this vision it is also very important that the females are controlled since the importance of ‘gossip’ is an inflectional component in this matter.\textsuperscript{38} The gossip that is carried out by other people than the immediate family could in an indirect sense be the trigger that causes the women and girls their premeditated death. Also, the sociologist Sana al-Khayyat means that there is a specific ‘social belief’ that consists of a notion that the females must be controlled from a very early age; otherwise they could bring shame over their family.\textsuperscript{39} Thereby, several of the female’s rights are violated by certain groups, families, clan’s etc. honour rules or codes: who oppress, control and molest these women in the name of honour.

\textbf{3.1.3 The notion of Shame}

From a perspective where individuals are being oppressed – violated and killed in the name of honour or are victims of crimes of honour – have in fact dishonoured the positive attributes of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{33} Wikan (2003) p. 78
\textsuperscript{34} Sabuni (2006) p. 36-38
\textsuperscript{35} Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 5
\textsuperscript{36} Khouri (2002) p. 92
\textsuperscript{37} Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. xii
\textsuperscript{38} Al-Khayyat (1992) p 23
\textsuperscript{39} Al-Khayyat (1992) p 22
\end{footnotesize}
honour according to their family. Therefore, the entire family is feeling ashamed and humiliated. Wikan explains that shame is also paralleled with the public opinion

The shame could very well be deeply known, even though, the other does not know it. One can feel violated and humiliated in secrecy. But it is when the shame becomes public that it has to be washed away – according to the traditions it is about. The shame, as it is understood in this context, is a public phenomenon.\(^{40}\) (OT).

Additionally, while Wikan sees shame as something that could be measured on a scale; meaning one can have more or less shame,\(^{41}\) the author Rasool Awla means that

Murder in the name of honour is an act where the purpose is to re-establish a lost honour. In those cultures where murder in the name of honour is applied, a woman could dishonour her family and bring shame over the relatives by her own behaviour. Before – and extramarital sexual relations are the most serious conduct to bring shame over the family…\(^{42}\) (OT).

By this statement it is clarified that before- and extramarital sexual relations might be the worst way to shame and humiliate ones family, though Awla also clarify: if a family is dishonoured and shamed, consequently no one wants to marry a female or male from the family. Thus, a dishonoured family is ultimately excluded from the entire society and so forth.\(^{43}\) On the other side of the coin, a common feature that exists within the definition of honour crimes is that the perpetrators do not feel ashamed by their offences, rather they are glorified and seen as heroes. Not surprisingly then that many turn themselves in to the police, since they have not done anything wrong or shameful, on the contrary, something good and heroic according to their family; after all, they have re-established the family’s honour.\(^{44}\)

3.2 The Religious Interpretation
In order to understand why the girls and women that are affected or influenced by crimes of honour search (or do not search) for an antidote, it is important to distinguish the multitude of religious features and beliefs that exist within these frames. Therefore, for a deeper comprehension, the sociological perspectives on religion from Meredith B. McGuire can be revealed and complimenting in this context; whereas it is vital to address religious characteristics such as the religious group

\(^{40}\) Wikan (2003) p. 21
\(^{41}\) Wikan (2003) p. 68
\(^{42}\) Johansson (red.) (2005) p. 128
\(^{43}\) Johansson (red.) (2005) p. 155
\(^{44}\) More information about this phenomena see, Wikan (2003) p. 35, 38
The religious group – formal or informal – is essential for supporting the individual’s beliefs and norms.
Coming together with fellow believers reminds members of what they collectively believe and value. It can also impart a sense of empowerment to accomplish their religious and everyday goals.45

By this statement it could be recognised that the collective, the group itself and its conformity facilitate the shape of the individual’s mind, whereas the individual’s beliefs and values could be challenged and/or oppressed by the religious group.46 The internalisation of the religious norms could often start when the females are children. McGuire states that

Early childhood is a critical period in the development of the individual’s religion. The child begins to learn what it means to be “one of us” (our society, or ethnic group, our religion, our family, our tribe, etc.).47

From McGuire’s views it is stated that notions of conformity might be very vital and significant for the religious group, where it also could be incorporated from early stages in ones life. This might explain to some extent why some use religious beliefs and faiths when they commit crimes in the name of honour. In addition, one must realise that crimes of honour do not only belong to a distinctive Muslim religious faith as many seem to reckon, on the contrary, people from the Christian belief and other variants of religion is also significant within these contexts. Awla (among others) states that crimes of honour, in general, are not a belonging of the Islamic world as it often is portrayed to be. On the contrary, many see crimes of honour not compatible with a religious belief at all, rather, it is defined with sociological parameters such as ‘conformism within the collective’ and ‘beliefs in honour, that originates from a strong sense in tradition’ and so on. But Awla also states that the killings in the name of honour could have some weak influence from some parts of the Islamic script’s, and also, from Christian texts.48 However, most importantly and what many authors agree upon is the assumption that nor the Bible, the Buddhist and Hindu scripts or the Koran itself demand its believers to carry out and execute honour crimes. Thus, one can argue that this is rather a matter how one is interpreting the holy scripts and also about ignorance. The extract below is taken from the Koran in order to demonstrate an example how one could interpret it after one’s will and religious belief

45 McGuire, 2002, p. 22
46 In addition, surely could the religious group also work as a supporting foundation in one’s life, but, the idea is to observe other aspects of the religion; aspects that urge the females to search for another type of support because of the experienced oppression.
47 McGuire, 2002, p. 53
48 Johansson (red.) (2005) p. 163
Sura 4:15
IF SOMEONE of your woman commits a grossed indecent act, send for four among them who have witnessed the act, and if they witness (that they have seen it), then shut her in her home until death sets her free or God show her a way. (OT).

Sura 4:34
If you see signs of ill will with them, admonish them and warn them and (if this is not helping) stay away from their sleeping camps and (as a last resort) rebuke with physical force. (OT).

Beside the argument that crimes of honour could be built upon religious beliefs and how one is doing their own interpretations of this: the author Jan Hjärpe and others suggest that this may well be about a local context that do not separate religious tradition and the norms of the family, instead combine them. In addition, one must remember that crimes of honour are approached and understood in abundant of ways, with no stabile, exclusive or fixed location, time or context. Therefore, the religious interpretations and crimes of honour are somewhat compatible, but at the same time not, since wrong interpretations and ignorance lead the way for the murderers, instead of reason. Finally, it does not take many words to say what might be the whole essence and remedy for crimes of honour when it concerns religion, hence, this section end with an Imam’s statement

One should take care of one’s honour, but not kill other people…to kill other people is the worst sin that exist.

3.3 Features of Gender
Features of gender are very evident when dealing with issues of honour crimes. As mentioned before there is a very distinctive relationship between the males and the females associations with honour. The both genders have different norms (of honour) and social orders to follow and obey to. Although, Sen means that

Women are undoubtedly the primary victims of crimes of honour. Their movements are restricted, their friendships and even conversations are monitored or controlled, their marriage partners are chosen for them, and they are clear targets of killings… Honour is thus intrinsically linked to norms of behaviour for both sexes and is predicated upon patriarchal notions of ownership and control of women’s bodies … the need to preserve a woman’s virginity for her husband places limits not only and most obviously on her sexual behaviour but also by extension on any contact with men outside her immediate family in situations that may hold any sexual potential…

49 Hjärpe (2004) p. 69
50 Statement from an Islamic leader (Imam) at the debate 14/3.
51 Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 48
So, among other things, the importance of the female’s sexual behaviour is deeply linked to the structure of honour and its patriarchal manners. The sociologist, Sana al-Khayyat, enlightens this feature from a context within the Iraq society

…the most important connotation of honour in the Arab world is related to the sexual conduct of woman. If a woman is immodest or brings shame on her family by her sexual conduct, she brings shame and dishonour on all her kin …if a girl does not follow these unwritten laws, her family will fear for her future, as she might bring shame on them one day.  

But, it is also very essential to reconsider that is not only the men who uphold the existing patriarchal society, but also the women themselves. Since the girls and women ought to follow the norms that are instructed, they are also very controlled by their mothers, sisters and other female relatives and if they do not follow the rules, some of the women might themselves be involved in and/or in favour of their own daughter’s death/murder. Another aspect is that females in general are perceived by some groups as their property: first her father’s property then her husband’s. The historian Sandrine Treiner explains that

She have no right to object herself against her husband that owns her, not even if he abuse her, rapes her or only sees to his own interest. Within those systems where a man’s or his clans dignity – that is to say there honour – ways heavier than the life itself, is the woman’s behaviour controlled to the smallest detail. She is forbidden to meet a man’s gaze … she is forbidden to protest or oppose her fathers or her husbands will.

From a thought that every woman is weak and have less value than males, it is not surprisingly that it is only in rare occasions that a female can get involved in a kill in the name of honour; thus it is only males that have the ‘privilege’ to re-establish the family’s honour. Although, one must remember that it may not be a woman that directly commits the honour crime, instead, affects the crime in an indirect sense: where they accept and agree upon the perpetrators will. Awla also highlights that it is sometimes mothers or female relatives that seems to have the hardest and most disciplined form of exercise control onto their daughters. Another vital aspect must be reconsidered within this section, namely, female genital mutilation. This could be a decisive part of crimes of honour, because female’s sexuality is controlled by this manner.

52 Al-Khayyat (1992) p.21 and 33
53 Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 48
54 Ockrent and Treiner (2007) p. 75
55 Johansson (red.) (2005) p. 129
56 Johansson (red.) (2005) p. 151
57 http://www.malmo.se/download/18.365accf7116191cc840800022910/Yrkesgemensam+Handbok+07.pdf
3.4 The Power of Tradition and Heritage

As has already been stated, it is very vital for the girls and women to follow the rules and instructions that exist, since her family’s values, reputation, status and norms should be the most important thing in her life. In this sense, the family’s norms become the female’s norms; this has been indoctrinated since they were young girls. The author Tahire Koctürk highlights this system

The family function as a social insurance office. Everyone have rights and obligations against each other. The family’s right is to decide over all its members in order to keep the good reputation.\(^\text{58}\) (OT)

Another author, for instance Jan Hjärpe, means that the individuals ought to think more about the interests of their family, than their own interests\(^\text{59}\), and thereby, become a part of the collective. A collective that connotes safety and security, nevertheless, at the same time connotes rules and norms associated with honour, which must be followed. From these contexts, the power of tradition and heritage come alive. It is two main concepts in this framework, since it is people’s tradition (that is built upon specific customs) and heritage that without doubt influence and affect how the notion of honour is perceived and approached. Even though it is established in earlier sections, that the notion of honour (and its elements of shame and control) is not a fixed and stabile subject, it must be acknowledged that people’s tradition and heritage is filled with enormous influential power. Although it is built upon a rather fixed behaviour, probably throughout centuries, it is a very important feature within honour crimes. A central aspect of this is highlighted by Al-Khayyat

Out of respect for her paternal family, a woman does not change her name after marriage. This reflects the lack of individualism. The family is always represented by the father’s name, because he is the head of the family and the whole family structure is based on him.

The lack of individualism and the importance of family are thereby emphasised, which might have connotations of tradition and heritage. Dr. Åsa Eldén highlights that Fadime’s heritage could be seen in contrast to a Swedish culture, whereas, different perceptions about gender and violence might be perceived differently.\(^\text{60}\) Additionally, Wikan points out the importance of a family’s heritage with using the example of Fadime Sahindal’s family. Her Kurdish family have lived in Sweden for twenty years, but originally migrated from the southeast of

\(^{58}\) Arbabi and Fristorp (2002) p. 32
\(^{59}\) Hjärpe (2004) p. 70
\(^{60}\) Eldén (2003) p. 74
Turkey; where crimes of honour is not an unusual happening. The family consists of about three hundred relatives in Sweden and some relatives in other parts of Europe; who had great influential power.\textsuperscript{61} From this perspective it is not hard to imagine that the power and vitality of the public opinion and the family’s tradition and heritage comes to play a very decisive part in the female’s life. Thus, the question of segregation is aroused. For this reason one should not neglect aspects of tradition and heritage; even if the family has migrated to another country: such as Fadime’s murderer, in other words, her own father. Since, if the tradition is to kill one own daughter, because she has dishonoured the family, it becomes an accepted course of action.

4. The Legal Foundation

Earlier chapters have demonstrated that there could be a vast need for support, thus this chapter reveals the support from a legal point of view; foremost, within the Human Rights and the Swedish jurisdiction. The main focus is to answer research question two, to be precise, how do the Human Rights and the Swedish legislation support those who are victims of crimes of honour? Even though there exist a legal foundation that ought to protect ones rights, there is no specific law or convention that directly gives support to the females that are affected by honour crimes nor are there any categorised legislation for these particular perpetrators in Sweden. Therefore, the thought is to outline some of the primary regulations that give its support, hence: violence against women is legislated.

4.1 The Human Rights

For many individuals the Human Rights act as a safe guardian for ones protection and fundamental rights: as the right to have food, housing and education. The Human Rights are there to be claimed and also operate as a legal foundation for remedy within all the countries over the world, due to its universality. Importantly, this specific universality is to be found within a national context too, since the Human Rights should be implanted in all those states that have signed the conventions.\textsuperscript{62} As mentioned before, there are no convention or Swedish law that concerns honour crimes directly, although, there are several Special Rapporteurs from the United Nations that have given their reports about crimes of honour.\textsuperscript{63} Hence,

\textsuperscript{61} Wikan (2003) p. 27
\textsuperscript{62} More about states obligations, see appendix The International Conventions on Human Rights
\textsuperscript{63} See E/CN.4/2000/3 and Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 32
honour crimes have become an important element within the Human Rights apparatus.\textsuperscript{64} Resolution 55/66 was the first resolution that the General Assembly wrote that concerned crimes of honour\textsuperscript{65} and after that several resolutions have been illustrated\textsuperscript{66} where a point of view is that

\begin{quote}
Resolution A/RES/57/179
Stressing the need to treat all forms of violence against woman and girls, including crimes committed in the name of honour, as a criminal offence, punishable by law.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Resolution A/RES/59/165 point 3 Calls upon all states:
(b) To continue to intensify efforts to prevent and eliminate crimes against woman and girls committed in the name of honour, which take many different forms, by using legislative, administrative and programmatic measures.
\end{quote}

Beside the resolutions, the Human Rights ought to stand as a support for the females (and males). But several authors illustrate, including Wikan that unfortunately is the assassination of a woman (or man) in the name of honour not highly prioritised from a legal point of view in some countries (instead heroic).\textsuperscript{67} Thereby, it could be argued that the punishment, justice and one’s right for a fair trial concerning these crimes, none exists or at least is not favoured in some countries. Even though Human Rights are universal and have underlying purposes of fairness, justice and equality, as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 1, some people do not acknowledge nor reconsider its purpose when violating and oppressing girls and women in the name of honour. Nevertheless, there is one main organisation that supports these females, namely the United Nations. Dr Jane Connor (senior Human Rights officer in HCHR) states that the HCHR, the Human Rights Committee and the Committee against torture (among others) now work a great deal with crimes of honour.\textsuperscript{68} But, Coomaraswamy highlights one very vital factor within the Human Rights, namely

\begin{quote}
“… the tension between the universality of Human Rights and cultural relativism is particularly complex, as woman’s identities are so integrally linked to their culture and community; woman are thus wary of the arrogant gaze of critical outsiders.”\textsuperscript{69}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[64] Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 56
\item[65] Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 36 and see the resolution on following address, http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/563/35/PDF/N0056335.pdf?OpenElement
\item[66] For instance, See A/RES/57/179, A/RES/59/165 and A/C.3/59/L.25
\item[67] Wikan (2003) p. 85
\item[68] Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. 28
\item[69] Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. xiii
\end{footnotes}
Thereby, the Human Rights get challenged by the conformity in the groups; in which their values, norms and beliefs might be more important for them than the universality of Human Rights. In this sense a competition arises, in which the historian/journalist/author Sandrine Treiner does highlights a very vital aspect. Legislations and laws as customary law (i.e. Jus non scriptum or Lex non scripta: meaning unwritten law), village councils, national legislation and laws within specific tribes and clans become more vital for the individuals than the Human Rights. However, even though some women rather embrace the own group’s values etc in some circumstances, the Human Rights are there to be claimed. In a sense where girls and women are violated physically or mentally and thus need support, do CEDAW become suitable

CEDAW

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake …
(b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;

Moreover, the Human Rights should protect one’s right to life and no one should be tortured or suffer from degrading treatment: as the victims of honour crimes might be. These rights are declared in ECHR and The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

1. Everyone’s right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 5.
1. States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment,
maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

4.2 The Swedish Jurisdiction

The aim in this section is to demonstrate in brief some of the national legal instruments that should and might support the (female) victims of honour crimes in Sweden. To begin with the Social Service Law, beside the fact that the law states that it should facilitate the welfare of all the citizens in Sweden, it also established that those who work within the social services ought to have ‘the best interest of the child’ in mind and also support those who have been exposed by violence

The Social Service law (2001:453) 1 chapter 2 §
Measurements that regard children should especially consider what the best interest of the child demands. A child means every human being below 18 years old. (OT).

The Social Service law (2001:453) 5 chapter 11 §
The social welfare board should work for those who have been exposed by crime and that one’s relatives get support and help. The social welfare board should hereon especially consider that woman that is or have been exposed by violence or other assaults in the home could be in need for support and help in order to change one’s situation. (OT).

Furthermore, the Social Service law underlines the importance of the municipalities: who have the foremost responsibility for its citizens; so they can get the support they need and want. The social services should also give information, support, advice, and economical aid to those who necessitate it. As a fundamental right in Sweden, everyone is ensured that death penalty’s should not be carried out, thereby – concerning crimes of honour where death could be an outcome – is this not acceptable in Sweden. Additionally, another fundamental right is that every citizen is protected against bodily punishments. Concerning parenting, the law Föräldrabalken, illustrates that all children have the right to be safe and have a good upbringing: hence, a child should not be exposed to bodily punishment or similar insults.

The Swedish Penal Code legislates punishments for murder and torture

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72 For additional legislation see Appendix - A minor collection of relevant Swedish Legislation.
73 Fahlberg (2006) p. 23
74 Fahlberg (2006) p.181
75 Fahlberg (2006) p. 189
76 See the Social Service Law (2001:453) 2 Ch. 2 §
77 http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/5627
78 See Regeringsformen (1974:152) 2 Ch. 4 § and 5 §
79 See Föräldrabalken 6 Ch. 1 § and Appendix.
A person who takes the life of another shall be sentenced for murder to imprisonment for ten years or for life. A person who inflicts bodily injury, illness or pain upon another or renders him or her powerless or in a similar helpless state, shall be sentenced for assault to imprisonment for at most two years or, if the crime is petty, to a fine or imprisonment for at most six months. (Law 1998:393).

Worth to mention, molestation (which could be a vital part of controlling the females) is legislated as a criminal act according to the Swedish Penal Code. Furthermore, it is important to highlight the criminal offence, Gross Violation of a Woman’s Integrity, within this frame. Meaning, if a man exposes a woman, that he is in or has been in close relation with, for repeated violations as abuse, molestation or sexual constraint he could be judged for Gross Violation of a Woman’s Integrity in Sweden.

The Swedish penal Code. Section 4a.
A person who commits criminal acts as defined in Chapters 3, 4 or 6 against another person having, or have had, a close relationship to the perpetrator shall, if the acts form a part of an element in a repeated violation of that person’s integrity and suited to severely damage that person’s self-confidence, be sentenced for gross violation of integrity to imprisonment for at least six months and at most six years. If the acts described in the first paragraph were committed by a man against a woman to whom he is, or has been, married or with whom he is, or has been cohabiting under circumstances comparable to marriage, he shall be sentenced for gross violation of a woman’s integrity to the same punishment. (Law 1998:393).

Even though, no Swedish legislation or Human Right directly legalises the crimes that are carried out in the name of honour nor gives a specific support for those that have been affected, this chapter has demonstrated a spectrum of some of the main conventions and legislations that could be used as a support. Consequently, the support and the preventative actions that are given by local representatives become very essential.

5. Empirical Findings

The Empirical Findings consist of nine interviews based upon the insights and knowledge’s of eight representatives who act as very important agents in the city of Malmö, whereas, they

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80 For more information about this see the Police Handbook p. 38 and forward http://www.aklagare.se/upload/Dokumentsamling/uppdrag,%20pm%20och%20rapporter/r%C3%A4ttspm%20och%20handb%C3%B6cker/handb%C3%B6cker/hedersrelaterad%20v%C3%A5ld%202007.pdf
82 Worth to mention, numerous representatives are very vital for giving their support. For instance, one should not forget important and crucial establishments as the School, Kvinnofridslinjen or Terrafem.
provide support in different ways to those who have been victimised. Also, the thoughts and opinions from one woman who has been affected by crimes of honour are highlighted. Thus, the underlying aim in this chapter is to answer and grasp research question number three; how do local agents engage and give their support to the victims of crimes of honour in the city of Malmö? Also question four; How is the local support perceived by a female that is affected by crimes of honour?

5.1 Crimes of Honour in Malmö – The local support

In order to comprehend and answer the research questions above eight representatives have been selected. To be precise, representative from Embla, the Social Service, the Integrated Domestic Violence Programme, the county administrative board, the Police, the Red Cross and the Iran-Swedish Association have been interviewed. In addition, an interview with a woman who has been affected by crimes of honour is also demonstrated in the end of this chapter. The following sections illustrate every ending from the interviews in a combination with a minor introduction about the organisation in question.

5.1.1 Elektra/Sharaf Heroes

The organisation of Elektra\(^\text{83}\) is aimed primarily at children from upper level of compulsory school that live within an honour related culture, and also, educates personnel and/or other persons that meet this particular group of children in their work: in a preventive sense. Elektra’s goal is to make an effort both for the oppressed and the oppressors and give their support for those females that suffer from crimes of honour. In general, the organisation also has a goal to spread knowledge and create a public opinion against honour crimes; in a similar way as the organisation of Sharaf Heroes.\(^\text{84}\) Sharaf Heroes are a part of the Elektra organisation, although, the personal work somewhat differently. They work with crimes of honour in a sense where they educate youngster that have their roots in a culture that associates with honour. After their ten weeks of education, as informants, they visit schools and public departments in order to decrease the crimes of honour and highlight the subject.\(^\text{85}\)

From the interview with the representative it was revealed, concerning the social service law, that

\(^{83}\) The organisation is sponsored and financed by Fryshuset, the Country Administrative Board, the municipality of Malmö (Malmö Stad) and Childhood Foundation.

\(^{84}\) http://www.elektra.nu/db/artiklar/elektrariks.htm and Interview 080513

\(^{85}\) http://www.elektra.nu/db/artiklar/elektrariks.htm
My experience is that this is individual how people interpret it, I meet curators and social workers that is very angry, curse and screams and thinks that it is outrageous how foreigners treat their daughters and wants to pick up the phone and call her parents and say – in Sweden can boys and girls meet each other and they can have sex. And then it could all be about fourteen years olds, however, if one is asking the same question to the same social worker – but do you think that parents with ethnic Swedish origin would stand and clap their hands when they think that their daughter could possibly be having sex with a boy of the same age? And then it all get totally different, as soon as it is about ‘the other’ people start to interpret other things … a lot of it is about interpretation but also about competence … some judge it from colour and ethnicity and less from the current case and what it is affecting.

The representative also states the problems concerning the Human Rights

The International Conventions is always good to have, because many countries can agree upon them, but, the custom is the most important, accordingly, how one is using it in practice … average Swedish that do not think that it is right that their daughter have met a boy from another culture … and then there are the beautiful article 16 in The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, hence, not too many follow it anyway … generally I think it is good, however, to use it and apply it in practice - I think not many really do.

Furthermore, the representative perceives the Swedish laws and the Human Rights as a tool to use thus not as an obstacle. Furthermore, the representative also highlights the problematic concerning how people categorise honour crimes in a sense, for instance, that this phenomenon is only a belonging to people from the Middle East and states that

In general, one are concentrating on only one continent or one culture in the world and interpret the law in this manner, consequently, some girls can’t enjoy the sweets from democracy and gain no shelter and no support from the jurisdiction that is.

The representative states that there are not enough people that work with this matter, hence, this is also about equality and that everybody ought to work as a compliment to one and another. This problematic should get inside more areas and institutions, such as within juristic institutions and the police department; and point out that this is, after all, about the whole Swedish population. Finally, the representative also mentions that there is still a lot of work to do: referring to the upbringing of children and underline the importance to stress the oppression against males. As a final comment, the representative is very proud over the city of Malmö; a city that ought to continue the good work.

5.1.2 Embla

Embla is an organisation authorised by Malmö municipality (Malmö Stad). The organisation offers shelter and protection in form of a residence for girls and women that have been
affected or is affected by crimes of honour. They have six positions for females between the ages 16-22 who have a need for protection. All positions are authorised through the social services, in line with the regulations of the Social Service law. Embla is attended by social workers all the time, who also speak several languages. Embla offer physical and mental protection, awareness of safety, supporting consultation, relaxation, individual planning for an independent life, and meetings with other girls and women that is in the same situation and so forth.86

After the interview with one of the social workers at Embla it was clarified that the females at Embla have two contact persons who they could talk with and find their support from. The personnel from Embla also have contact with the police and the social service if it’s required, where an idea of security and the importance of being safe is carried out with the females. The institution also supports their clients in a way where they have ‘girlgroups’: where they have discussions with different themes, thus, the methods that are used are different exercises based upon values. After their visit at Embla – a couple of days up to six months – the goal is that the clients should finally become independent and manage their future themselves. About honour crimes, the representative from Embla suggests that there should be more updating concerning the competence levels within some departments, for instance, within different school programs that educate people to work with individuals in different ways. A problem is also that the females do not come in contact with those departments that could help them. This could be based upon fear, not knowing where to find support and the girls and women could be so controlled that they do not have any possibility to search for help; however, when they finally do they can gain the support they need. In addition, the social service and its law are very important within this context. The same vitality is highlighted by mentioning that everybody has the same right to enter the school and have education, therefore, the schools laws ought to be more applied than it today is. Hence, it is after all certain rules that obligate one to go to school hence everybody have a ‘school duty’ in Sweden. Also, the representative points out that the police and medical care is very important, where they all should work together, in order to get the complete kind of support that is needed. Every institution that works with these girls or women should cooperate with each other, in order to give their support as good as possible. The representative also means that the city of Malmö has reached

86Food and other personal expenses do not include in the residence. For more information see: http://malmo.se/stadsdelar/sodrarinnerstaden/individfamilj/kvinnofridsprogrammet/embla.4.5a5624a010fa00b434d8006327.html and the Interview with the representative 080505.
a long way concerning crimes of honour, where the Integrated Domestic Violence Programme (IDVP) has worked for a common cooperation.

5.1.3 The Social Service

In short, this institution should on behalf of the foundation of democracy and solidarity secure and help citizens with economical aid, shelter, advice and develop people’s own resources if necessary in Sweden. From the interview with a representative from the social service in Malmö – who claims to have a long experience with crimes of honour and have been meeting females directly in the everyday work – points out that it is not unusual that the females have been exposed to very cruel experiences. Furthermore, the representative enlightens that the social service law should help exposed females, however, the Swedish Penal Code do not mention this type of crimes and violence. But, claims that there are possibilities to apply these sorts of crimes upon abuse and so forth, though, which in a sense probably makes it harder for the judicial system to judge crimes that are carried out in the name of honour. Moreover, the representative does not consider the Human Rights so much in the everyday work, instead thinks that the social service law is totally sufficient as a legal tool in this matter. And mentions that this is a matter of knowledge and how one is applying the law. Also, states that the social service law is sufficient but

… on the other hand, the Swedish Penal Code, if one is working with that part it is not sufficient … one need therefore to have a look at this in order to gain some sort of juristic classification that fits for this, it could be about criminalise forced marriage.

The informant declares also that this is a problem within the whole community and that there is no specific organisation that should take care of this; on the contrary, it is a question for us all, where the social service has the primary responsibility. Hence, according to the representative, the responsibility ends sometime.

When one is talking about honour violence, it is important to remember that it is a whole person one is working with, it is not just a victim of crimes of honour, but this is human beings that live within a context, have a big family and the family is not just violence and oppression, but also warmth, love and caring and memories… those who have escaped from their families often become very lonely … crimes of honour and the oppression usually do not end until one dies… we can never replace the things that have been lost.

87 For more information see the Social Service Law 1 Ch. 1 § and Ch 4.2 in this thesis.
As an ending comment, the representative suggests that the community should start to work more with the mothers and talk about the attitudes concerning boys and girls, where it is very important to not forget the male perspective of crimes of honour. Suggests that a sort of ‘open advisement’ should be installed, so the females can talk to someone if there is a need for it. Highlights also that the social service, Embla, Women’s shelter, the medical care and the Integrated Domestic Violence Programme is very important in Malmö. As a final comment, the representative proclaims that crimes of honour are also about equality that after all, is essential in everything that has to do with women’s peace.

5.1.4 The Integrated Domestic Violence Programme (IDVP)

This programme is established on a thought that everyone who is affected by the violence against woman and children, do need help. Regardless of age, income and background they all have the right for support and protection. The effort that is carried out concerns both abuse and assaults as physical and mental violence etc; the programme is also built upon a thought that cooperation between different departments within the city should be strived for. Furthermore, a handbook is made by the programme on honour related violence and is available for personnel that meet these types of victims in their work. Worth to mention, the programme received an award (European Crime Prevention Awards) for their splendid work on preventative measures concerning the violence against women during the year of 2007.

Margot Olsson is a development secretary and the head coordinate manager within the programme who also has responsibility to carry out this specific program within the city of Malmö. Olsson does not work directly with the individuals, hence, work more administrative where she and her colleagues have two main assignments with the program. First, she should investigate what the existing needs are and how these are carried out and developed in Malmö. Second, she is working with the cooperation between different departments in Malmö, in order to increase their collaboration with each other. Thereby, investigation and cooperation is two main elements within her work that indirectly support the victims of honour crimes. Referring to the Swedish legislation about crimes of honour, she states

There is no specific legislation concerning crimes of honour … but it is murder, it is assault if one is looking at the criminal legislation and the crime, gross violation of a woman’s integrity… so the legislation do not

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88 For further information about the handbook see http://www.malmo.se/download/18.365accf7116191cc840800022910/Yrkesgemensam+Handbok+07.pdf
89 http://www.bra.se/extra/news/?module_instance=7&id=291
bring this up especially, except, looking at the special event. The complicity with the direct crimes could make it harder within this context … it is possible that it is here it should be extended.

She mentions the problematic relationship within the social services, where the social workers must inform the parents if it is about a child below eighteen years old. Also proclaims that there ought to be more conversations with those who need help in order to facilitate for the individuals – nevertheless, highlights that an investigation is now taken place for this type of matter. Moreover, she thinks that the International Conventions, in other words the Human Rights, is very good and clear, although it is also a matter of interpretation. Olsson also thinks that the problem with the Swedish legislation could be a matter of which resources that are available, the criteria to inform the parents and also

Within the social services there are many opportunities, and then it is always a matter of cooperation, which is not easy. But, it is not the legal complications that is hard actually … it is more about the system and different assignments between the departments … and then it is easy to ask oneself what my assignment is, instead of, what do this person really need.

In this sense, every department performs its kind of support differently, where they sometimes forget the person that is in question, but cooperation is very important – yet, sometime hard to accomplish. According to Olsson, the legal complications could be evident when

When it is about children below 18 years and concerning filing charges, we have consultation between the social services, the police and prosecutor in connection to the reports in order to see who are doing what and when … because the girls well-being is the most important thing … one has to look at what it is that is most important and then care less about the law, because the most vital thing is that she gets help.

In this context, Olsson states that departments such as the social service, hospitals, the migration board, and the schools have much of the responsibility to give supporting actions. Concerning Swedish laws she mentions regulations concerning the school, the marriage and parenting.\(^9^0\) Finally, she thinks that the municipality of Malmö is doing a great deal concerning crimes of honour, in comparison with other municipalities.

**5.1.5 The county administrative board**

The county administrative board in Skåne has two persons, Tümer and Forsberg, that work fulltime with matters based on violence in close relationships, the work with violence and oppression in the name of honour is a part of this work. By being financed trough a

\(^{90}\) In Swedish it is named Äktenskapsbalken, Föräldrabalken and Skollagen.
government grant, they ought to divide the grant between different organisations and municipalities that work preventative with crimes of honour in Skåne. They have two pots, concerning crimes of honour, which they ought to divide the money between. First, preventative work among organisations and departments, and second, sheltered housings. The first pot goes to organisations like BRIS, Save the Children, different municipalities and immigrant organisations – this is based upon a specific application, therefore, the organisation must first apply to the board in order to get their funds. Thereby, the board estimates who fulfils the criteria’s and who do not. During 2008 they have divided at total of 6,5 millions SKR for preventative work with crimes of honour. As mentioned before, the board also has the obligation to provide funds to sheltered housings for persons being abused by crimes of honour in the southern parts of Sweden (maximum 2 million SKR).

Tüm er and Forsberg do not work directly with the victims of honour crimes; nevertheless, they have contact with municipalities and organisations and therefore work more as a coordinate function. In addition, Tümers and Forsberg’s work is based upon evaluation of the applications and follow-ups with the organisations and departments. The county administrative board has also created a handbook concerning crimes of honour in cooperation with Region Skåne, hence, the handbook highlights how to work with honour crimes within the medical care. Furthermore, from the interview with Katarina Tümer following statements about the Swedish legislation was declared

In general, it feels that it has been a reinforce, it covers relatively well in on how one is working with this type of matters … the law could always be better and it could always be more precise but it does not feel that this is always the entire problem anyway, rather, it is about to be aware of the law. Prosecutors, judges should have more knowledge about the question in matter so they know how to interpret it and that they interpret it as a question of honour related violence.

Also, she points out that there are in fact laws to use and that it is very important that front figures, such as social workers, could refer individuals to the right person in order to gain the help and support they need. This is also about knowledge of crimes of honour that matters.

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91 In addition, the board have also a cooperative assignment concerning violence in close relationships, in this context, the board in Skåne have called upon a regional cooperate assignment where departments such as the police, prosecutors, correctional system, Region Skåne and Kommunförbundet are signed in. Ultimately the goal here is to spread different knowledge’s and experiences of, for instance, crimes of honour - in order to finally find a shared concept from which they can work with these types of matters in Skåne.

92 For further information about the handbook, see www.m.lst.se/valdinararelationer
Tümer means that it is often there it fails, thus, time and knowledge limits and this ought to be more dealt with. Furthermore, Tümer states concerning the legal support that

There is support for these matters … if one is below 18 years old the social services can go in with different measurements, then they can do placements according to the legal rules of LVU⁹³ … however, it may be more difficult when it comes to forced marriage … there we do not have so much to provide … but the government is dealing with a suggestion of new law about this.

Since the board’s primary assignment is to spread knowledge and work preventative – with education, cooperation with different departments and so forth – much of the direct responsibility therefore lies on certain departments. However, she also states that not everybody can be experts on honour crimes, though; one need to know which person to refer to if support is required. She also points out that the school is a very vital institution where there are possibilities to change attitudes and social behaviours and so forth. In addition, the social service, the medical care and the police have all an important responsibility

This central departments is very important and they all have to know, because is one meet wrongly it might take some time until the next time one is seeking help. And then it may have gone even further and aggravated.

Tümer emphasise that parents and the upbringing of their children and integration is important elements in this matter. In Malmö the IDVP and its cooperative partners work really well with these issues. As a final comment she ends with a solution

More education to those who work with these sort of matters or possible might meet these persons that are exposed and then work with preventative actions. And willingly work with the perpetrators … parents and boys and how to change the attitude among them too, it is not enough to only try to reinforce the girls self-image … one has to change the whole family.

5.1.6 The Police

Crimes of honour should be highly prioritised by the police, according to the police. The police work to educate their personnel so they could easier recognise when the motive is based upon honour and handle the victims of crimes of honour. The government has assigned the National Police Board to increase the awareness and competence about honour crimes in order to easier prevent, discover and investigate the crimes, also, a handbook is written for the police – where descriptions on the concept, sections about evidence and interrogation is

⁹³ About LVU, see appendix - A minor collection of relevant Swedish Legislation.
explained.\textsuperscript{94} In addition, within every department in Sweden there are contact persons that have been trained in the subject.\textsuperscript{95} The representative that was interviewed works with different inquiries, in this sense, dealing with crimes within the family and sexual offences among adults etc. The knowledge about crimes of honour seems to be a couple of lectures and the experienced work with the reports/charges and interrogations given by, for instance, women that have been affected by honour crimes. Even though the police think that the Swedish law (i.e. the Swedish Penal Code) supports his everyday work with this, a statement about women ought to be highlighted, namely: the police say that some women could live a very controlled life. The woman may not be able to have the strength to put up with it anymore, and consequently, commit suicide. Then the police do not have any measurements to punish those who indirectly cause others behaviours. The police mean that these types of crimes cannot be found within the Swedish legislation thus a lack of legal support concerning those violations that lead to suicide. The police also underline the importance of culture and preventative actions

Those who move to Sweden should have their culture with them, since the culture is implanted many generations ago, what one possible could do is to inform where our boundaries are, after all, our boundaries could be separately perceived in comparison to their boundaries. Generally, if you commit a crime you should not stay in Sweden … in this manner you prevent this matter, so one could avoid the investigation around it, thereby; the most vital thing is to try to prevent it to happen. And it is possible to prevent it if one has a harder attitude when it comes to people that immigrate to Sweden and commit crimes.

The police finds no difficulties in his work with crimes of honour, but highlights that it could be hard to find an interpreter and the fact that the women should talk through the interpreter. He states that the city of Malmö has a lot to offer, but does not know if it sufficient, although, the problem is under observation. Mentioning the laws of gross violation of a woman’s integrity and thinks that there ought to be more invested in information about the Swedish legislation: how it works and so forth. A solution could be, according to the police

\begin{quote}
It could be good to have a little bit harder attitude in order to prevent the crimes if you then have a risk to be deported, it sounds harsh, but if one wants to decrease the crimes it could be by using information and in some sense fright also. It is never somebody that forces anyone else to commit a crime, hence, it is a choice you do … everybody is observant on the problematic and knows it is existing but it is always a problem with things that happen within four walls in a home … we cant have surveillance cameras everywhere, but, do you then have good information to begin with … it is good if this could prevent the crimes.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{94}\url{http://www.aklagare.se/upload/Dokumentsamling/uppdrag,%20pm%20och%20rapporter/i%25C3%25A4ttspm%20och%20handb%25C3%B6cker/handb%25C3%B6cker/hedersrelaterat%20och%25C3%A5ld%202007.pdf}
\textsuperscript{95}\url{http://www.polisen.se/inter/nodeid=9162499&pageversion=1.jsp}
Lastly, the police suggests that information, both to the victims and those who commit the crimes, are very vital. Everyone should know that there is help to be found and support in their surrounding where cooperation is of primary importance. As a final statement the police underlines that it is a mutual interest that all citizens should be feeling well, not the opposite.

5.1.7 The Red Cross

This organisation started to work with supportive actions concerning crimes of honour within a relatively new project called Red Cross City Project in the autumn of 2007. In this project they have a group of volunteers that work once a week at Embla (the sheltered housing) with activities of a light and leisure sense with the girls and women that are staying there. This project was originally inspired and initiatively started by the municipality of Malmö.96 The representative from the Red Cross states – concerning the problematic to define honour and the work that is carried out by the organisation – that

It is very important to be careful how one is defining honour related, because it is very easy to get in a trap as soon as, mainly regarding, a young girl or woman with immigrant background and with Arabic heritage – then everyone is very fast to holler – honour! And it is not sure at all that this is the case. So I think it is vital to be clear about this definition. And I think it would be challenging if one is expanding the concept to concern every type of honour crimes and honour culture, for instance bicycles gangs, who has a rarely clear culture of honour. Concerning the Red Cross, I think it is very important to work with the moulding of public opinion regarding these matters. But when it comes to the activity that we operate today, so, the most important thing to not focus on honour violence, because it is exactly that what is our assignment – to get the girls to think on other things for a while and not only be victims...

Furthermore, the representative entails that the personnel at Embla and the volunteers from the Red Cross have activities for groups of girls once a week, but on different days and different activities. The personnel that work within Embla work more with values and discussions, while the Red Cross volunteers work with practical activities where fun ought to be one of the basic elements.97 About the collaboration with other departments and other vital societal actors the representative informs that

Our cooperation with the municipality of Malmö is very important, without the support from the municipality we cant even get inside Embla – so this is built upon how they perceive what we are doing as something positive and that the things we do is perceived as something that needs to exist. In this manner, they are very important … the whole judicial system should of course function, but this is not the businesses of the Red

96 Information based from the interview (080529) with a representative from Red Cross.
97 The Red Cross recruit from a model that have been written in cooperation with the personnel from Embla, i.e. a volunteer profile, where the woman’s that volunteers should be fairly young, maximum 30 years old, and have some sort of knowledge of honour crimes, such as education about gender etc – in order to be good role models.
The representative also mentions the importance of women’s shelters and the direct need for support and protection, when it comes to a personal threat against women or girls. Within this context it is the society that has the main responsibility for this, in addition, within the city of Malmö is this working well according to the representative, after all, saying that the institution of Embla an evidence of this. But also enlightens that there are difficulties surrounding crimes of honour and its limitations, namely, how could one measure the need for protection and so forth. Lastly, the representative gives some comments on the support that is given within Malmö:

The support that is given within the city of Malmö is very good I think and mainly, all the credit to the municipalities, because they are very keen to offer different types of support to those girls that live there … we have a good cooperation with The Integrated Domestic Violence Programme – and they want us to continue to develop a cooperation with the Crisis Centrum for Women and their children. And work in a similar way there as we do in Embla. It is a good grade and a good grade from the municipality that they actually acknowledge that there is another type of value from what the volunteers could bring about than what the employees could deliver. None is better than the other, only different.

5.1.8 The Iran-Swedish Association

This organisation works with a specific project regarding crimes of honour. The project educates parents about crimes of honour and has open discussions about the subject with children and parents; in a sense where preventive actions should lead to a decrease of these types of crimes. Another project is also carried out by the organisation, which aims at children and parents within the school system. They support the students in their school in a way where they have persons that work as assisting support for those who have problems with, for instance, being affected by crimes of honour. In addition, the organisation also works with elderly and families from other countries than Sweden in a sense where they ought to decrease the thoughts and ideas that accept crimes of honour and instead emphasize the Swedish legislations and norms etc. The representative entails a story about a girl, in relation to the Swedish legislation:

I could give you an example; we had a girl that had been threatened by her brother and father so she went to the police and filed a charge. She still lived with her family. According to the Swedish legislation or rules the

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98 They are financed with founds from the county administrative board, the government office and the Swedish national council for crime prevention.

99 Information given by a representative from the organisation (080418).
police accepted the charge but could not do anything about it until crime have been carried out. This meant that the girl had to go back to her home, to her family and just wait until she would get murdered so that the law could do anything. Before this, one cannot do anything or the girl has to choose to live in a sheltered housing and lose her whole family and relatives.

Not surprisingly then that the representative thinks that there is not enough legal support concerning honour crimes, and therefore, urges for a change in the society. And states that nationwide there must be many changes. Problems such as within the social services, for instance the stipulate to inform the parents about reports and investigations – which in itself only creates more problems for the already exposed girl or woman – must decrease. Moreover, the representative states that the laws and knowledge about honour crimes is not sufficient today, and suggests that education could be one solution for this problem. The importance of cooperation is also underlined.

There are several departments that are of importance, though, none of them can do anything by them selves, on the contrary, they should compliment each other. It would not help if the police are doing their work well if the social services do not support the police and the other way around. It should be a big network that has a good communication with each other.

The representative gives an example of the vitality of cooperation: a girl was missing for a month in school and no one knew where she was or what to do and finally did someone contact the representative. Who tried for about a week to search for the ‘right person’ to talk to about this specific problem with, finally did the personnel at IDVP advice to file a police-report on the missing girl. So the representative wanted to both underline the long carousel that is, in order to find ‘the right’ person and also the importance of cooperation between different organisations and departments. Furthermore, statements concerning the Swedish laws are illustrated.

I get so angry because I think that a 14 year old student on the x school in Malmö has the same rights to go to a dancing school, just because she loves to dance. Just as similar to what her classmates are doing, who also have the opportunity to do so. But she cannot do this because then she is ‘being Swedish’ and then, her father would lose her, and then will no one marry her … she is discriminated in Sweden and there is no law that supports her.

The representative thinks that the efforts is very good thus gives credit to all individuals that work with crimes of honour, and mentions organisations like the IDVP; but also, emphasizes the fact that there are still a lot of things to do.
5.1.9 Interview with a woman that is affected by crimes of honour

The twenty year old woman is staying at Embla for the time being, she has been affected by crimes of honour in a sense where she could not have her own will, beside her husband will and states that

I was married with my husband in a traditional sense, not on paper and he is half Iranian. With us it is about honour, I do not know how to explain it, but the fact that I escaped from him became very shameful for his family. It is very shameful that a wife leaves her husband. I was abused by his entire family and a slave to his family. I could not have my own will; on the contrary, I was forced to obey his will.

In addition, even though her family wanted to help her, they could not, since her husband and his family forbid her to have any contact with them. Also, she describes that she has been abused by not only her husband but also other relatives in the family

I have been deprived of my freedom, they locked me in. My husband’s mother controlled the entire family; she could beat me even though I did everything they said. But sometimes I could not do everything they said – it is hard to learn some things instantly. If I did not do the things right she would beat me … with fists, kicks and so forth. Then, when the husband came home, she could tell the whole story again and put in some extra details and stated that it was my entire fault and not hers. And then I was abused by him too.

The woman explains that she was first supported by the social services then a youth shelter and finally she got situated at Embla. The woman states that the personnel at Embla are very nice and it is a good thing that they are available day and night, although, the area is not the best solution for her. She has been at Embla since April this year and does not know when she should leave, but hoping for a move somewhere else in Malmö. She reflects on the support that is and was given to her

I got help very fast and they showed that they cared and I was taken seriously…in a sense where they consider my will and so forth. Usually, you complain about the social service, though, with this type of matters they are good… I have gained support; I have my supervisor that I talk to etc. The only thing that I do not like is that it is fairly strict rules concerning the time here. I understand that it is for my own safety but as an adult you have to decide over yourself.

About the strict rules she means that this could be a little bit hard since she already have been restricted and that this is a feeling that she does not want to experience again. Moreover, the woman gives her reflections on the support that is generally given within Sweden

It is fairly good the way we have it in Sweden, I do not think it is the same abroad. I believe that abroad this would not be as accepted - that the woman leaves her husband, it is not acceptable. There are those who have it much worse … it is different situations.
Furthermore, she does not know any specific Swedish law or Human right that she could gain some support from, and nobody seems to have informed her of this. Nevertheless, she seems interested about this and gives some own opinions about it

…for instance, the fact that they marries off theirs daughters. Thus, I have never heard where they can find support, I think that this is very bad…I know many that is married off. You do not hear what is happening to them …they are little bit too wimpy with their punishments here in Sweden. When they are released again they maybe do the same crime again. My ex husband have recently been prosecuted … and it is not the first time this year that he is prosecuted for the same crime. So, the punishments in Sweden are too mild. They think they can do anything they want, they think they can kill a person and then directly be released again.

Worth to mention, the woman has been in a trial against her husband and his family, where she finally gained damages.100

6. Analysis

The thought in this chapter is to make an analysis of chapter three, four and five; to be precise, the chapters Crimes of Honour, The Legal Foundation and The Empirical Findings. The analysis is divided into three sections; The Need for Support, The Legal Support and lastly Crimes of Honour in Malmö – with subheadings.

6.1 The Need for Support

The theoretical framework and the interview with the woman have evidential demonstrated that these females, that are affected and influenced by honour crimes, do need support based upon many different aspects. From chapter three (Crimes of honour) one can distinguish not only that crimes of honour consist of a particular social orders, but also notions of shame, honour and control. Didactic conducts like disciplined instructions and regulations are in fact controlling the girls and women’s sexuality, body and mind, based upon special honour codes that ought to be followed. Interestingly, and as it also have been demonstrated in the research, the fact that it is some of the females themselves (i.e. mothers or female relatives) that have to a large extent some of the influential control and power over their daughters (honour) etc, in order to keep them disciplined. Hence, the females cannot make any mistakes that contribute dishonour or humiliation onto her family, if she does; she could obtain severe punishments

100For more information about this see article in the newspaper - Sydsvenskan
http://sydsvenskan.se/malmo/article323869.ece and http://sydsvenskan.se/malmo/article331254.ece
(mentally or physically) or be killed. It is also evident that those who are affected by crimes of honour know that if their family’s reputation is in question and dishonoured, by their behaviour, they must do something to ‘make it right’ again, since the ‘gossip’ could indirectly kill them. Since the crimes are applied in a premeditated manner, do the girls and woman have no or little chance for remedy or escape before the murder or the forced marriage actually happens.

Crimes of honour is also established and reassured from an idea that features such as religion, gender and sexual characteristics, tradition and heritage gives the permission to carry these demeanours out. Thereby, the crimes are committed in a sense where, for instance, the groups or individuals interpretations of religious texts or traditional attributes become an accepted guidance for upholding this specific culture or conformity that exists. Unfortunately, those individuals that do not agree with the collective thoughts or opinions are either killed or punished in some way; evidentially, the individuals own ideas are therefore decreased or non existing. This is expressed when the girls or females, for instance, cannot wear the clothes they want to wear or choose their own partner. From this view, one must consider the high importance of the collective’s law and opinion that is built upon conformity and thus ‘a shared honour’. As a consequence it is not easy to break loose from this community, since they are after all ones own family; that might give some sense of security, love and comfort. Also, as the author Norma Khouri among others stated, the fact that some woman are depended on their father or husband to give them economical aid, hence gives them a subordinate position in the society. Consequently, this makes it even harder to escape, because without any passport or money; many of them are left to their family’s predetermined doom.

### 6.2 The Legal support

For those females who are victims in one way or another by honour crimes could search for a solution or antidote within the Human Rights or a within the Swedish legislation. After all, as Unni Wikan states, crimes of honour is a part of the multicultural society that we today live within\(^\text{101}\), therefore, there is also a need for support and protection. Though, the notion of cultural relativism contributes, whereas a strong sense of cultural relativism could in reality involve discrimination and abuse of those females that are affected or influenced by honour crimes. Consequently, this could often be prolonged and excused because the idea of

\(^{101}\) Wikan (2003) p. 9
multiculturalism must proceed and be protected. However, the chapter on the Legal Foundation has functioned as demonstrative solution and remedy for these particular females. Laws and regulations from a Swedish perspective, like the social service law or the Swedish Penal Code are very vital as a support for oppressed or abused females, whereas, the regulations of *Gross Violation of a Woman's Integrity* in the Swedish Penal Code Ch 4 paragraph 4 a become useable. The regulation highlights that if the relationship has been close, meaning, the relationship have been based upon marriage etc., the repeated deeds could be punished to imprisonment for at least six months and up to six years. Furthermore, even if it is (for some groups) very heroic to kill another person in the name of honour, the Swedish laws forbid this and gives penalties in prison about ten years or up to a lifetime. Bodily punishment or abuse could lead to imprisonment in maximum two years.

The social service laws regulate, as an example, their responsibility against the victims of assault or violence: where they ought to give their aid and support to these females. In this sense it is also important to mention that ‘the best interest of the child’ should be highly considered, even in those circumstances where the child could be taken away from its parent. Additionally, the laws that concern parenting (i.e. Föräldrabalken) do also become very useful within this perspective. Even if one could discuss the importance of Raisons D’état (the national interest and its sovereignty) contra the universality of Human Rights, one must have some hope that the universality of Human Rights ought to be respected and followed. Evidently, some UN Special Rapporteurs and UN resolutions have contributed information about crimes of honour and stressed that these crimes should be punishable by law. Beside that United Nations work with crimes of honour in many ways, is CEDAW very useful for some females: since it condemn discrimination against woman and stress that all states must incorporate all necessary means in order to increase or abolish discrimination against woman. Conventions as ECHR and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights forbid all use of torture or inhuman punishment and states that everybody has a right for life. The best interest of the child is highlighted in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, where, all individuals below 18 years should be treated as children. Hence, children should not be exposed to torture or inhuman treatment etc. according to this convention. One main question comes to surface after this section, namely, could this particular group of females that are affected by honour crimes *really* find the legal support within the frames of Human Rights or the Swedish

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102 Welchman and Hossain (2005) p. xii
jurisdiction and is this support enough? Since there is no convention or Swedish law that directly legalise crimes of honour thus could there really be any proper support and justice for these females? Even though conventions like CRC operate for children’s welfare and resolutions like A/RES/57/179 highlight that the crimes of honour should be punishable by law, one could argue that there need to be a change. Whereas efforts are carried out with a thought that crimes of honour is about a collective transgression, not an individual deed. As long as the females are treated for damages like abuse (mental or physical) classified as typical ‘violence against females’ one must reconsider if we actually are helping them, or instead make the problems worse. Thus, some of these women have not been abused by only one person; they have been abused by several, and therefore, might need other treatments and therapeutic remedies; foremost, necessitate supporting figures that actually understand her specific situation; in order to be well and safe again.

6.3 Crimes of Honour in Malmö
It evidentially has been shown in chapter 5 (The Empirical Findings) that the interviewed representatives in Malmö are actually engaged with supportive actions in very different ways and methods. Though, they all have one thing in common, mainly, to decrease the crimes and prevent it from happen. Since practically every representative state that the support that is given in the city of Malmö is very good\(^\text{103}\) (and many did know of each other, which suggests that they have a good collaboration) should the females that need support be in fairly safe hands. On the other hand, concerning the Swedish laws and regulations it seemed not to be as sufficient and there are in fact several limitations and obstacle that have to be conquered. Therefore many stated that there is still work to be done.

6.3.1 The support given by the representative’s
The representative from Elektra/Sharaf Heroes support these particular females by, as an example, endorse young boys an opportunity to be informants in schools etc. and talk about crimes of honour and in this sense prevent the crimes from happen. One the other hand, the Red Cross volunteers at Embla seem to work more in a way where the associations of honour crimes is replaced with activities so the females ought to have fun and forget that they are victims for a while. The sheltered housing, Embla, offer a support where the females can find protection and shelter if this is necessary; within the establishment are the females also being

\(^{103}\) Many of them mentioned the good work done by the IDVP.
offered to be part in special ‘girls groups’ and counselling. The IDVP give their support in a manner where existing needs are investigated and developed in Malmö. Whereas, Margot Olsson working with other departments in Malmö in order to enhance the cooperation between them: and in this sense might the crimes of honour decrease. In brief, the county administrative board work with crimes of honour in manner where they ought to divide a government grant between the organisations and municipalities that tries to prevent or/and work with honour crimes in Skåne, Sweden. Also, they provide some of the governmental grant to sheltered housing in Skåne, so the females that have been affected by crimes of honour could find a relief from the violence. The representative from the police gives their support by trying to investigate those cases where a crime happened and charge those persons who have made a felony. In general, the police should prioritise these types of crimes with higher awareness and competence than it has been. In addition, a handbook is also written for those who work with these crimes, in which, for instance procedures of interrogation are outlined.\footnote{http://www.polisen.se/inter/nodeid=9162499&pageversion=1.jsp} The Iran-Swedish Association work with crimes of honour in different ways: in which a wide spectrum of a variety of ages and people are involved. They give their support by having different projects that educate parents about honour crimes and also work within the school system where they have assisting support for those students that need someone to talk to. Lastly, the social service, this department have a great deal of the primary responsibility to give support and aid to those females who have been exposed by any kind of violence. Not only should the department tend to abused females and give them shelter and protection if necessary, but also have the best interest of the child in mind when dealing with honour crimes.

6.3.2 The Human Rights
It has been evident that the support from Human Rights is perceived in very different ways by the representatives; where the actual knowledge about the rights is very varied. Some of the representatives, as the representative from the social service, do not really consider the Human Rights in the everyday work; since, the social service law is enough and sufficient instead. On the contrary to the representative from Elektra/Sharaf Heroes who seemed to have a lot of knowledge about the Human Rights and stated that they are very good to have generally. Though not too many apply it in practice and thus emphasise everyone’s right to marriage and so forth. As mentioned before in the empirical findings, many of the
representatives stated that it is not the legislation that is wrong or not useful; it is rather about how one is interpreting it. Likewise to the statements by the representative from IDVP who said that the Human Rights are very useful and comprehensible, but it is also a matter of interpretation. Therefore, since the knowledge about the support from the Human Rights was very varied and perceived differently, it could be argued that these rights is ultimately not an obstacle or complication in their work with crimes of honour, though, neither seemed (in general) as an opportunity to really embrace and use them.

### 6.3.3 The Swedish Jurisdiction

It was obvious within chapter five that some of the representatives did think that the Swedish jurisdiction was too weak concerning honour crimes, and also, claimed that it could be the actual interpretations of the regulations that bring up the problems, not necessarily the regulations itself. Interpretations of the social service law are especially highlighted in this context. Many highlighted the problematic of the social service law, in which: the social workers are obligated to inform the parents if a person below 18 years old is investigated etc. Furthermore, the interviewed woman who has been affected by crimes of honour stated that she gained a fast and good support from the social service which was perceived as she was taken seriously and cared for. She also perceived that the support from Embla was excellent. In general, the social service was seen as the main source for supporting actions; alongside the support that could be given by, for instance, the Medical Care and Schools. Concerning the Swedish Penal Code, many of the representatives observed that this law is nor satisfactory or sufficient when it comes to honour crimes. The representative from the social service mention that the Swedish Penal Code need some sort of juristic classification that fits these crimes and Margot Olsson (IDVP) declared that, since, there are no specific legislation for these crimes it is about, for instance, assault and/or gross violation of a woman’s integrity. She also proclaims that this law ought to be extended. On the other hand, the representative from the police thinks that the law is in fact supporting his everyday work: and mentioning the law about gross violation of a woman’s integrity. Although, also states that there could be some difficulties concerning those people that indirectly causes another persons death i.e. suicide, hence, these crimes is not found within the legislation today. Since the representative from the Iran-Swedish Association seem to have many interesting and self-experienced narratives about crimes of honour, and therefore seemed to have been in contact with the Swedish Penal Code in many ways. For this reason it was stated that these females could not find their support within the legislation that is, thus, the females become discriminated; and therefore
urge for a change. Even the interviewed woman (whom have been affected by crimes of honour) strongly declare that the Swedish jurisdiction is too weak about its punishments. She also highlights the consequence by having to mild punishments, namely, that the perpetrators think that they could do anything they want, again and again: because they are released in only a short time after they have been charged.

6.3.4 Limitations of the support
The limitations and obstacles when giving the support to those females that need remedy and aid could be several. The representative from Elektra/Sharaf Heroes highlight this matter when claiming that only because some people think that honour crimes is only a belonging of ‘the other’ and in other words, people from the Middle East: could the given support be categorised. Therefore, can’t some females, for instance from Europe, gain the support they need, hence the support become limited and somewhat filled with chauvinism and stereotypification. The representative from the Red Cross insists that one should be very careful how one is defining the concept, crimes of honour etc, in general. Since misunderstandings could be very fatal for the girl or woman in question, and as a consequence, not gain the support she need. The Red Cross informant also emphasize that there could be difficulties when one ought to measure the need for support and protection.

Furthermore, Margot Olsson (IDVP) enlighten that every department performs their support differently and it could ultimately end with that the victim become neglected in the process. She also states that the importance of cooperation between the organisations and departments is very vital in order to decrease these sorts of crimes, yet the cooperation could sometimes be limited and hard to accomplish. Generally, everyone declares that it is very vital that everybody cooperate with each other in order to give their support to the victims of crimes of honour and prevent and/or decrease these crimes. Additionally, Katarina Tümer (the County administrative board) stress the fact that everyone who is working with honour crimes ought to not necessarily be expert in the area, still, they all need to know how one is referring to the right person that could give aid to those who need it. The informant also emphasise that it is the knowledge of crimes of honour that really matters, consequently, this could limit the support needed. Knowledge is therefore in a sense both enlightening and restricting: thus, the police state that there ought to be more information about the Swedish legislation and how this legislation is working in Sweden. Thereby, a solution given by many of the informants is that more education about honour crimes should be provided. Whereas, Tümer suggests a
useful and exceptional idea, explicitly, we should willingly work (more) with the perpetrators, in order to decrease the crimes. From this point of view it could be argued that the police and the social services have a lot of the responsibility to carry this out, since they are those primary departments that might come in a direct contact with these individuals. In addition, the organisation of Elektra/Sharaf Heroes must be acknowledged within these frames, while this organisation works with, for instance, some of the boys that have lived/or is living in a surrounding where honour crimes or a culture based on concepts of honour is evident. Thereby, it is not necessary that the police and other significant city departments must have the overall responsibility for the perpetrators. On the contrary, non governmental organisations can and – as it has been demonstrated in the research – will give their support. Last but not least, the importance to try to understand how and why these sorts of crimes could happen: in order to decrease or abolish them, one must listen to those stories, insights and solutions given by the females that have actually been affected by crimes of honour. Therefore, this analysis will end with a reflection given by the interviewed woman

I think that they ought to do something more about this. Enlighten people a little bit more. Every time it happens it is neglected. One cannot forget that there are so many women that is locked into their apartments, just like I was – that do not have any chance to get out. Also, very many of them comes from other countries and do not speak Swedish. What are they suppose to do? It should be more information given to them as well. Certainly, there are many of them that do not know that they could get help…one could actually put out some notes in the city that says where they can find help... Hence, people learn that this is not their fault... I feel terrible for leaving my husband, but we should not feel this way...a man has no right to do this to you. Especially when you are inferior – then they should take care of you instead. You should have the right to make your own choices.\footnote{Interview with the woman; 080522.}

7. Conclusion

The core and underlying question in this research have ultimately been to investigate whether girls and woman are getting the support they need if they are affected by crimes of honour. Evidently, the support comes in many different shapes and conducts, though, one wonders if it is really sufficient and satisfactory enough (and should it ever be? Since nothing is or could be perfect). As we have seen from a legal point of view, there is absolutely no Swedish law or Human Right that stresses crimes of honour. But, without doubt, it might be fairly complicated to distinguish how the punishments could be carried out on a larger scale than
only upon a single individual’s deed; since the crimes are (more or less) carried out by a whole collective, as mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, relatives and so forth. Most importantly, what are the consequences by not having a specific law that concerns those crimes that are based upon honour? Thus, a question that is very hard to answer. Yet, the (affected) woman that was interviewed clarified that the punishments was too mild in Sweden and that there is a high risk that the perpetrators commit the same crimes over and over again. Another consequence might be the lack of the ‘right support’, meaning that crimes based upon passion (abuse by a husband or lover etc) in other words, typical woman abuse, might not be accurate positioned when it comes to honour crimes, due to the different frames of references. It is one thing to be threatened and abused by one’s husband and another thing to be threatened and abused by one’s father combined with several members of the family.

Undoubtedly, it is exactly these types of mentioned issues that exist below the surface of honour crimes: where better solutions ought to be established. Then, one wonders how the Swedish Penal Code can be generally sufficient, when many others of the informants were giving another perspective on this. Though, the Swedish Penal Code has its deficient’s when it comes to honour crimes and therefore need to be extended: one plausible solution given by one of the informants was to criminalise forced marriages. On the other side, one must have some trust in those who actually says that the law is sufficient since they are working directly with it, but, one must also reconsider the females that need help. This is also about how one interprets the laws: thus it is very vital to address that a great amount of responsibility is laid on those agents that are engaged in crimes of honour. Therefore, to have the courage to ask (and help) a female if she is oppressed by honour crimes and also have the liability to charge the predators, are two main characteristics that must be considered when one is dealing with those crimes that are based upon honour. Ultimately, if this is not considered and/or acknowledged, unfortunately, it is the victims that suffer the most. In a similar vision as Nyamko Sabuni’s (the Swedish Minister of Integration) there ought to be a crime classification in the Swedish Penal Code that involves honour crimes, and additionally, also more measurements for the prevention of these kinds of crimes.

People may not really understand how it is to live within a patriarchal and male dominant environment, in which the females not only could have their spying brother as their worst enemy, but also, live under a strict routine of instructions how they should live and behave. Surely and understandably could this create a mind and body that rather obey than violate.
But at least, we must try to understand. Because, in situations where some females see no other way out from their oppression – hence, they are victims of crimes of honour – than to commit suicide, forced or willingly, must therefore relevant societal figures react and give support to those who need it. Since other solutions for a dishonoured family could be to urge the daughter to reconcile with a forced marriage or abuse her in numerous ways in a closed environment; there have to be more specific information about how they could get help. Another solution for the female could be to find a remedy outside the range of oppression, but, she could then lose her entire family. Either way, it takes a lot of effort, apprehension and courage for those females that have the bravery to untangle themselves from their family’s oppression and choose a self-made future. Since it is we who stand outside this particular context as mere observers and therefore have a main responsibility to help and support these females: both preventative and in a direct sense.

We should not stigmatises (or stereotype) the group, the culture or those people that obey beneath the laws of honour and dishonour or have a belief to follow those special social codes that exist within this social structure. On the contrary, we should have the responsibility to meet the perpetrators directly and try to change the attitudes and the mentality that surround these crimes. Crimes of honour could also lay within matters as segregation paralleled with strong beliefs in traditions, but after all, the wrongness does not lie in the general perception of honour and dishonour. It is positioned in the act itself and how one is interpreting religious scripts, customs, social codes and so forth in a negative sense. Thereby, honour crimes could not only be situated in a specific time, culture or place; sense the interpretations of honour and dishonour are overall the world: hence, do not belong to only ‘the other’ (and stigmatised) in Middle East. From this view one should be aware to label these crimes only caused by religious or cultural beliefs, since it is in a radical sense rather excused and performed from a group oriented vision: where cultural relativism could be well situated. Moreover, the fact that females are neglected and discriminated – even though they live within a multicultural society as in Sweden – both by the perpetrators and by some aspects within the support, must a aroused awareness come alive. Thus, further research could involve exploration about how the victims of honour crimes could be discriminated in the process of receiving support: from this view it might be easier to distinguish typical misunderstanding etc. and easier give ‘the right’ kind of support. However, many of the representatives that were interviewed in the city of Malmö have evidentially shown that they have a good foundation of support and aid for those who need it. Most importantly, everyone’s support and efforts to prevent crimes of
honour from happening is equally vital. Certainly, there could be some distinction between the support of, for instance the Red Cross (as an NGO), and the governmental departments since their support is surely somewhat differently carried out and perceived; both for the people that give the support and those who receive the support. But, this does not mean that one could compare them against each other, on the contrary, they ought to work with each other in a collaborate sense; which evidentially have been shown. In addition, some optimism is raised when major institutions as the Swedish Migrationboard seek collaboration with NGOs in order to increase the awareness, thus, those who have been exposed by honour crimes can easier gain asylum in Sweden.\textsuperscript{106} In this sense does collaboration between departments and organisations, in general, lead to a complete and presumably better support for the females: whereas equality should be strived for, instead of neglected.

Due to features of segregation, gender inequalities and culture conflicts are crimes of honour a very important IMER topic that urge for a change. This change ought not only be recommended within some aspects of the support itself but also within the legal setting: since regulations too can delimit and discriminate in a sense; thus not only strong elements of ethnicity, heritage, tradition and religious interpretations. Sadly, the deaths (either predetermined or self-caused) of the females are somewhat only the end of the abuse and oppression that surely could existed a long time, trough several generations, before the actual murder occurred. This assertion underlines the difficulty and complexity concerning possible solutions. Hence, how could one change the mentality and demeanours with those people who actually are capable kill their own daughter in the name of honour? A rather hopeless statement, though, somewhat realistic. But, it is not only the laws and some aspects of the support that need to be extended, peoples mind do to. Therefore, we do all have a responsibility to give our support to those who need it and try as much as we can to prevent these crimes from happening. It is our duty as a fellow human being. My anticipation and hope for change goes out to those brave women and men that struggle for a change, also, those who have the bravery to not follow the instructions that is and instead break loose from the oppression. It is therefore, a great and admirable accomplishment to have the will and courage to see another future that consists of not being a victim, instead an independent individual.

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Appendices

A minor collection of relevant Swedish Legislation

The Care of Young Persons Act (aka ‘LVU’ in Swedish)
2 § Care shall be decided if physical or mental abuse, undue advantage, defects in the care or another relation within the home constitute an obvious risk that the youngsters health or developments is to be damaged. Law (2003:406). OT.

Act on (1982) Prohibiting the Genital Mutilation (“Circumcision”) of Woman
Section 1
An operation may not be carried out on the outer female sexual organs with a view to mutilating them or of bringing about some other permanent change in them (“circumcision”), regardless of whether consent has been given for the operation or not.

The Swedish Penal Code Chapter 3: On Crimes against Life and Health
Section 1
A person who takes the life of another shall be sentenced for murder to imprisonment for ten years or for life.
Section 2
If, in view of the circumstances that led to the act or for other reasons, the crime referred to in Section 1 is considered to be less serious, imprisonment for manslaughter shall be imposed for at least six and at most ten years.
Section 5
A person who inflicts bodily injury, illness or pain upon another or renders him or her powerless or in a similar helpless state, shall be sentenced for assault to imprisonment for at most two years or, if the crime is petty, to a fine or imprisonment for at most six months. (Law 1998:393)
Section 6
If the crime referred to in Section 5 is considered gross, the sentence for gross assault shall be imprisonment for at least one and at most ten years. In assessing if the crime is gross special consideration shall be given to whether the act constituted a mortal danger or whether the offender inflicted grievous bodily harm or severe illness or otherwise displayed particular ruthlessness or brutality. (Law 1988:2).

The Swedish Penal Code, Chapter 4: On Crimes against Liberty and Peace
Section 2
A person who, in cases other than those stated in Section 1, kidnaps or confines someone or in some other way deprives him or her of liberty, shall be sentenced for unlawful deprivation of liberty to imprisonment for at least one and at most ten years. If the crime is of a less serious nature, a fine or imprisonment for at most two years shall be imposed. (Law 1998:393)
Section 4
A person who, by assault or otherwise by force or by threat of a criminal act, compels another to do, submit to or omit to do something, shall be sentenced for unlawful coercion to a fine or imprisonment for at most two years. Anyone who to such effect exercises coercion by threatening to prosecute or report another for a crime or give detrimental information about another, shall also be sentenced for unlawful coercion, provided that the coercion is wrongful. If the crime referred to in the first, paragraph is gross, imprisonment for at least six months and at most six years shall be imposed. In assessing whether the crime is gross special consideration shall be given to whether the act included the infliction of pain to force a confession, or other torture.
Section 4a
A person who commits criminal acts as defined in Chapters 3, 4 or 6 against another person having, or have had, a close relationship to the perpetrator shall, if the acts form a part of an element in a repeated violation of that person’s integrity and suited to severely damage that person’s self-confidence, be sentenced for gross violation of integrity to imprisonment for at least six months and at most six years. If the acts described in the first paragraph were committed by a man against a woman to whom he is, or has been, married or with whom he is, or has been cohabiting under circumstances comparable to marriage, he shall be sentenced for gross violation of a woman’s integrity to the same punishment. (Law 1998:393)
Section 5
A person who raises a weapon against another or otherwise threatens to commit a criminal act, in such a manner that the nature thereof evokes in the threatened person a serious fear for the safety of his own or someone else's person or property, shall be sentenced for unlawful threat to a fine or imprisonment for at most one year. If the crime is gross, imprisonment for at least six months and at most four years shall be imposed. (Law 1993:207)

Children and Parents Code, Chapter 6
Section 1
Children are entitled to care, security and a good upbringing. They shall be treated with respect for their person and their distinctive character and may not be subjected to corporal punishment or any other humiliating treatment.
The International Conventions on Human Rights

The States Obligations

*International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Article 3.*
The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.

*CRC Article 39*
States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of a child victim of: any form of neglect, exploitation, or abuse; torture or any other form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; or armed conflicts. Such recovery and reintegration shall take place in an environment which fosters the health, self-respect and dignity of the child.

*Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Woman (CEDAW) Article 2.*
States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:
(a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;
(b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;
(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;
(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;
(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;
(g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

The Right to Life

*ICCPR Article 6.*
1. Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.

*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 3.*
Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

1. Everyone’s right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law.

*CRC Article 6*
1. States Parties recognize that every child has the inherent right to life.
2. States Parties shall ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child.

Prohibition against inhuman treatment

*ICCPR Article 7.*
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 5.*
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

*ECHR Article 3. Prohibition of torture*
No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

*CRC Article 37*
States Parties shall ensure that:
(a) No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
The Right to Marriage

ICCPR Article 23.
2. The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized.

ECHR Article 12. Right to marry
Men and women of marriageable age have the right to marry and to found a family, according to the national laws governing the exercise of this right.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 16.
(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

CEDAW Article 16
1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:
(a) The same right to enter into marriage;
(b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;
(c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;
(d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
(e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;
(f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
(g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation;
(h) The same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.

The Best Interest of the Child

CRC Article 1
For the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.

CRC Article 3
1. In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.
2. States Parties undertake to ensure the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being, taking into account the rights and duties of his or her parents, legal guardians, or other individuals legally responsible for him or her, and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures.
3. States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision.

CRC Article 9
1. States Parties shall ensure that a child shall not be separated from his or her parents against their will, except when competent authorities subject to judicial review determine, in accordance with applicable law and procedures, that such separation is necessary for the best interests of the child. Such determination may be necessary in a particular case such as one involving abuse or neglect of the child by the parents, or one where the parents are living separately and a decision must be made as to the child's place of residence.

The Right to Integrity

ECHR Article 8. Right to respect for private and family life
1 Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence.

CRC Article 16
1. No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation.
2. The child has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.
The right for protection

CRC Article 19
1. States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.
2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement.

CRC Article 20
1. A child temporarily or permanently deprived of his or her family environment, or in whose own best interests cannot be allowed to remain in that environment, shall be entitled to special protection and assistance provided by the State.
2. States Parties shall in accordance with their national laws ensure alternative care for such a child.
3. Such care could include, inter alia, foster placement, kafalah of Islamic law, adoption or if necessary placement in suitable institutions for the care of children. When considering solutions, due regard shall be paid to the desirability of continuity in a child's upbringing and to the child's ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic background.

Interview guide – The Representatives

1. In which way do you work with crimes of honour and what are your specific skills in this area?
2. Do you have any specific experiences of crimes of honour?
3. What do you think about the Swedish legal support concerning crimes of honour?
4. Do you think the support that is, purely legal, fulfilling its purpose in your everyday work with crimes of honour?
5. Do you find that the international conventions (aka human rights), laws and general regulations, such as the social service law and the children's convention are sufficient when working with crimes of honour?
6. Do you think there are any complications or difficulties in your work contra the legal instruments that could be used?
7. In your comprehension, are there any specific law or societal representative that is more vital than any other, in a sense where supporting actions ought to be carried out?
8. Finally, do you have any comments concerning crimes of honour and the support that is offered and given within Malmö?

Interview guide – The Woman

1. In which way are you influenced or affected by crimes of honour?
2. Do or did you find that you have any support from some department or NGO?
3. If you did, how do you perceive this support and what are your reflections on it?
4. Do you consider Swedish support generally, concerning crimes of honour, sufficient or insufficient?
5. Concerning laws and the regulations in Sweden, do you know which law, convention or regulation that you could find legal support from?
6. Are there any final comments about crimes of honours that you want to mention?