Honour-Related Problems in School Contexts in Sweden – theoretical perspective and prevention

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Preface

This report is a revised research overview of the research projects related to honour-related problems in Swedish schools. The original report, *Hedersrelaterad problematik i skolan - en kunskaps- och forskningsöversikt,* was written by Mehrdad Darvishpour, Pirjo Lahdenperä and Hans Lorentz (2010). The report was published in 2010 (SOU 2010:84) in Swedish as a series of reports written and published by the Delegation for Gender Equality in Schools (DEJA) with the purpose of contributing knowledge and discussion on gender equality and gender issues in schools. This English version is an updated, improved and peer reviewed report of the study published in Swedish. Its aim is to present an outline of the definitions, problem areas and theoretical perspectives within this research field, as well as to provide a description of the preventive measures schools should take to confront honour-related problems experienced by pupils.

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Changes have been made since the original Swedish language version of the report was published. Interest in knowing more about honour-related problems has grown generally in society and, in particular, in the school sector. Furthermore, children's rights have been strengthened in relation to parents' influence regarding education, as has protection from forced marriage and child marriage.

However, some questions, pinpointed in this report, are still urgent matters. There is still a need to recognize honour-related problems as a complex issue without simple answers. How can the autonomy of the family to raise their children be combined with the perspective of children's rights as they are described in the UN´s Children's Convention? In which ways should and could schools be involved in the protection of the interests of young girls and boys without creating conflict in their families or building up greater tensions between the school and the parents? How could a perspective on integration be combined with a gender equality perspective in the work against honour oppression?

This report highlights the relationship between integration politics and school policies concerning honour-related problems. The writers raise some dilemmas that can be issues in the conflict between children's rights and parent's rights which may be manifested in contact between school and home. This report also notes the need for more practice-based knowledge.

In an international perspective, the issue of honour-related problems has also caused a great deal of concern, especially in the European Union. We sincerely

hope that this report will reach more readers and that it will be a contribution to an international discussion about honour-related problems in schools.

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1. Introduction to the assignment

Compulsory schooling and education as human rights, namely the right to education, are an important starting point for the analysis of varying values that create conflict within the Swedish school system.

In terms of understanding school as an arena for so-called honour-related problems, it is important to describe the values upon which schools are based. A basic starting point for understanding the school's role is found in the curriculum description on equality:

> The school should represent and work towards values of equality and represent the sanctity of human life, individual people's freedom and integrity, and equality between men and women alongside the weak and vulnerable (Lgr 11:2).

Clearly, this means that the starting point for the school's undertaking on issues of equality is that all men and woman are equal and have equal rights to an education. Any and every form of discrimination is to be tackled. Governments since 1994 have prioritized tackling violence against women, which is a serious problem in society. In the last few years, the Government has deepened and intensified the extensive initiatives to combat men's violence against women that were implemented during the last electoral period. Various policy documents have determined that some of this violence is honour-related violence and oppression.

The government bill titled, *Equality between men and women in education,* (Regeringens proposition, 1994/95:164) states that schools operate in a society characterised by unequal power relations between men and women. Society's perception of power relations and values not only influences the schools but also gives them the unique possibility to open opportunities, widen perspectives, and develop their potential**,** regardless of societal gender roles, during a critical period in the lives of children. The bill highlights that children and young people are shaped not only by expected gender roles, but also by their social and cultural backgrounds. Even if the perception of women as inferior remains a constant idea, the gender patterns that schools are expected to counteract can present themselves differently in different groups. Therefore, enforcing equality in schools becomes a complex task. Equality cannot be addressed independently of other factors. Thus, the bill expresses equality as a pedagogical matter.

According to the report, *The power to shape society and one's own life,* (SOU 2005:66) the previously cited bill formulated, in part, a new meaning to the concept of equality:

> In order to achieve equality for boys and girls through equal treatment requires an understanding about the meaning of prevailing gender patterns and perspectives with regard to teaching as well as understanding that boys and girls do not constitute a homogenous group. The school's staff should not remain gender neutral. If girls and boys are given space to develop their own individual potential without being limited by their gender, education should

provide students with knowledge on both similarities and differences between the sexes as well as prejudices about femininity and masculinity in different contexts. In addition, equality cannot simply be looked at as a matter of attitude, but must also be regarded as a matter of knowledge and understanding (Regeringens proposition, 1994/95:164).

For our purposes, it is important to question whether it is possible to tackle so-called honour-related violence and oppression in schools using the "traditional" methods for enforcing equality that were relatively suitable in the Swedish school system throughout the 1900s. However, if these methods today have been proven to be inefficient or impossible, how then should the schools' work against honour-related violence and oppression be designed and developed for the future?

The Swedish Ministry of Employment (Utbildningsdepartementet) gave the National Agency for School Development (Myndigheten för skolutveckling) the task of implementing gender equality measures in schools, stating that:

The most significant groups experiencing honour-related violence and oppression are girls and women. Such violence and oppression is also experienced amongst the homo- and bisexual community as well as transgenders. Even boys are impacted by such violence and oppression as both abusers and victims. Both girls and boys in school are to be given the same rights and opportunities to learn and develop. Students from families who highly value the concept of honour do not have the same possibilities to exercise their rights as others. The need to provide foundational knowledge in schools about men's violence against women including honour-related oppression and violence is very high. Principals, teachers and other staff must be able to identify the signs in order to detect these problems. With this understanding in mind, the Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket) is given the task of providing education on problems surrounding honour-related violence and oppression to staff in both primary and secondary schools (Regeringensbeslut, 2008-06-12 U 2006/9049).

It is therefore important to include how different gender roles are developed and the presence they have in different societies, as well as understanding how issues such as "honour-related problems " come about, i.e. understanding *what* this means and *how* this is talked about – how the discourse is portrayed**.**

This report includes an overview of current research on how schools have handled issues of so-called honour-related problems in Sweden and provides suggestions on how these topics can be further developed through an intercultural perspective. The most important focus of this overview is schools as an arena and how schools handle so-called honour-related problems.

2. Purpose and structure of the research report

The purpose of this report is to provide a picture of, collect and analyse the research definitions and problem descriptions using different theoretical perpectives, and to describe what measures are recommended for schools to treat (and remedy) honour-related problems in Sweden. Most of the research and knowledge that we present is less than 20 years old. The basis of this overview on honour-related problems comes from various theses, academic literature and articles from Swedish journals, scientific reports, government documents and survey data. We visited the Swedish National Agency for Education and those responsible for initiating and monitoring the work on honour-related problems in order to understand the agency's view of the problem and also because we wanted to put the information in the context of school materials. In addition, any material providing advice, instructions or guidance on honour-related problems was also of great interest.

When it comes to defining and identifying what is meant by honour-related problems in schools, we initially started from the definitions and terms that were provided in materials that we used. Problems involving honour-related values include deviant acts such as honour killings, genital mutilation, forced marriages, "blood feuds" and other types of gender-related oppression amongst immigrants. In the context of schools, gender oppression is reflected in failing to attend school, not participating in sex education, swimming lessons or activities that involve socializing with the opposite sex, as well as the monitoring, disappearing, and moving some students to other schools.

In policy documents relating to equality and equal treatment in schools, honour-related problems are presented as conflicts in values that can cause trouble for school staff.

Since education in Sweden is seen as both an individual right and as a social duty, the challenge is how the school can include the heterogeneous population, which has a variety of differing values, with the common values of the Swedish school, which maintains pluralism and diversity as its foundation.

We have based our review of research and other materials related to honour-related problems on both an equality and integration perspective and a critical normative, intercultural and intersectional perspective. Because the authors have roots outside of Sweden and belong to different disciplines, we believe we also contribute contrasting cultural, intersectional and interdisciplinary approaches. With regards to the intercultural focus, we focus on the interaction, i.e. the intercultural meeting points between different cultures. In a socially constructivist theoretical perspective, culture is studied as a system of meanings (Gergen, 1985; Lahdenperä, 2008; Pearce, 1994) related to social circumstances, values, interests, attitudes, metaphors, norms, regulations, agreements, social practices, etc. With regards to the intersectional perspective, it combines class, gender, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation. Such an intersectional perspective studies the points of intersection between different power relations such as class, gender, ethnicity, etc. from a power perspective (de los Reyes, 2005).

Based on these theoretical frameworks, it is of great interest to study the Swedish context that shapes the meaning of honour-related problems.

We begin our overview and study of honour-related problems by giving a historical perspective of the concept and way of thinking about it in Sweden in order to understand how and in which contexts honour-related problems are relevant. This allows us to gain a better understanding of the current views and theoretical perspectives being used in Swedish research into honour-related oppression. Because there is currently more research on the existence of honour-related problems in "immigrant" families than there is on the concept of honour-related problems in Swedish schools, this overview will apply various theoretical perspectives on honour-related oppression and conflicts within families.

In this overview, we have tried to avoid the term "immigrant" or "migrant girls". Instead we have used the term "girls with immigrant backgrounds" or "people of foreign background" or "people of a different ethnic background than Swedish", "Swedes with a foreign background", "native speaking Swedes" etc. Of course, we use the same term as the authors of the reports.

The term "immigrant" is problematic and has been questioned in a variety of contexts, especially by people who have grown up in Sweden whose parents migrated to Sweden (Lahdenperä, 1997). They have been called "immigrant children", "immigrant pupils" or "second generation immigrants". These young people wonder how many generations it will take until they are no longer considered immigrants. Within this concept, immigrant entails the temporary status of moving from one country to another. Once permits are issued, people are technically no longer immigrants. However, in Sweden, the word immigrant is used both in everyday conversation and scientific texts in reference to people of non-Swedish origin. The Swedish use of the word also includes a dimension "that does not disappear upon arrival at the final destination", often creating social exclusion. Therefore, being an immigrant entails, in a sense, not being Swedish and, furthermore, a deeper meaning of being of low-status in society (Darvishpour, 2008). In this way, the term immigrant contributes to the "differentiation" of people of foreign origin and thus reproduces an "us" and "them" way of thinking (Brune, 2001).

The chapter, *Honour-related problems and schools,* introduces three studies of both students and teachers who had "experienced honour-related oppression". It also reviews a report that describes how school staff handle "honour-related oppression", various publications, manuals, documents and reports that provide guidelines and instructions on how schools should deal with honour-related problems, and a study on how schools address honour-related violence. The final chapter in this overview includes reflections, conclusions and suggestions as to how the schools' work on honour-related problems can be improved and developed from an intercultural perspective.

3. Research perspectives on honour-related culture as a problematic phenomenon

 What is honour culture and what are honour-related problems? The term honour-related problems, i.e. problems, conflicts and dilemmas relating to honour, came into use at the end of the 20th century in Sweden. The concepts of *honour culture* and honour violence were established in relation to a number of tragic murders that took place between 1996 and 2002 in Sweden. Firstly, Sara Abed Ali, a young Kurdish girl was killed by her brother and her cousin in December 1996. This initiated a debate on honour violence and its motives and consequences. The murder of Pela Atroshi, another Kurdish girl murdered by her father in June 1999, reinitiated the debate on honour murders and honour violence in Sweden. Pela, who had a boyfriend in Sweden, was deceived and taken to northern Iraq to be married off. This was actually a plan to kill her without society reacting.

However, it was after the murder of Fadime Sahindal, another Kurdish girl in Sweden, murdered by her father in January 2002, that honour problems really got attention in the Swedish media and the political sphere. Fadime was already known for the speech she gave in the Swedish Parliament, on the 20th November 2001, when she spoke of her own experience of honour oppression. Therefore, the societal reaction to Fadime's murder was quite extensive. She was called "one of the martyrs of our times" who wanted to "live Swedish". She has been tied in to the processes that, in the public, represent Sweden as an equal country and "other cultures" as patriarchal (Ekström, 2009). Apart from the media debate, hundreds of conferences and many inquiries were initiated with the aim of raising knowledge and understanding of the phenomena and improving the work against honour problematics. Many authorities, government ministers, the National Agency for Education, political parties, NGOs such as Save the Children (Rädda Barnen) and women's organizations tried to prevent honour violence and honour murders through debate, education, policies and investigations.

Similarly, internationally, in recent decades, honour-related oppression has increasingly gained attention. Not only has there been a focus on honour-related oppression in countries such as Turkey, Pakistan and Kurdish speaking areas, where these incidents occur to a greater extent than in Western Europe (Mojab & Abdo, 2004), but the United Nations and other international conferences have also acknowledged honour-related oppression amongst minority groups in Europe (Mojab & Abdo, 2004; *European Conference report: Honour related Violence within a Global Perspective: Mitigation and Prevention in Europe,* 7-8 November 2004*; Combating patriarchal violence against women: focusing on violence in the name of honour*, report from the international conference, Stockholm, Sweden, 7-8 December 2004 (2005). For example, these issues are often discussed today in relation to "vulnerable immigrant girls and young people who are restricted and oppressed because of honour". Several reports have also illustrated how the most vulnerable group in society is young women from an ethnic background other than Swedish.

According the 2010 NCK report, *Honour-related violence and oppression,* in conjunction with the debate on honour-related violence, a host of new words

entered the Swedish language; these included honour-related violence, honour-related problems, honour-related conflict, honour-related restrictions, honour-related family life and honour-oppressed girls.

That honour has been described as a problem throughout the 20th century suggests that prior to the 1900s it must have been described differently and in a less problematic manner. The *Swedish National Encyclopaedia's Dictionary* (2004) describes the noun *honour* as 1) reputation based on recognised good character and 2) recognition of a (sustained or improved) reputation often after some sort of accomplishment. Words associated with the word *honour* include words such as guest of honour, honourable officer, honorary doctor and honourable men. These words use honour to describe whether or not a person is a particularly distinguished or honoured guest, respectively, a person who earns the title of doctor and an individual who is perceived as a reliable and decent person.

As we have seen by its definition, the word honour had a very positive connotation and was associated with good character and reliable people. Therefore, it seems rather contradictory and confusing that *an honour killing,* or *murder in the name of honour,* has the meaning that it does. Actually, the phrase, *honour killing,* is an incomprehensible and linguistic anomaly when a concept such as murder, which is the crime of deliberately killing another person, is simultaneously associated with the word *honour*, whose meaning is discussed above.

Most often, honour-related oppression revolves around restricting the sexual attitudes and behaviours of women. In cultures with value systems of honour, women's sex lives are strictly monitored by men who, as head of the household, are expected to protect the family's honour. Furthermore, honour-related oppression entails the man monitoring the woman because both the family's and the man's honour risk being destroyed if the woman behaves "indecently" according to prevailing norms. These situations not only involve sexual acts, they can also be situations associated with sexual experiences, such as a woman being alone in a man's presence in a social setting. In other words, honour thinking has to do with men's collective rights to control women's sexuality, which is legitimized by their surrounding environments. In a traditional patriarchal society with strict rules regarding sexual behaviour, men's control over women's sexuality is a part of "a good reputation" (Darvishpour, 2010). Women who challenged patriarchal norms could, and might still today, make their husbands or male relatives "honour-less". A part of a man's role is to "protect", "monitor" or, more specifically, control his daughter's, his wife's and/or his sister's sexuality from "male strangers".

Although honour thinking and honour-related oppression primarily involves controlling women's sexual behaviour, even young boys and men can be affected by it. Homosexual men, young boys and men who challenge their parents' expectations of arranged marriages, or those who are more liberal and believe in equal gender roles and equality for their female relatives' sexual behaviour can also be considered honour-less and can bring shame on the family. Therefore, even men and boys can become victims of various types of honour-related oppression. In these environments and cultures, losing one's honour is very shameful for the individual. In this sense, honour and shame are strongly associated with one another; however,

the concepts are not the same (Darvishpour, 2010; Ekström, 2009; Wikström, 2011, 2012a).

The next section presents a historical perspective of how the concept of honour has developed into a complex concept with various meanings in different contexts. It also reviews how honour-related beliefs existed in Sweden long before we began discussing integration and immigrants.

4. Historical Perspectives

Since the end of the 20th century, the concepts of honour-related violence, honour killings and honour-related problems have been used in discourses surrounding "immigrants", migration and integration. The terms "immigrant" and "integration" in the Swedish language are usually associated with "problems and tension", which is highlighted in the use of the terms "us and them". Therefore, people from an ethnic background other than Swedish are often construed as having come from an honour culture and/or honour-related problems become readily associated with "immigrants" and how "immigrants" are to be integrated into Swedish society.

Did the notion of honour exist in Sweden and Scandinavia before the discourse on immigrants and integration began? How should we view the concepts of honour and honour killings from a historical perspective? These questions have also been asked by the Historical Institute at Lund University, which is one of the Swedish institutes that have researched the concepts of honour, honour killings and the honour culture using a historical perspective.

In the anthology, *Honour Killings,* (Johansson, 2005) the authors show that, even in Scandinavia, women (and men) have been killed in the name of honour. In, *Today's honour killings vs. the history of Scandinavian women,* Marie Lindstedt Cronberg (2005a), asks, "What impact has perceptions of honour had on women in Sweden to this day? Have honour killings occurred in Swedish history whatsoever?"

Lindstedt Cronberg (2005a) refers to an honour killing as the murder of a female (or male) relative carried out to restore the honour of the family, relative or group. The murder is necessitated by a collective cultural understanding of honour and dishonour, but also by certain cultural rules that prescribe what is required to eliminate dishonour and restore honour. It is crucial that the group and society accept that murder is required to protect honour.

Purna Sen (2005) presents six characteristic features for murder in the name of honour: women's behaviour, especially in terms of women's sexuality; women can have a role in monitoring other women, possibly contributing to their murders; collectively deciding on punishments; the ability to regain honour through threat, coercion or violence; and the state legitimizing the crime by accepting honour as a motive and reason for no penalty.

4.1 Value system of honour

What then is considered to be honour by people who live in an honour culture? Unni Wikan (2004) discusses honour in an honour culture as having to do with male attributes. Wikan argues that the man possesses honour, whilst the woman has no honour, only shame. Therefore, it is the man's responsibility to manage and protect the family's honour as it is presented to the outside world. However, men's honour is also closely linked to the females' expected sexual virtue. Consequently, women's sexual behaviour threatens men's honour in these cultures and women can destroy men's honour by partaking in behaviours that are considered inappropriate under such strict sexual norms. Some examples of behaviours that could challenge a man's

honour in the family include having sexual relations outside of marriage, being unfaithful, refusing to partake in an arranged marriage or inappropriately flirting with an unfamiliar man.

Women represent the face of the family to the outside world and therefore everything the woman does impacts the men in the family. In these value systems of honour, men are responsible for protecting the patriarchal order within the family. Therefore, in the eyes of others (i.e. those outside the family who also live in an honour culture), honour is valued because it shows that the family maintains its patriarchal order, which also guarantees that women in the family are sexually virtuous. Men who follow these unwritten norms are entitled to respect and are thus equal with other men, regardless of class or their position of power. Protecting these values is not always an easy task and it is therefore important that, for example, rumours questioning the family's honour do not get a chance to surface. In other words, according to Wikan (2004), honour between men is horizontally structured – and honour is all or nothing, it cannot increase, only be lost or possible regained.

Lindstedt Cronberg (2008) points out that in this sense it is important to understand honour as a two-tier concept. The first tier of male honour consists of protecting female relatives' virtue, while the second tier has to do with completely different aspects, such as hospitality and honesty. Languages such as Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic and Persian use completely different words for these two aspects of honour, whilst Scandinavian countries do not differentiate between the concepts regarding sexual honour.

The ethics of honour are considered a part of the traditional patriarchal society. This is not, as many assume, a phenomenon specific to the Middle East; it also occurs in several other countries and religions other than Islam as well. Although the concept of honour has strong roots in the Middle East, it existed prior to the emergence of Islam and is found in Christian populations in the region and in other religious groups (Darvishpour, 2010; Mojab & Abdo, 2004).

It is important to note that just because "sexual honour" exists in many countries in the Middle East and amongst certain ethnic minorities in Sweden, it does not mean that all people from these countries automatically live according to or come from this kind of honour thinking. Several studies show that different family patterns and attitudes towards sexuality exist amongst Iranians, Turks, Kurds and Arabs, where certain groups are more liberal than others and where certain groups have a more radical view of sexuality than others (Ghorashi, 2003; Darvishpour, 2014, 2004; Mojab & Abdo, 2004; Wikström, 2011, 2012a, 2012b).

4.1.1 Value systems of honour in Sweden
Has any type of honour thinking previously existed in Sweden? According to the historian, Lindstedt Cronberg (2008), it is clear that honour and glory emerged as core values in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and she argues that we cannot begin to understand people of the past if we ignore the aspects of honour in their lives. As a starting point, we can view honour not only as a core value that people used to relate to their own and other's actions, but also as a value in the sense that people themselves considered honour a concrete measurement of value. People understood

that their honour was to be managed and defended. It could increase through honourable actions, but they also understood that it could be destroyed by certain actions.

In extreme cases, honour could completely disappear resulting in dishonour. Honour was therefore grounded in a value system (Lahdenperä, 1998), it was a characteristic of the individual and it was something that the individual managed and carried with them. That one's honour could be judged by law reveals honour in its objectified form.

According to Lindstedt Cronberg (2008), evidence that Sweden could be considered an honour culture between the 16th and 18th centuries comes from the following:

- The terms honour and glory resonated with people and they took honour into consideration in their everyday lives.
- The community perceived honour as a necessary feature of social life and societal belonging.
- The state and its institutions handled honour and glory as tangible; they could be regulated by law and taken away from individuals as punishment.

Defamation of honour was a relatively large category of crime in Swedish courts in the 16th-18th centuries, which shows that honour was something requiring protection from attack. This was a key feature in cultures of honour – that honour actually needed to be protected and defended, which required active participation by the individuals. Defending one's honour came in response to the threat of exclusion or expulsion from the community. According to Lindstedt Cronberg (2008), these societies viewed honour as a positive and integrative force that held society together and maintained a common set of values in the same way as many religions.

Existing documents from the courts show that the majority of the population, mostly burghers and peasants, who were victims of actions or verbal threats that questioned their honour, often brought the matter before the courts. In this way, restoration of their honour would be made public through a legal proceeding.

It should be understood that honour and glory were as important socially as they were for the individual's own identity. This honour-orientated society also expected everyone to believe in God, submit to the precepts of religion on decency and morality, to tell the truth and to stand by one's word.

Having honour also meant that one could expect to be treated with respect by others, regardless of social or economic status. Lindstedt Cronberg (2005b) highlights the lack of evidence concerning honour killings of women in Swedish society in the 1600s.

She argues that in this so-called "pre-modern Scandinavia", although shame was reserved for women, honour was not only for men. Systematic reviews of legal documents from the 1600s onwards show that men and women defended their

honour in similar ways, i.e. by invoking the law and suing other parties so as to gain justice.

Unfaithful wives and their lovers were taken care of by the state. The courts decided if the woman would lose her life over the matter or not. Society from the 1600s to the 1900s had a harsh judgmental view of unmarried women's sexuality, and the ever-powerful state stepped in and monopolized penalties for dishonourable acts. This created a pattern by which women were convicted and punished for illegal sexual acts. However, paradoxically, this led to some protection for woman, as penalties were fixed by law and usually did not last a lifetime.

According to Eva Österberg (2005), one key difference between now and the 17th and 18th century Sweden in terms of its control of sexuality and honour killings that had occurred in Scandinavia is that strict sexual morality and solid family ideology was a part of the hegemonic Swedish culture from that time, but it was also conclusively included by the state and church who were both in agreement. In other words, since sexual norms in society did not belong to a specific group, when someone broke these norms, matters were not taken into the people's hands. Rather, the entire state apparatus and system upheld these norms. Society and the state decreed severe penalties for such offenses. For example, death was a possible penalty for so-called double adultery (when both parties were married) and, in some cases, for single adultery (when one of the parties was married). If an unmarried couple slept with together before marrying and the woman became pregnant, they risked hefty fines and/or painful corporal punishment. Moreover, the sinners would receive extra shaming punishments from the church.

The question is whether parents and siblings felt the need to react with further punishments under such circumstances? According to Österberg (2005), since the state imposed both punishments and shame on the citizen who sinned, the family did not need to act.

4.2 Gender and shame in the Swedish justice system

Shame has been an integral part of the Swedish justice system from the middle ages until modern times. Until the 1930s, the state maintained a form of control based on old values of honour and shame.

Until very recently, a woman's shame usually had to do with her sexual "inappropriateness". Österberg (2005) argues that government intervention and laws focussing on the individual quite early in Swedish and Scandinavian history are crucial aspects in this context. Her hypothesis is that honour killings and more severe honour violence – defined as severe violence against a family member – were not needed or natural in a society where the hegemonic value structures and norms were maintained and vigorously upheld by the state.

At the beginning of the 1900s, the state and the church were equally as judgmental in their approach to adultery, although the state no longer upheld norms as a part of its duty, says Österberg (2005). There were situations where the father in a bourgeois family reacted more severely than the state if his daughter became pregnant out of wedlock. The father would send the daughter away to give birth in secret or force her to give up the child, all in the name of the family's honour. It was

often a kind of shamefulness or honour culture that motivated the family's conduct with the purpose of preserving their reputation.

According to Österberg (2005), we can find examples of psychological and physical honour violence within families, especially in cases where the parents were believed to have a higher standard of morals than the rest of society, where their views on family and sexual morality were not in sync with the state's norms.

Unni Wikan (2004) points out that in such cases, honour has to do with the right to respect, i.e. the demand for respect. Provided that an individual has followed the code, society has an *obligation* to show him/her respect. Julian Pitt-Rivers (1965) argues that honour is a person's worth both in their own eyes and in the eyes of others; it is one's own assessment of one's worth, one's *demand* for pride; but it is also society's recognition of this demand, its acceptance of one's reputation and one's right to pride.

The difference is that Pitt-Rivers not only emphasizes honour as societal, but also as the respect that the individual demands from society. He means that the meaning of honour also lies in the individual's view of himself/herself.

As keys to today's honour violence and even to honour killings, honour and shame are closely connected to the public sphere and how one sees oneself and one's children. Österberg (2005) notes that the need for individuals to take their own actions is rooted in the fact that society does not uphold the norms of their group.

Overall, the concept of honour and honour-related oppression were relevant both in the past. The major difference between the concept of honour in the past and the present – such as the concept existing in the Middle East – is that, in Sweden, individuals rarely took the law into their own hands by killing someone. It was more common for the state to punish honour crimes. However, in some cases, an individual could go as far as to kill another or be killed in a duel with the aim of winning back honour (Johansson, 2005).

4.2.1 Honour and shame in modern Sweden

What do these concepts look like in today's society? Furthermore, Lindstedt Cronberg (2005a), amongst others, asks what happened to the concept of honour in Scandinavia in the 1900s? From a historical perspective, it can be concluded that the earlier meaning and concept of honour in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries completely lost its value in Scandinavia in the past 50-60 years.

However, the notion of shame still exists in today's modern society. For example, today, there is a commonly used idiomatic Swedish expression stating "some people should be ashamed of what they have done or said." In the past and nowadays, men and women generally do not show their naked bodies to strangers. To be ashamed of one's naked body is still a behaviour that is, at times, unconsciously passed down from generation to generation, thus continuing the social legacy.

However, Merike Hansson (2010) argues that concepts such as honour and shame have not played a particularly large role in "modern society". Even if different words are used, the actual phenomena and emotions associated with them are still highly relevant here and now. In general, we do not often discuss honour and glory;

rather we discuss pride – having a good reputation, both personally and in society, and the importance of being respected.

Earlier assumptions that shame was most relevant in traditional societies and that modern societies rely on guilt have been refuted. Where honour and glory exist, so too does shame according to the Norwegian sociologist, Ola Stafseng (2001). Shame has not disappeared; instead, it has become taboo or reappeared in new forms that can be easily recognized as shame.

Since social relationships are vital for our survival, shame, which can be understood as an instinct signalling that our social ties are in danger, is experienced as a strong threat to our own societal existence, according to Thomas J. Scheff (2003). In other words, this emotion is just as primitive and intense as fear or terror.

If honour and shame have *one* meaning in what we consider traditional, family-oriented societies, then they have a *different* meaning in what we consider modern, individual-oriented societies. Ivar Frønes (2001) argues that from traditional to modern societies there is a change/shift in descriptions of feeling shame in that the modern society focuses more on the individual and individualism. It can be described as a shift from external control to strong inner self-awareness and self-control; from collective to individual norms; from family, relatives and traditions to identity and self-image; from acts to lifestyles**.** The constant self-awareness that shame brings about can be described from the individual's perspective as the tension between how the individual wants to be seen and how the individual perceives this will happen, i.e. the tension between who you are and who you want to be.

Deep shame has to do with the pain of not being good enough, the perception of not being worthy of another's love, and the impact this has on the person as a whole. In line with this view of shame, low self-esteem can therefore be understood as a sort of chronic shame. Individuals seek reciprocity and feedback and if that fails we experience shame. Finn Skårderud (2001) points out that we are significantly controlled by our fear of feeling shame, our fear of being exposed, disgraced and disliked by others or even ourselves.

Social anthropologist, Marit Melhuus (2001), claims that in modern society when daily tasks and labour become disconnected from gender ties and when women take care of themselves and their own interest's, traditional honour and shame codes of conduct lose their grip on people and society. However, honour and shame in modern society organize social relations through distinction and hierarchy, which calls for different behaviours for men and women. While many morals, such as honesty, loyalty and hospitality, are the same for men and women, the same sexual behaviour that brings honour to men honour, beings shame to women.

In conclusion, we note that concepts such as honour and shame have been used in different ways and have had different meanings in the past and the present. Therefore, they are dependent on a variety of conditions and circumstances. In turn, these concepts are based on contextual, relational, historical and social factors that have affected perceptions of gender, family, honour and glory. Consequently, as members in today's "modern and equal society", it is important to understand that

we may have different ways of looking at concepts such as gender, family, honour, glory and shame. Likewise, it is important to gain a historical understanding of our values. Honour and its characteristics have existed in a Swedish context just as much as in other countries. What ties together the different meanings is their significant integration into society's laws, rules, norms and values, as expressed in various policy documents today. Following society's rules and norms can result in honourable or respectable behaviour, whereas aberrant behaviour can result in shame and loss of honour.

5. Various theoretical perspectives on honour-related problems in Sweden

Allow us to introduce three different explanatory models whose perspectives on honour-related problems present in public policy, debate in the media and academic research in Sweden in recent decades. Literature on the phenomenon often discusses honour-related oppression only in relation to "immigrant families". We have limited ourselves to presenting three theoretical perspectives based on how the problems are described in the different perspectives and explanatory models.

1. The *culturally determined explanatory model* focuses on cultural differences and clashes between Swedish and non-Swedish groups in order to explain acts of conflict and violence in Sweden within families from a different ethnic background (Wikan, 2004; Schlytter, 2002; Sjögren, 2006).

2. *Feminist theory on gender and power structures* considers violence an expression of male violence against women and perceives honour violence, like other forms of violence against women, as the universal patriarchal oppression of women (Eldén 2003).

3. The *intersectional explanatory model* focuses on how multiple dimensions and power structures interact with one another and impact situations within immigrant families. Ethnic discrimination, gender and generational conflicts and socio-economic background are some of the aspects considered relevant when analysing honour-related oppression (Carbin, 2010; Darvishpour, 2014, 2011, 2010, 2008, 2006; De los Reyes, 2003; Mulinari, 2009; Wikström, 2012a, 2012b).

However, we will primarily develop the third perspective because family is of great importance in the description of honour-related problems, both in general and specifically in relation to schools. The concept of family should also be understood as a contextual phenomenon. There are multi-generation families (consisting of a couple living with their parents and their children), traditional nuclear families (consisting of a mother, father, and children), and the newer forms of family (e.g. single parents living with children, couples living without children or homosexual couples with children). In a Swedish context, the concept of family often means one's "own family", a nuclear family, which does not include grandparents or other relatives. Amongst certain minority groups, however, the boundary between family and relatives is often unclear. Relatives, such as uncles, aunts, etc. who are considered relatives in the Swedish context are considered family in certain minority groups. It is also not uncommon for relatives in some minority groups to be involved in child rearing. Since collective family ties are stronger in some immigrant families compared to Swedish families, this could partially explain why relatives in certain minority families have greater influence over internal family

affairs (Darvishpour 2004, 2006). In the third perspective, we focus on how immigration has intensified power conflicts within families from non-Swedish ethnicities.

5.1 The culturally-determined explanatory model

Some researchers (Schlytter 2002; Sjögren, 2006; Wikan 2004) describe women's and girls' vulnerability in certain "immigrant groups" using cultural features which are referred to as an "honour culture". An honour culture entails the woman's sex life being subject to strict supervision and it being the man's duty as head of the family to protect the family's honour by protecting and guarding its women and daughters. In addition, an honour culture entails both the family's and the man's honour being damaged if women or daughters behave "indecently" based on expected norms. Indecent behaviour is not always a sexual act, but it can be something closely associated with sexual situations, such as a woman being alone in the presence of a man.

Researchers who emphasize the importance of honour culture imply that the more family norms and values are marked by an honour culture, the greater the risk of a "culture clash" with "Swedish values" (Schlytter, 2002; Wikan, 2004; Sjögren, 2006). Wikan (2004) rejects the theory that an honour culture should be seen as part of the global structural oppression of women. She emphasizes that in the Western world the difference between honour violence and "ordinary" violence against women is that honour violence is a collective action encouraged by the male environment.

Researchers who believe that cultural characteristics and differences underlie different ethnicities' intensified family conflicts and violence against women argue that cultural adaptation is the best way of improving equality within immigrant families. For example, the ethnologist, Annick Sjögren, says that the assimilation process that occurs in the workplace and other contexts, putting immigrants in contact with Swedes, contributes to such cultural adaptations (Sjögren 2006:61-91). Her view focuses on the analysis of honour-related problems in cultural conflicts between different norms and values.

5.2 Feminist theory on gender and power-structures

Some gender researchers (Eldén, 2003; Andersson & Lundberg, 2000) believe "honour culture" and "honour violence" should be described as a part of men's oppression of women on a universal scale. Others believe violence against women is primarily to do with status and power, rather than culture. According to these researchers, the difference in opinions on violence within families, for example between Sweden and the Middle East, has less to do with cultural differences and more to do with differences in family structure that is based on socio-economic and demographic factors.

Andersson & Lundberg (2000) reject the theory that violence within immigrant families is a culturally determined phenomenon, as they believe it is problematic to explain this as primarily caused by cultural differences. They argue that abusive men do not only come from countries where women have a more subordinate position in society and in their families than they do in Sweden. Their

research shows that the most extensive forms of violence against women are carried out by Swedish and non-Swedish men who have "imported" their wives.

Unlike the culturally determined perspective, Åsa Eldén (2003) explains that honour-related violence against "immigrant girls" can only be attributed to a general gender perspective and she sees "honour violence" as a part of the structural oppression of women. She argues that "domestic violence" (male violence against women) refers to violence against white, heterosexual women from Sweden, while "the other" women have been placed in the specific category of "violence against women". Eldén also argues that men's violence against women (regardless of the man's origin) must be understood in context.

Many researchers (Alina, 2004; Reimers, 2005; Darvishpour 2011, 2014; Ekström, 2009; Mulinari, 2009; Wikström, 2012a, 2012b) highlight how the debate on honour killings, patriarchal families and the vulnerable situation of girls has laid the foundation and groundwork for a discourse that places ethnic minorities outside of Swedish gender boundaries. Sweden associated with a country and a culture of gender equality principles and a unique free zone from gender oppression. In other words, Swedish gender discourse creates opportunities for a debate which legitimizes criticism of immigrant groups by emphasizing that they are not equal, thus contributing to a discourse that divides residents in Sweden into those with the Swedish affinity for equality and those without, i.e. immigrants. The starting point of the dominant discourse is that immigrant families are portrayed as patriarchal and problematic and Swedishness is seen as the only possible model for equal opportunities (Darvishpour 2014; Wikström, 2011, 2012a). Some researchers (Hobson & Helgeren, 2008) emphasize that such a view in the debate on honour killings has increased the possibility for xenophobia in the Nordic countries. They mean that the honour killings relates more about families with honour culture, which is seen more essentially different as the culture in Swedish families. While some researchers (Schlytter. & Rexvid, 2012, Rexvid & Schlytter, 2112; Schlytter, Rexvid, Celepli & Nasih, (2011) argue that efforts to combat honour violence has decreased girls' vulnerability, others claim (see BRÅ, 2010) that it is doubtful that the efforts have had any effect. BRÅ (the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention) evaluated interventions against honour violence and oppression and stated that awareness has improved and knowledge has increased; new agencies have been launched and the legislation has been changed.

With regard to honour related violence and oppression over 150 educations has been held with the support from the 150 million SEK that the Swedish Government during the years 2008-2010 has distributed to the Country Administrative Board. The educations has been regional and held by the Country Administrative Board and among other things including knowledge of excellence in five counties. The National Agency for Education has educated 650 Headmasters and principals through in-service-training and approximately 50 teachers have been educated on HVF through a university course. The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs has arranged a university based course for approximately 350 persons within after-school centres, social services and schools as well as an excellence course for approximately 40 specialists in the field (Brå, 2010:10). However, it is uncertain if the interventions have decreased honour violence in Sweden.

A new study, *Men and gender equality* (SOU 2014:6), by the Swedish Government also considered the critique that was pointed out regarding the fact that the work against honour violence may overshadow other work against men's violence toward women, and that questions regarding honour violence could be used for racist purposes. The investigation dissociated itself from the cultural perspectives used to explain so called honour violence and suggested that, to a greater degree, this relates to the deprivation of power that men with a foreign background experience (SOU 2014:6; Darvishpour, 2014).

Maud Eduards (2002) also stresses that when honour-related violence is referred to as a specific category of violence, different from violence against women, we further engrain the idea that "others" are patriarchal, while "we" are equalists (de los Reyes, 2003). The violence is thus described as "non-Swedish" violence, which is caused by migration.

By situating the violence outside of Swedish culture, the contrast grows and "our culture" becomes even more gender equal. Such contrasts result in honour-related oppression becoming a consequence of "their culture" and not part of "our culture" (Eldén, 2003). In this way, researchers with a gendered power-structure perspective believe that honour-related oppression is merely a harsher form of female oppression which is considered a universal phenomenon that occurs globally. Furthermore, by eroticising the concept, we risk further stigmatization of "immigrant groups", which can also result in the underestimation of oppression and violence towards Swedish women occurring in Swedish society.
However, the discussions have become more nuanced in recent years and today many more analyse honour oppression from an intersectional perspective.

5.3 An intersectional explanatory model of honour-related oppression and familial conflict
The third perspective uses various levels of a contextualized and multidimensional explanatory model to deepen the understanding of honour-related oppression present in Sweden today, in particular with regards to families who originate from countries with different values or beliefs than those most commonly found in present day Sweden.

The intersectional explanatory model seeks to combine a feminist perspective with an antiracist and a social perspective. These conditions, together with ethnic discrimination and exclusion, can prevent the development of equality within the family and can even reinforce patriarchal values (Darvishpour, 2006, 2008, 2014).

It's important to identify and analyse the different forms of power relations that interact and construct the living conditions of ethnic minorities. This does not mean that the above dimensions will always all be of equal significance when analysing an individual's willingness and ability to be integrated into society. It is about selecting the appropriate categories and justifying them in relation to the context, rather than explaining everything in terms of an ethnic perspective alone. De Los Reyes (2005) and Darvishpour (2013) highlight that with an intersectional perspective it is possible to analyse various power structures such as class, gender,

sexual orientation, age, ethnicity, disability, etc. and also study the complexity of discrimination.

More and more researchers have begun to question the simple causality presented by both the cultural and one-dimensional feminist explanatory models (see Alinia, 2004; Carbin, 2010; Darvishpour, 2008, 2006; De los Reyes, 2005; Gruber, 2007). These researchers believe that factors other than culture and gender must be considered and can likewise affect relationships within the family. For example, one could look at factors related to the family's socioeconomic background, ages, country of origin and values, length of residence in Sweden, degree of integration into society, experiences of discrimination, interaction with their environment and the level of conflict and resolution in the family. Even the course of the migration process that accompanies immigration is an interaction between the family's actions and the attitude of the majority culture. The process is mostly unique depending on the outcomes of the factors mentioned. This suggests that an analysis of cultural differences and the impact on family conflict amongst minorities should focus on specific circumstances within the group and the individuals who have migrated, rather than basing the analysis on cultural differences between Sweden and the immigrants' countries of origin.

Culture is also a malleable, intercultural understanding and phenomenon that is shaped by interactions between different individuals and groups. Contact with the new world, new experiences, and new norms affect mind-sets and attitudes (Ahmadi Lewin 2001; Darvishpour, 2010; Lahdenperä, 2004; Lorentz, 2009). Researchers with a multidimensional analytical approach are also critical of the universal gender-power perspective as it reduces honour-related oppression to being simply a part of universal violence against women and therefore disregards the analysis of the difficult and special circumstances that women from different ethnicities may experience.

The defining feature of the third perspective is that the shift in power and familial conflict focuses on what is happening in both Swedish families and ethnic minority families. In that sense, the "power struggle", rather than upbringing or culture, becomes essential in this perspective (Darvishpour, 2002, 2004). Moreover, the intersectional analyse model is developed from a post-colonial mind-set that questions the "differentiation" of people with an ethnic background other than Swedish. This construct a binary position with Swedes as "we" and people with immigrant backgrounds as "the others" (Alinia, 2004; De los Reyes & Martinsson, 2005; Lahdenperä, 2011). By placing emphasis on the role of discrimination in intensifying family conflict, we partially shift the focus from "their" cultural baggage to "our" and the majority society's exclusionary mechanisms and attitudes that reinforce patriarchal perceptions.

Today, we can also see that more and more inquiries from the Civil Ministry and various regional ministries have begun to focus on the significance of discrimination in the discussion on honour-related issues and familial conflict amongst ethnic minorities, and these reports are now based on an intersectional perspective (Farahani, 2013; Darvishpour, 2011; SOU, 2014:6).

In order to understand families with immigrant socioeconomic backgrounds, their cultural values, current status and power structure in society and within the

family, men's and women's various experiences with migration, their length of residence in Sweden, family members' various interests and interactions between them must be taken into consideration in an intersectional analysis of honour-related issues. These parameters can therefore provide a more multifaceted, complete picture of the intensified conflict and violence within certain minority groups, more so than the approach focusing exclusively on cultural norms from their countries of origin or general power structures between men and women.

Using an intersectional perspective, we will explain the dynamics of families who have migrated to Sweden by using several pieces of research describing various outcomes related to the problem of immigration and integration in Sweden.

Women and young people more quickly find their way into the new society

Women who migrate often have a more positive outlook on the new situation than many men (Ahmadi Lewin, 2001; SOU, 2014:6; Darvishpour 2004). This depends not only on the fact that women can improve their material lifestyle compared with their country of origin, but also because in many ways Sweden offers better opportunities for immigrant women to develop their own identities and social status.

Similarly, some women are perhaps better equipped to deal with the stress that comes with discrimination in that they – because they are women – may have previously been treated as second-class citizens in their home country. Many men with immigrant backgrounds, however, have never experienced being seen as "the other" or as a second-class citizen. This indicates that after migrating the loss of status may be more severe for men than for women (Ahmadi Lewin, 2001).

The image that portrays "immigrant women and immigrant girls" as passive victims of their culture and their surroundings hinders our understanding of their power resources and their opportunities to exercise that power. This stereotypical image is especially common when it comes to Muslim women's family life in Sweden. The attitude towards Muslims has become more and more negative, especially in recent decades. The "Muslim woman" is described as submissive, oppressed and often lagging behind. From the Western perspective, the majority see it as their duty to "liberate" the oppressed Muslim woman.

More and more researchers point out that such an ethnocentric and simplistic view of "Muslim women" is problematic and can contribute to further marginalization. In addition, this view also leads to a stereotyped image of immigrant men as oppressors.

For example, Aylin Akpinar (1998), shows through her research that women and men in Turkish families in Sweden have their own centres of power. Similarly, Kirsten Lauritsen, in a study of Iranian refugee families in Norway (1996), warns that a unilateral understanding of Iranian men's power over women and children can lead to an underestimation of the woman's role.

A stereotypical view of women and girls with immigrant backgrounds as oppressed, passive, ignorant and isolated leads to greater focus on their "problems" and less focus on their abilities and capacity to act. In fact, to the contrary, immigration to Sweden – especially when coming from societies with strong patriarchal characteristics – has led to a dramatic increase in the power resources of

women and young people. In turn, this has intensified conflicts of interest between many men and women as well as between parents and children, which has led to an increasing number of conflicts within families.

Men's loss of power
In families characterized by more traditional patriarchy, a pyramid illustrates the family order with the man at the top, the woman beneath the man, then the son, who has a higher status than the daughter. Thus, girls are placed at the very bottom of the pyramid.

In many families, immigration can lead to a development where the pyramid – the symbol for hierarchical patriarchal family order – is turned upside down (Al-Baldawi, 2003).

When the balance of power within the family dynamics and control over key resources change, relationships also change. Those whose status has diminished in the new situation may emphasize cultural traditions from their country of origin as an argument for their cause, thereby making the conflict even more acute. Throughout, two aspects are simultaneously occurring– on the one hand, there is a power- and culture-conflict and, on the other, there is a compromise occurring in the relationships between men, women and children. These patterns of conflict in families from immigrant backgrounds are a somewhat intensified portrayal of what has long existed, even in Swedish families (Darvishpour, 2002, 2004).

Mehrdad Darvishpour (2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010) shows that immigration for many men – especially for those who have fled their homelands – can entail a loss of status and influence, both in society and within their own families, and thus is a type of demotion. A loss of status, for example, losing one's job, can lead to frustration. Experiencing ethnic discrimination, which can be harder on men, as well feeling like being treated like a second-class citizen may increase alienation and frustration. Even cultural differences can affect the power position of a man whose norms and values are questioned daily in the new country, especially if he has difficulty expressing himself and communicating in the new language.

From a gender perspective, for many men, immigration can mean a loss of male privilege and thus a loss of power and status. Many parents, especially fathers, also feel that they may not have as much power or control over their children. They may even feel that the Swedish school system influences their children to turn their backs on their culture and traditions and lose respect for their parents (Bouakaz, 2007). All of these factors can increase frustration and intensify conflict within the family.

Generational and gender conflicts also interact making, for example, conflicts between fathers and daughters even more intense. The men's losses can, in many respects, explain why there is an increased risk of men in some families using violence in an attempt to regain their lost dominance within the family.

Paradoxical development patterns within families with immigrant backgrounds
A family's day consists of a number of gatherings, decisions and rulings regarding spouses and children. As with decisions in a larger societal context, the family's many decisions are made either in consensus or through varying degrees of conflict.

How to deal with changing power relations and resolve conflicts between young people and their parents is dependent upon the family's socioeconomic background, cultural background and upbringing, the parents' and young people's positions in the new country, and their length of stay. Women and men from the same country are not a homogenous group.

Their view of gender relations is associated with their social class, cultural background, education and social status. In some families with an immigrant background – like some families with a Swedish background – there are better opportunities for equality in certain relationships than in others. This may be one of the main reasons why some families with an immigrant background cope with family crises and conflicts in a constructive way and, despite everything else, can live a happy life.

Three different patterns of conflict can be distinctly distinguished within immigrant families. The first two touch on the relationship between spouses and the third touches on the relationship between parents and children (Darvishpour, 2004). The first pattern of conflict revolves around the man taking on the active and extroverted role, while the woman takes on the emotional role. The extroverted man develops a new network of contacts and becomes independent, while the introverted woman becomes socially isolated, alone and dependent on the man. If the man eventually sees the woman as ignorant and a burden, then the conditions often cause a crisis in the relationship.

The second pattern of conflict develops alongside a transfer of power that benefits the woman, but destabilises the patriarchal family. Women often get new opportunities after migrating based on, for example, them more easily and quickly entering the labour market – perhaps because they accept unskilled work, often more often than men.

The new situation strengthens the woman's self-confidence and challenges traditional roles. When a man experiences a change in status that reduces his power in the family, he often tries to maintain his dominance by enacting norms and rules from his country of origin which legitimised the previous relationship. Women who, on the other hand, achieve better positions than they had in their home country may demand substantial changes in family life and have greater expectations for life in general. All of these situations can lead to a crisis in the family.

Based on an analysis of conflict within the family that takes into account the distribution of power, we can begin to understand why patriarchal relationships in certain families are so stable, while in other families they become the foundation of instability. Similarly, this can give insight into why women's (and young girl's) improved power resources increase the risk of family conflict in some families, while in others they can be the foundation for equal and stable relationships. The question is under what circumstances do conflicts of interest and disapproval lead to open conflict.

If the last straw in the conflict is caused by the man not relinquishing power and the woman asserting her rights, one outcome may be divorce. Another consequence may be that the woman is forced or chooses to submit to the man so that he may maintain or even strengthen his position of power. Finally, another

possible outcome is that the man accepts the change in power relations, making the family more equal and democratic.

Families who come from relatively modern and urban areas in their countries of origin can more easily adapt to norms of equality than those who come from areas with strong, traditional lifestyles. Relationships between adolescents and parents who come from a more modern background can be more democratic (Darvishpour, 2004).

In conclusion, the research (Darvishpour, 2004; 2008) on women's and children's power resources shows that an increase in these resources can accelerate the development of equality. In other words, women's increased power resources can have different effects on men's attitudes. In some cases, the increase can lead to men feeling threatened and marginalised causing them to clutch to patriarchal norms in order to "defend himself". In other cases, it may lead to the men becoming more accepting of equality. Men with higher levels of education, better socioeconomic conditions and who are more integrated into society have an easier time adapting to women's increased power and can more easily change their own behaviour.

Generational shifts in power

Generational conflicts exist between adolescents and parents in most families, regardless of their ethnic background. Some generational conflicts are to do with an adolescent's emancipation from their parents. Young people with a cultural background other than Swedish are often more motivated to accelerate the integration process and they can also do this more easily than their parents (Ålund, 1997; Lange & Westin, 2003).

Many parents can be sceptical or opposed to their children's "Swedeification". In turn, this can lead to conflict within the family. Such conflicts become even more intense between parents and young people in families where the parents have more traditional and stringent norms, while the mediation by school and surrounding community of norms of freedom and learning from one's mistakes is more prevalent. One example which illustrates more traditional norms is the fact that some parents disagree with sex education in school or dislike gym classes where girls and boys take part together, even if the boys and girls are in different groups. There are also the school's conscious and subconscious demands and expectations of how parents should be or behave in order to fit in with "the Swedish school".

The Swedish school emphasizes independence and individual freedom in that children and adolescents should be critical thinkers and decision makers. In light of these objectives, there is a risk that the parents' authority and competence is questioned. Control over children is seen as something negative. Therefore, the school, its objectives and values can somewhat unknowingly contribute to intensified generational conflicts in the family.

Conflicts and cultural differences between younger and older generations can sometimes be more intense than cultural differences between the younger generations of the ethnic minority and majority. A series of tensions between the

individual and his/her own ethnic group is very significant amongst adolescents and it is not always easy for them to identify with their own ethnic group (Ålund, 1997).

Adolescents in families with an immigrant background can experience a difficult and complicated situation with partially incompatible norms. This can lead to young people – perhaps especially girls – being forced to live a double life. They try to combine the different demands and expectations that parents and society put on them. Living a double life can lead to conflicts in loyalty, where adolescents are at times forced to choose between their families and society. In turn, all of this can exacerbate conflicts within families.

While the first generation of immigrants often experiences difficulties adjusting to the new country with its new culture and values, children and adolescents are often less affected by the new lifestyle. The parents' position is weakened and they have less power over their children, the children in turn gain a new role. The children bring the new culture into the home and can thereby contribute to the socialization of their parents. The new society's norms and laws support the rights of the children and they can easily blend into society than their parents. When the parents become linguistically subordinate, the role of the children conflicts with the traditional family order and the parents' role must be redefined (Darvishpour, 2006).

If parents have no contact with society, are unemployed, have little education and live in areas where no native speaking Swedes live, so-called segregated areas, they can hardly serve as positive role models for their children and therefore cannot contribute to different types of integration either.

Parents become more dependent upon their children, since children integrate into the new country and its rules and norms faster than their parents. Contact with the outside world and concern over the family's survival in the new country are in many cases handled by the children, adolescents and women. Parents who do not feel like a part of society may suffer from a feeling of powerlessness which in turn can increase conflict between parents and adolescents. Moreover, tensions between parents and children increase as children have the opportunity to challenge their parents when contributing to the socialization of their parents. These adolescents can easily become "parents to their parents" (Darvishpour, 2006, 2008, 2010).

Girls with power disadvantages

Darvishpour, (2010) discusses the significant risk of family conflict becoming more intense if generational conflicts interact with gender conflicts. Conflicts between fathers and daughters can be especially severe in many families.

Although many boys feel pressured by their parents' expectations, a lack of male role models, social exclusion and discrimination - daughters in certain families are significantly more oppressed. First of all, many girls have a class disadvantage. They often live with their unemployed or poor parents in these so-called segregated areas. On average, they have poorer health, less access to education and a lower quality of life compared to the majority of society.

Secondly, many of them are victims of ethnic discrimination, which can mean that they feel undervalued in comparison to the ethnic majority and they feel alienated.

Thirdly, women can feel oppressed by *the patriarchy in society*. In addition, they may find themselves in an extremely strict patriarchal environment because of their family's values and situation which in turn weakens their position and their power resources.

Lastly, the parents' authority can affect many girls in the younger generation. When some of them dare to challenge the traditional patriarchal culture, they may face penalties from their surrounding environments. Many may become isolated, feel significant anxiety and feel trapped in a strictly patriarchal culture.

In other words, conflicts may be more severe between parents and adolescents, but especially between fathers and daughters within families where parents live by more strictly traditional norms than the modern rules that society and schools embrace. The vulnerable situation of adolescents is, amongst other things, a result of the confrontation between modern and traditional cultures, between equal values and strict patriarchal values. In some families, parents enforce strict patriarchal values while the schools emphasize equality (Gruber, 2007). Gruber emphasizes that schools may even become a haven for many girls of foreign origin.

Boys risk developing patriarchal values

Many researchers believe that second-generation children of families with immigrant backgrounds, i.e. those who have grown up in the new society, have an easier time integrating than their parents. They know the language, understand the norms and values and can live with different cultural values and norms, which facilitates their integration because they have become multi-cultural.

Recent research says that many male adolescents, whose parents live completely in their own world of traditional cultural values, can experience social exclusion and discrimination because of this. This may further hinder their ethnic identification and may even, through their fathers' authority, legitimize their own patriarchal values (Åhlund, 1997; Lange & Westin, 2003).

In other words, discrimination can strengthen patriarchal values, especially amongst young boys. The social exclusion and discrimination that many young people experience can lead to some of them choosing to remain outside both societal and familial norms.

Exclusion can thus be intensified and lead to further marginalization. Society's stigmatization of "immigrants" can lead to them building a negative image of themselves and/or society (Darvishpour, 2014). The fact that many adolescents with other ethnicity than Swedish feel distance from the family and schools, suggests a type of dual-marginalization (Kamali, 1999). In this sense, both parents' demands on boys to follow their traditional ways and marginalization from mainstream society counteract the development of positive attitudes towards equality between men and women.

Overall, the perspectives presented in this chapter are also present in the public debate on honour-related oppression. In the thesis, *Between silence and*

speech – girls and honour violence in Swedish public policy (2010), political scientist, Maria Carbin, highlights how honour-related violence is emerging as a political issue. Carbin argues that the issue has become more common since September 11th 2001, and she shows the emergence of differing understandings, definitions and explanations of honour-related oppression.

In her research, Carbin shows that different perspectives had an impact on public policy and media debates between 1995-2008. Her thesis is mainly based on public pressure, parliamentary debates, inquiries and provincial government's perspectives on honour-related violence. The debate was the most polarized between those who emphasized how structural discrimination affected the situation of people of another culture or ethnic background and those who emphasized a cultural explanation to highlight honour-related oppression amongst specific ethnic minorities in Sweden. Furthermore, she shows that the cultural explanation was the most dominant in the Swedish political stance against honour-related violence.

6. Honour-related problems and schools

Honour-related problems in schools are still a topical problem area. The problems have probably been around a long time. However, the knowledge and awareness that young people are living in so-called honour-related families, which entails problems for students and clashes with school values, is a relatively new problem area for schools to manage. In the article "End exemptions from school sex education" by Jan Björklund, Minister of Education, and Nyamko Sabuni, former Minister of Integration and Equality, the authors write:

> Primarily, these (honour-related problems at schools) concern girls who grow up in families with strong "honour traditions". In these groups, women's freedom is often considered a threat to the family. A girl's will is subordinated, as this is seen as what is considered best for the family; the men's, or the group's, "honour" is based on the girls' sexual behaviour. To control their daughters, some parents do not want them to participate in certain school activities, for example, gym class, swimming or sex education. Sometimes they may not be allowed to attend class trips or parties. The girls' lives may be strictly controlled, and violating family rules may lead to harsh punishments including tighter restrictions, threats and, worst of all, violence. (DN, 2009-05-31)

From an intercultural perspective, the issue of "honour-related family" may involve families with a variety of religious beliefs and cultural backgrounds. From a more traditional Swedish perspective, the issue is often interpreted as an issue about "immigrant families" and "the others". However, it does not have to be this way. Even completely "Swedish families" may have strong religious or other beliefs that involve restricting and controlling both daughters and sons. This can be useful to understand when we look into three different studies (two studies of students and one of teachers) that explain how honour-related problems are presented and described.

6.1 Research on students and teachers

To get a picture of how honour-related problems exist in schools, we will present the three following studies:
1) The questionnaire survey: *Virginity and honour: a study of girls and boys who live under honour-related control in Stockholm – its extent and nature* (Schytter, Högdin, Ghadimi, Backlund, Rexvid, 2009).
2) A study of teachers: *Teachers' observations concerning the presence of "honour-related oppression" in schools* (Lange 2008).
3) A study of students: *On the requirement of virginity: a study of girls' and boys' perceptions* (Ghadimi, 2007).

The questionnaire survey
Virginity and honour: a study of girls and boys who live under honour-related control in Stockholm.

The study contains two parts: a survey of adolescents in grade nine and a study of cases involving arrests in according with the Swedish act for determining the care of young people. The overall goal was to distinguish the group of girls and boys living under honour-related norms, values and restrictions. The survey was conducted in spring 2008 with approximately 2,300 students in grade nine from 36 primary schools in the city of Stockholm. This sample represents approximately 30% of all students in this age group in the city of Stockholm.

Distinguishing the group of girls who live under honour-related norms and restrictions was determined based on of two questions. *Do parents expect the girl to be a virgin until marriage?* and *Is she allowed to have a relationship with a boy of the same age?*

The implication of these requirements is that the girl is not allowed to have a premarital sexual relationship. Answering yes to these questions was considered sufficient to include these girls in the category of those living under honour-related norms and restrictions. The survey found that 23% of the girls answered yes to both questions.

The next step illustrates if these girls – the ones who fulfilled the necessary conditions – are allowed to have friendly relationships with boys of the same age and if they are expected to follow the expectations of others as to whom they should marry or live with in the future.
Both of these norms are considered a stronger way to control the girl's sexuality. The consequence of these norms is that the girl's opportunity to choose her future partner is severely limited.

If the girl's actions are restricted by rules based on expectations that she must be a virgin at marriage, i.e. that she may neither have a boyfriend nor choose her own future partner, she fulfils the main characteristics of living in the context of honour-related norms, values and restrictions.
These are the aspects that fulfil the criteria that show girls' sexuality being controlled in an honour-related context. Of all the girls in the survey, 16% met these criteria.

Swedish society assumes that girls have the same rights as boys both in school and during their free time. Everyone must attend school in accordance with the conditions that the schools specify. If a girl is not allowed to participate in certain aspects of school or if she is not allowed to have her own free time, it may be understood as an expression on honour-related control over her sexuality. This would entail the girl not experiencing the same terms as other adolescents in terms of school and free time. Since these norms clash with the expectations of the school, the community becomes directly involved. In this way, the girl's situation is visible to society.

The girls who responded that they met the criteria for sexual control within an honour-related context and those who were not allowed to participate in all school events and/or had restrictions regarding their free time are considered as

belonging to the category who have honour codes and restrictions. This applied to 11% of all girls in the survey.

The study also investigated if the girls who experienced sexual control and restrictions at school and in their free time were also subjected to abusive behaviour, threats or violence. Being subject to the latter is not in itself a condition for being considered a part of a group living under honour norms and restrictions.

In other words, girls who follow the family's restrictions do not necessarily experience violence and, based on this survey, we cannot directly link violence to sexual control and restrictions.

Of the group in this study found to live under honour-related norms and restrictions, 7% of girls answered that they had experienced control, abusive treatment, threats and/or violence.

The following figure illustrates the gradual restrictions placed on the girls who met our criteria for belonging to the category of those living under honour-related norms and restrictions.

		7 %	Restrictions, threats and violence in an honour-related context
	11 %	Honour-related sexual control and conditional participation in society	
	16 %	Met the criteria for sexual control within an honour-related context	
23 %	Expectations of virginity – met the requirements but not sufficient criteria		

The summary of the study's results concludes with a section on the implications for society, where it is particularly noted that the young people in this study who lived under honour-related norms and restrictions were of foreign origin. According to the authors, this means that the study also says something about integration policy in Sweden. Finally, the study establishes that the results are of particular concern for social services and schools.

The question is, can a power perspective provide better conditions to study generations - and gender conflicts between parents and their daughters in families with foreign backgrounds? In many families, girls' exposure is much more complicated and is about more than honour-related violence. Generally, a generational conflict happens between young people and parents irrespective of their ethnical background. Some generational conflicts in these families were surely a result of the young person's emancipation from their parents. Furthermore, some young people with immigrant backgrounds have a stronger will, and also a better opportunity to hasten the integration progress than their parents. At the same time, their parents are sceptical as to the fact that their children are "becoming Swedish", which in turn can lead to conflicts within the family (see p. 24-27).

The study of teachers
Teachers' observations concerning the presence of "honour-related oppression" in schools by Anders Lange (2008).

Anders Lange is the author of a report on the results from a study dealing with teachers' observations of events in school that may indicate so-called "honour-related oppression". This study is a part of a separate report from the main study, *A study of teachers' experiences and perception on teaching about the Holocaust,* by Lange (2008).

In addition to this study, the *Living history forum* was requested by the Minister of Integration and Equality to include a small number of questions regarding teachers' observations regarding the presence of so-called "honour-related oppression" in schools. The survey was sent to 10,000 teachers across Sweden as a part of sample surveys developed by Statistics Bureau Sweden (SCB). However, throughout the survey period, the survey experienced a dropout rate of 48.8%.

Before the questions were asked, the study clearly outlined that these issues were included in the survey on the initiative of the Department for Equality and Integration as is described in the following way, Lately there has been a lot of discussion surrounding "honour cultures" and "honour-related oppression and violence". As of yet, there is no agreement on how these concepts should be defined. There is also a lot of discussion on how widespread these issues are and how to relate to them." The following shows one possible description by Lange.

> "Girls living in families who value honour do not have the same opportunity to exercise their rights as other girls. This is because certain groups view women's rights as a threat to the family.
> Honour-related violence or oppression refers to conflicts that in many ways can be connected to the idea that women's and girls' free will is subordinated for the good of the family. In these cases, the men's and the group's "honour" is directly dependent upon the women's actual or alleged sexual behaviour or relationships. Preserving the virginity of girls is priority over other goals.
> This characterizes the girls' upbringing, sometimes even from a very young age. Honour-related traditions can be one of the reasons why parents do not allow their daughters to partake in certain school activities, such as gym class, swimming class, sex education or even certain school fieldtrips. Girls' lives can be strictly controlled, and violating family rules may lead to sanctions in the form of harsher restrictions, threats and, in the worst cases, life-threatening violence. Brothers and other male relatives often have the task of controlling and monitoring the girls' behaviour and, in serious cases, they are the ones who commit acts of violence." (Lange, 2008:30).

As previously mentioned, the purpose of the study was to determine under what circumstances teachers found evidence of existing oppression, which primarily came to light during lessons when they may have noticed signs of control over the girls'/women's sexuality.

Teachers were asked, for example, how often during the school year (2005/2006 and 2006/2007) they noticed girls using religion or tradition as the reason for asking to be exempted from a lesson. The question also included cases where parents directly expressed such wishes.

In terms of swimming lessons, 26.5% answered that girls sometimes, quite often, or very often wanted to be excused from class. 22.7 % answered that girls were absent sometimes, quite often or very often.

In terms of gym class, a total of 24.1% responded that girls sometimes, quite often or very often wanted to be excused from class. 24.0% answered that girls were sometimes, quite often or very often absent from class.

In terms of sex education, a total of 14.1% responded that girls sometimes, quite often or very often wanted to be excused from class. 8.7% of teachers responded that girls were sometimes, quite often or very often absent from class.

In terms of participation in school fieldtrips, 20.8% of teachers responded that girls were sometimes, quite often or very often absent from fieldtrips. In terms of participation at camp, 19.5% responded that girls were absent sometimes, quite often or very often.

In terms of participation in class parties, teachers responded that 22.4% of girls sometimes, quite often or very often did not participate in such events. In terms of school parties, the teachers responded that 21.5% of girls sometimes, quite often or very often did not participate in such events.

Overall, teachers responded that in terms of female students and swimming lessons, only 5% *never* wanted to be excused from class and only 41.6% were *never* absent. In terms of sports and gym class, these figures are 59.8% and 42.3%. This indicates that a relatively large number of female students wanted to be excused from swimming lessons and sports.

In this context, it is interesting to note that in a press release on changes to the provisions of the Education Act, the Swedish National Agency for Education states that in its opinion there should be a general ban on allowing exemptions from class based on the religious beliefs of parents or students. Under the current provision, a student can be excused at the request of their legal guardian from participating in an otherwise obligatory school activity if the special circumstances are seen as valid enough to approve the student's absence[1]. The question is, what special circumstances are valid enough to excuse a student from participating in gym class, sports, class parties or school parties that the teachers and principals approve of? The study, however, did not examine the girls' ethnic backgrounds, which may have influenced their behaviour, nor did it examine if girls were absent from certain lessons and school activities on the basis of "honour-related oppression".

The study of students
Mariet Ghadami (2007) has documented her study, *On the requirement of virginity: a study of girls' and boys' perceptions*[2]. This study was based on a survey of 1,193

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[1] The Swedish National Agency for Education Rights Secretary Press Announcement 2009-07-02: Exemptions from certain lessons.

students in grades seven to nine (middle school) in four state schools in "a Swedish city". The study dropout rate was 9%.

The aim was to select students from a broad socioeconomic range so that the selection would provide the opportunity to compare perceptions of young students with a Swedish background with those with a foreign background. Having a foreign background was defined as girls and boys or their parents being born in another country.

The survey used four statements/questions in order to find out how common it was that young people agreed with norms related to limiting pre-marital sexual relations.

To the first statement, *Girls should be virgins when they get married*, 21% of girls responded, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree*. In terms of ethnic background, 8% of girls who responded in this way were Swedish, 44% had foreign-born parents and 46% were foreign-born.

Amongst the boys, 27% shared the view, responding, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree.* In terms of ethnic background, 15% had Swedish backgrounds, 48% had foreign-born parents and 49% were foreign-born.

For the second statement, *Boys should be virgins when they get married*, 21% of girls responded, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree*. In terms of ethnic background, 10% were Swedish, 10% had foreign-born parents and 42% were foreign-born.

Amongst the boys, regarding the statement, *Boys should be virgins when they get married*, 21% answered, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree*. In terms of ethnic background, 12% were Swedish, 36% had foreign-born parents and 42% were foreign-born.

The two remaining statements had to do with whether or not parents should be able to decide that their daughters respectively their sons had to wait until they were married to have sex.

In terms of parents deciding over their daughters having to wait to have sex until marriage, 22% of girls answered, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree.* In terms of ethnic background, 8% were Swedish, 45% had foreign-born parents and 46% were foreign-born.

Amongst the boys regarding the same statement, 23% answered, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree*. In terms of ethnic background, 14% were Swedish, 39% had foreign-born parents and 46% were foreign-born.

Regarding the last statement, that parents should decide over their sons to wait to have sex until marriage, 19% of the girls answered, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree*. In terms of ethnic background, 7% were Swedish, 29% had foreign-born parents and 32% were foreign-born.

Amongst the boys regarding the same statement, 19% answered, *Yes, absolutely agree* or *Almost agree*. In terms of ethnic background, 11% were Swedish, 35% had foreign-born parents and 36% were foreign-born.

Ghadimi (2007) argues that generally young people of foreign origin, to a greater extent than those with Swedish backgrounds, agree with so-called virginity norms, i.e. norms that restrict premarital sexual. The study also found that 8% of girls and 15% of boys with Swedish backgrounds agreed that girls should be virgins when they get married. Nearly the same number of girls and boys with Swedish

backgrounds agreed that parents should be allowed to decide about their daughters regarding waiting to have sex until married. Ghadami also points out that it is important to note that the questions/statements may have been interpreted differently by the different respondents. Furthermore, Ghadami writes that young people's attitudes probably also affect their sexual behaviour. Restricting sexual behaviour does not necessarily determine whether or not the individual is sexually active. Young people who accept beliefs that support the so-called virginity context may or may not be at risk of developing poor sexual health. This is an extremely important issue for school sexual education.

In summary, these three studies show that 23% of girls in grade nine in Stockholm answered yes to questions about parents expecting them to be a virgin at marriage, and yes, that they may not have a relationship with a boy. In another study, 21% of girls in middle school from "a Swedish city" responded that they would be virgins at marriage.

Teachers observed that 24 % of the girls were consistently absent from gym class and 22.7% were consistently absent from swimming lessons. On school fieldtrips, 20.8% of girls were consistently absent, as were 19.5% with regards to school camp. In terms of class parties, 22.4% were absent, and for school parties that figure was 21.5%.

One conclusion may be that between 20-25% of female students live at home in a family that can be described as living under "honour-related conditions".

Based on the above study, it is difficult to form a clear picture of the existence of honour-related problems in schools because it is difficult to generalize from these three studies. The results suggest that many schools may have problems with the practical application of working towards gender equality with the students, especially when absences are so numerous for certain school subjects, which obviously affects the students' grades and opportunities to further their education. Because of this, schools are taking the problem seriously and designing preventative strategies to work on values that both the school staff and the parents can use.

The government bill (*Regeringens proposition:* 2009/10:165, 19 §) titled, *The new education act: for knowledge, choice and stability,* limits a student's possibility to be absent from obligatory school lessons by only allowing absences with permission from a legal guardian if there are exceptional reasons for the absence. The government bill 2009/10:165) states that, "A student in school shall, according to §17, at the request of the legal guardian, be excused from attending mandatory lessons under exceptional circumstances. Such decisions may only occur on a few occasions during the school year. The principal is responsible for such decisions and may not delegate the task to anyone else." However, the same bill stresses that schools should be in dialogue with parents to build an understanding about different lessons in the curriculum. The lessons should be conducted in accordance with values found in the curriculum. Furthermore, no elements in the lesson plan should be considered offensive by anyone. This puts a strong focus on the partnership between parents, who help develop the school's intercultural strategy, and the teachers' lessons, based on the diversity of the students.

6.2. Dealing with honour-related problems in schools

A relatively limited research area looks at how honour cultures affect the school's work to counter discrimination, eliminate abuse and support gender equality. It is difficult to find research focusing on honour-related problems in schools. However, there is a study (Lahdenperä, 2008) on school issues in general where the problems are mentioned. In a study of their work, principals of multicultural schools mentioned that honour-related problems pose a dilemma in balancing Swedish law and the family's right to raise their children as they see fit – and a problem in being respectful to various cultural beliefs. The principals did not know as a leader what the right thing to do was in such situations (Lahdenperä, 2008).

6.2.1. The school's role in policy documents

Looking specifically at the school as a key place for collaborative work on "honour-related violence" is visited in the following two pieces, *On violence in the name of honour* and *Honorability* (Skolverket, 2006).

The first piece includes a section on the school's work with honour-related violence – a practical guide that declares that the initial stages of managing these problems belong to the principal of the school and the student caregivers:

> "Principals are responsible for ensuring that the Convention on the Rights of the Child is implemented in the school's operations and that the school has a strategy for managing practical issues that arise with regard to honour-related problems. Managing the issue based on the normal procedures that the school might take, especially actions such as establishing early contact with parents, might, in some cases, make the situation severely worse for individual students who live under a culture of honour. The purpose of this document is to provide support for the school's mission to combat human rights abuses and provide guidance for individual cases of honour-related violence and oppression. The general model presented should assist in the development of local action plans regarding these issues. The key for implementing the local action plan is a clear division of responsibilities as situations arise. Everyone at the school should understand who does what in order to help a boy or girl living with honour-related problems. It is also important that there be close collaboration between various social service sectors and to have a clearly defined role and responsibility in such circumstances. It is the school's responsibility to make social services aware of students living in vulnerable situations and, with the help of social services, ensure that the child has access to his or her rights as defined by the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Swedish laws." (Skollagen, 2010:800, 2a: § p.12)

Furthermore, it also states that:

> "The school shall work on improving cooperation with the parents, especially with regard to preventing further honour-related oppression. Schools are often perceived as a neutral place for meetings and therefore can even be used constructively as a place to improve the child's situation in relation to the family. This is not solely the responsibility of the school, but in cooperation

with other actors the child's situation may improve. However, it is simultaneously important to keep in mind that the school is also a free space for girls and boys who are harshly restricted at home. Therefore, it is not always appropriate to organize meetings or other activities for parents on school premises." (Skollagen, 2010:800, 2a § p.13)

The next paragraph describes the school's task, which shows that the school's role is to actively prevent and counter human rights abuses.

An important part of the action plan is the description of how school lessons can promote and teach students about their legal rights. According to the Discrimination Act (Diskrimineringslagen, 2008:567), it is a requirement for all schools to have an action plan for equality.

In terms of how schools should react upon discovering honour-related oppression, it is,

"…essential for someone at the school to see and understand the signs in order for the school to be able to help girls and boys who are subjected to honour-related oppression Discovering students subjected to honour-related oppression is therefore a key task of the school. Therefore, it is also necessary that the school staff have a basic knowledge of the mechanisms of honour culture, its strong patriarchal background and its collective and uncompromising demands on girls' chastity. (Diskrimineringslagen, 2008:567:16).

In order to detect students who are victims of honour-related oppression, there are vital observations that can be made for both girls and boys. The section, *Management of different types of oppression in the name of honour – help for students who need and want support,* concludes with four situations that can assist school staff in such situations.

1. Underage girl or boy is a victim of a crime (unlawful coercion, threats or violence).
2. Underage girl or boy at risk – not the victim of a crime.
3. Young woman or young man of age is a victim of a crime (unlawful coercion, threats or violence).
4. Young woman o young man of age not the victim of a crime.

In the publication, *Honorability: working with young people on honour* (Skolverket, 2006), chapter three, *Preventative work within schools,* describes the work of the schools as preventative and therefore "often a difficult job that can be experienced as unrewarding work… it is often neglected and the work is at times questioned for highlighting something that may not yet be a problem, or at least not a visible problem." However, the reason for working on prevention is exactly that – to prevent the problem from ever happening.

The chapter emphasizes the importance of all staff working with honour issues in schools to be supported by their own management. "It is extremely

difficult, almost impossible, to work preventatively on issues if the school's management does not support it."

The section titled, *School as an important arena,* explains that,

> "Everyone who works in the school has probably heard a thousand times that the school is the best and most important arena for preventative measures. This can involve anything from alcohol and drug prevention to preventing bullying amongst pupils. In terms of honour-related violence, the school is vital because it is the only safe environment where we know that we can bring together students living under honour-related norms… the significant responsibility of this can certainly be overwhelming for many of those working within the school. It's as if society places all responsibility for preventative measures on the school and its staff. It can sometimes be the case that the school staff are given multiple significant responsibilities without proper resources, guidance or other forms of support to execute such tasks effectively." (Skolverket, 2006:17)

The section, *Internal and external collaboration,* emphasizes that it is significantly advantageous if different professionals, such as counsellors, school nurses and peer mentors, are involved in the work. Collaborative efforts involving, amongst others, social services and the police, have on several occasions taken place on school premises during school hours and were highly appreciated by the staff.

6.2.2. The school administration's documents and literature

Since 2004, the National Agency for School Development and the Swedish National Agency for Education have been responsible for reporting on the "impact of actions against abuse" as a part of the school's work on gender equality. In 2008, the National Agency for Education reported that there was a significant increase in the number of cases of discrimination and degrading treatment of students filed with the agency in 2007 (Skolverket, 2008). In later reports on discrimination and harassment in the Swedish school system, the National Agency for Education urged schools to continue working against discrimination and harassment because the situation in many schools was considered to be urgent and serious. In recent comments on these two reports regarding increased discrimination and troubling behaviour in Swedish schools (Skolverket, 2009a, 2009b), the agency suggests that the government should "review the clarity of the legislation at hand". In 2009, the agency released *General advice and comments on promoting equality and tackling discrimination and other degrading treatment* (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2009). This document provides no information or guidance on how schools should react to "honour-related problems".

However, the National Agency for School Development is responsible for two publications that address principals and schools respectively about how schools can work with boys and girls who live in families with honour-related values. *Words about honour for principals*, from 2007, starts off by saying "What we know today is that young people want more support and we know that school staff are unsure and need support as well." It states "Boys and girls who experience honour-

related oppression often come from families that are isolated in Sweden. One could say that the family being closed-off and lacking flexibility and dialogue leaves little room for negotiation."

The chapter titled *How can the school work?* explains the work that takes place on three levels. These levels are: 1) creating the curriculum, 2) looking out for vulnerable students and 3) recognizing dire situations for the girl and/or boy. The first two levels have to do with prevention and are central for the work of the school. The first level highlights the right to knowledge and the school's work towards equal conditions for men and women, which is based on the foundational values of gender equality as a part of the UN's Universal Declarations of Human Rights. Furthermore, the first level encourages schools to build positive relationships with parents very early on.

In terms of the second level, a risk assessment needs to be done, this requires some expertise, but also requires that teachers and staff as student caregivers have processed their own values. It points out, once again, the importance of the student caregivers in the schools. The heads of the schools, along with the teachers and caregivers, need to have a collective strategy and policy for how to take action. Collaboration does not only involve cooperation with various professionals from outside the school system, it just as importantly involves cooperation with those working within the school system.

This type of work and involvement requires the school nurse and special education teachers to collaborate with teachers in order to involve themselves in various aspects of the students' environments and to cooperate with various departments in their work environments. The student caregivers are at times the first to realize when there is something wrong with their students. The student caregivers are the necessary links for collaborating with social services, police, child psychologists and others.

In terms of the third level, when the situation is dire for the girl/boy, when they are being threatened by their family, when the child is going to be sent to their homeland, when they are being married off (or undergoing genital mutilation**)**, then it is necessary for the school to have a well-established relationship with social services. Such a relationship needs to exist so that the school staff feel comfortable reaching out to social services staff. Additionally, establishing relationships with child- and adolescent-psychological services, health services, police and girls' and women's organizations is equally as important.

This document concludes with some suggestions for the school, where they highlight that working on all three levels is possible, but requires leadership from the principal of the school. Such leadership entails guidance regarding sex education, integration of gender equality in lessons, leadership on student support, skill-set development and, above all, leadership so that school staff can cooperate in creating a strategy for dealing with situations where girls or boys are threatened by their families or relatives.

The introduction to the National Agency for School Development's book, *Stronger than you think,* (Skolverket, 2003) describes that the book is meant, "To help schools that want to reflect on issues such as gender, ethnicity and power." For that reason, it includes texts on the understanding of honour, gender relationships,

power and ethnicity. The text does not describe how things are or should be but rather highlights how things may have become the way they are. Furthermore, it discusses various options and suggestions for the schools. The book draws on two freelance journalists and two experts on issues regarding students' health and general subjects that are of interest to the school's overall curriculum, such as *honour, shame, family and power; boys and girls in school; beginning a relationship with parents; start a dialogue between children and parents.*

In 2010, the Swedish National Agency for Education published a book called *Honour related violence and oppression: schools responsibility and possibilities*, written by Agneta Nilsson (2010). According to its preface, the aim of the publication was to support school leaders and school administration in dealing with questions concerning honour-related violence and oppression. In its foreword, it also states that knowledge of honour-related violence and oppression in Swedish society today is greater than when it first received attention in Sweden in the late 1990s. Since then, because of research and various surveys conducted, new knowledge has been added and several government agencies are conducting efforts to prevent honour-related violence and oppression.

6.2.3. Training on honour-related problems

In recent years, the Swedish National Agency for Education has been responsible for training teachers, school leaders and principals on honour-related problems. This was put in place by order of the Ministry of Education in 2008 to provide primary and secondary school leaders with training on problems surrounding so-called honour-related violence and oppression.

Training, in the form of four-day courses and 7.5 European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) credit courses via Stockholm University, took place in 2009 and 2010.

Training principals and school leaders

Principals are trained at four-day courses aimed at primary, secondary and special school leaders. The course is called *Honour-related problems – the school's responsibilities and opportunities* and consists of four full days (2 x 2 days) and takes place online. The first round of courses was held during the school year 2009/2010 and were conducted at the following seven sites: the University of Gothenburg, Karlstad University, Linköping University, Malmö University, Umeå University, Uppsala University and at the National Agency for Education in Stockholm.

The universities and colleges in Sweden that trained the principals were hired to conduct the sessions. They are considered to have a good understanding of the school leader's role and work and the primary lecturer for the course came from the institution in charge of the program that previously educated principals.

The purpose of the course for school leaders is (according to the course syllabus) to increase their knowledge of the different perspectives on the topics. Thus, the school leaders develop an understanding of their own awareness and of their employees' perceptions as well as increasing their ability to act. The school leader's task involves upholding the curriculum, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and every student's right to education and a life free from abuse. It calls for

preventative work with an intercultural perspective together with school staff, students and parents. School leaders should increase their ability to interpret signs and notice students' vulnerability in order to lead the school's development and support the steps needed to work on violence and oppression. The school leader should be prepared to assess and respond to urgent situations. The training course is prepared by the National Agency for Education in cooperation with the universities named above.

The second round of courses took place in 2010 and was organized by the following universities: Gothenburg University, Karlstad University, Linköpings University, Linnéus University, Malmö University, Uppsala University and Umeå University.

From 2011 to 2013, training on honour-related problems was organised in the form of three-day seminars in Gothenburg, Umeå, Malmö and Stockholm. For three years, an additional 125 school leaders and school principals participated in this form of training

Overall, from 2009 to 2013, this course was held 35 times and a total of ca 725 school leaders and principals participated. However, the number reached by the course is relatively limited (less than ten percent) considering the total number of principals and school leaders is approximately around 7,700 today.

Equality and honour-related oppression in the world of education
The National Agency for Education provided the course *Equality and honour-related oppression in the world of education* to schools in Stockholm, Uppsala and the counties of Södermanland and Västmanland. It was aimed at teachers in primary schools, secondary schools and adult education. The course was characterized by continuously reflecting on the interaction between theory and practice in relation to the environments that course participants operate in. The purpose of the course was for students to develop the ability to:

- Demonstrate an understanding of the problems surrounding honour-related violence and oppression
- Analyse the problem in relation to the school's work towards gender equality, knowledge building and education
- Reflect on their practices and develop a professional ethical awareness.

The course's instructors were Astrid Sclytter, a civil rights lecturer, and Kirsten Grönlien, lecturer in professional ethics and religion. The course was given in 2009 and 2010 and ca 43 primary, secondary and adult education teachers as well as student caregiver staff participated in the course.

In summary, this cection has described how schools are extremely important in preventative measures with regard to work on honour-related problems. Schools require efficient action plans to work towards gender equality and tackle discrimination and other degrading behaviours. There is a significant responsibility for school principals and the student caregivers (such as the student health staff), to

effective collaborate with parents and various professions throughout the community.

6.2.4 Study on how schools address honour-related violence

A research report by Sabine Gruber (2007) titled *The School's willingness to address "honour-related" violence: ethnicity, gender and violence* from Linköping University specifically reviewed how the school and its staff address honour-related violence. The study was conducted in 2005 and included interviews and participant observations from a total of thirteen schools in four municipalities in Östergötlands County, Sweden. The respondents were primarily counsellors and school nurses, referred to as student caregivers in the study. Therefore, the school's so-called additional staff, including psychologists, special education teachers, speech therapists, language teachers, counsellors, school nurses, etc. are included in the empirical material.

Student caregivers responded to questions regarding cases of violence referred to by them and in various documents as "honour-related". Gruber was interested in what the caregivers knew about such violence, their understanding of it, how they acquired this knowledge and how it was applied to the work done in the schools.

Questions were also asked about what the situation was like in the individual schools, both with regard to the existence of situations where girls were subjected to control, threats and violence and also regarding the school staff's engagement in such situations. For example, one question asked whether or not there were discussions about "honour-related" violence amongst those working at the school (Gruber, 2007:79).

Gruber's field study was carried out at the same time as the Östergötland provincial government undertook intensive training programs on honour-related violence and worked with schools to draw up action plans against such violence. The author conducted participant observations during these intensive training program days.

The school as a hub for action against honour-related violence

The experience of violence affecting girls with a so-called immigrant background can vary between schools and student caregivers. The provincial government's training program and policy documents (e.g. *On violence in the name of honour*) were a key source for their knowledge on honour-related violence. The student caregivers knowledge of the violence was also characterized as being experience-based knowledge, which the author describes as knowledge that is largely based on one's own and other's practical work with honour-related violence, but rarely includes knowledge based on research (Gruber, 2007:18).

During the program training days that Gruber attended, a remarkable number of speakers testified that the violence in question was partially separate from "Swedish culture", and that it partly concerned particular places and particular people.

For instance, Gruber speaks of one lecturer who described honour-related violence as violence with deep cultural traditions that have just recently come to

Sweden. Consequently, the lecturer draws a clear division between other's "patriarchal family order", honour-related traditions and the oppression of women, and Swedish norms and values, which are as a consequence perceived as different. Central to the argument is the idea that honour culture and related violence is limited to specific geographic regions, but because of migration the culture has moved to new locations, including Sweden. The so-called honour-related problems are therefore said to belong to "the others", but has also become a problem that "we Swedes" have to deal with (Gruber, 2007:23).

Summary of the study's findings

In the study's final chapter, Gruber (2007:73) summarizes the central finding that student caregivers' responses and stories revealed "a cultured and stigmatized understanding".

A reoccurring theme in the study was that honour-related violence was understood as being closely connected to certain cultures, so-called honour cultures. In other words, violence occurred as a highly cultural behaviour. The first consequence of such culturalization is that the understanding of the violence, threats or control that girls with immigrant backgrounds are exposed to may tend to be homogenized, i.e. reduced to a single interpretation, namely a cultural explanation. The second consequence of simply focusing on culture is that the violence is particularized, i.e. it is perceived as honour violence, distinguished and separated from other forms of violence, which in turn is then linked to different categories of people – namely "immigrants" or "Swedes".

Violence against children and adolescents by parents or other adults is not a common concern for the schools' students and their parents. Violence is associated with different categories of people and, as a result, honour-related violence is portrayed as a special case which is associated with "immigrant girls", "immigrant boys" and "immigrant parents".

The third consequence of this cultural understanding of violence or threats is that it leads to the stigmatization of entire groups. In this context, adolescents or their parents have a background from a country where honour culture is said to exist. The stigma is then that immigrant girls are presumptively seen as victims of violence and their fathers and brothers are seen as the presumptive perpetrators of violence.

Overall, Gruber points out that these consequences contribute to the fact that schools and student caregivers largely practice on the basis of a predetermined understanding of violence, categorized as honour-related. The practices that develop based on this understanding risk individual and specific cases being overshadowed by the effort made to understand, detect and handle honour-related violence which student caregivers seem to take for granted is the aim of their work and effort.

Therefore, it is not always the girl's situation that determines the efforts made by the school's caregivers. Rather, it seems that ethnicity and gender are determinative of how each situation is interpreted and how each situation is handled. According to Gruber (Gruber, 2007:75), this is a result of the homogenization, particularization and stigmatization described above.

The relationship between policy and practice
Finally, Gruber discusses the issue of policy regarding theory and practice. She considers it important to bring up that the county administration's policy regarding honour-related violence has been pervasively effective in changing the student caregivers' attitudes regarding the girls who are subjected to violence or threats of violence and control by their own families. The study reveals several examples of how student caregivers have drastically changed their previous methods to follow the policies and directions given by the county. Some student caregivers may become uncertain and may even reject their previous understanding of the issue.

Gruber says that findings such as these raise questions about how the role of policies, directives, projects and different forms of initiatives may contribute to developing practice and helping those girls in need? Or, more specifically, how policy governs the practices that develop? What inspires student caregivers to comply without reservation with the instructions issued to tackle honour-related violence? And what results from the interaction of policy and practice?

What is clear from this study is that school practices against honour-related violence tend to lead to practices which both segregate and stigmatize. And this happens regardless of the engagement and level of the student caregivers' ambitions to conquer honour-related violence, because their practices embed a culturalized understanding of the violence.

7. Overall conclusions and suggested actions

7.1 Integration policy and schools
Based on the publications and research reports on honour-related problems that we have reviewed, we can conclude that schools are considered to be an important arena for preventative work on issues because they are able to reach all children and young people. Schools are also a societal institution in which various policy documents stipulate how Swedish child rearing should take place. Lesson plans and curriculums also shape ideal students by providing knowledge and skills. However, the most prioritized problem in these policy documents focuses on how schools in their practical work can integrate goals surrounding gender equality alongside society's integration objectives which are based on diversity and various anti-discrimination laws.

In Sweden, we have an official integration policy that also guides all types of activities in the country. In the government publication, *Empowerment against exclusion – the government strategy for integration* (Regeringens skrivelse 2008/09:24), the overarching goals of integration policies are highlighted:

1. Equal rights and opportunities for all regardless of ethnic or cultural background
2. A society based on diversity
3. A society characterized by mutual respect for differences within the limits of fundamental democratic values that everyone is responsible for and a part of regardless of background
4. A society free from discrimination.

Generally, there is a strong link between honour-related problems in society and schools and gender inequality for "immigrant" girls and women. Honour-related problems are often simplified to a gender issue where girls are seen as victims and boys or men are seen as perpetrators.

In light of this standpoint, the "male immigrant culture" (Darvishpour, 2014) is described negatively and as a culture of violence and oppression of women. "Immigrant men" may therefore be perceived as a problem whose behaviour differs from normal "male Swedish culture".

However, this viewpoint can be problematic not only because of the "differentiation" and stigmatization of immigrant men but also because cooperation between the school and home must have diversity as its foundation. In such cooperation, which values and beliefs are regarded by the school and the home as normal or abnormal? Which of the family's values and beliefs are accepted and respected by the school? Which individuals belong to minority cultures that the school will collaborate with and which individuals will the school seek to "emancipate" or save?

In an evaluation of the government's actions and policies towards honour-related violence in 2003-2007, Hanberger, Ghazinor & Mårald (2008) note that the

investigated programs have a strong normative and one-dimensional foundation that approaches girls as victims and boys as oppressors. In their evaluation, there were a few indicators that a "multicultural" or intercultural understanding of different world values or types of parenting might have contributed to solving the problems. "The Western world", expressed in terms of individualism, individual freedom and self-determination, was not only included in the analysis of the problem, but also in the actual solution to the problem. In Hanberger's review (2010) of various measures, he mentions, amongst other things, that the so-called safe houses funded by women's organizations, which could be a form of safety and protection for girls who were victims of "honour-related violence or oppression", did not facilitate any contact with the girls' families.

In questionnaires to teachers, parents and community officials on how the problems should be handled, the starting point is almost always the "Swedish child-cantered upbringing", i.e. an upbringing where the individual is at the centre (Lahdenperä, 2001).This can easily clash with upbringings that may occur in many other cultures outside of Scandinavia, i.e. "a family-cantered upbringing". Such upbringing is based on the family as a collective entity and a socially functioning system (Hedin & Lahdenperä, 2000). In a "family-cantered upbringing", the child is perceived more as a part of the family and the parents are responsible for decision-making in the family. The parent's role is also perceived as important for both loving and controlling the children.

In a Swedish individual and child-cantered upbringing, it is often the individual child's needs that guide and influence the decision-making in the family. Moreover, parents are no longer solely responsible for their children outside of the home because, in today's society, apart from teachers there are a variety of other professions to take care of the children, such as preschool teachers, nannies, school psychologists, counsellors, school nurses, special education teachers, guidance counsellors, etc. all of whom work for what is best for the child both inside and outside of school. This is something that ethnic Swedes consider legitimate and obvious. However, ethnic Swedes understand that this does not usually occur to the same extent in many countries outside of Europe.

Understanding honour-related problems only as a gender equality issue where girls need emancipation from patriarchal oppression means that we are ignoring the fact that all family members in a family-cantered upbringing are involved which may include mothers and sisters taking part in the "oppression". Such an understanding also ignores the fact that boys may be subjected to the same oppression through forced marriage or harsh restrictions when interacting with the opposite sex (Arkan, 2011).

The documentary, *Worse than animals: homosexuality and the culture of honour,* which was shown on Swedish public television (Sveriges Television), gave the public a picture of how even homosexual boys may be victims of honour-related oppression.

It may also be the case that the more the school and society tries to "free" an individual from his/her family, the more the family will isolate and defend itself, which, paradoxically, can increase problems through a harsher patriarchal backlash (see Ch. 5).

7.2 The importance of collaboration between schools and parents

How should schools work to involve the whole family in order to clarify and make sense of fundamental values of democracy, empowerment, gender equality and self-worth in Swedish children's upbringing and Swedish schools?

One of the barriers for schools wanting to reach out to families with non-Swedish cultural backgrounds may be that the parents feel unsure of how others raise their children in Sweden. Their knowledge of the Swedish school system and society may, understandably, be limited. The children of these families quickly learn Swedish and how the school system is organized. Therefore, when it comes being in contact with the school and teachers, children can inherently gain a position of power in relation to their parents.

Many researchers have collected parents' statements about contacting the school where meetings were described as frustrating and problematic (Ahmed, 2013; Bouakaz, 2007; Nilsson, 2008). A lack of deeper knowledge about the school and the education system made parents distance themselves from a school system that they did not understand (Nilsson, 2008). According to Nilsson, parents did not lack commitment to their children's' education, but merely did not have access to any cultural capital regarding the Swedish school system.

In their study on extended parental involvement in Malmö, Sweden, Laid Bouakaz (2007) notes that Arabic-speaking parents want to know more about Swedish schools, want their culture and traditions to be respected, want the same rules and approaches for their children, want religious tolerance and want to know more about other cultures. They expressed concern that their children would become involved with crime or drugs. Therefore, they indicated a great desire to be able to control their children and forbid them from participating in activities that they consider risky.

In order to influence parents and, indirectly, their children, schools must find ways to collaborate that are comfortable for staff, students and parents. School staff may perceive it as particularly difficult to collaborate with parents from, for example, an Arabic-speaking culture, largely due to differing expectations and understandings when entering a parent-teacher conference. Parents may perceive such meetings as a way for school staff to check or inspect the parents, while teachers often simply want to meet and speak to the parents primarily to see how they can help.

In order to have positive collaboration with both students and parents, especially so as to understand the extent to which a student is living in an honour-driven relationship with his/her parents, a multicultural school should have a well-functioning intercultural cooperation between both students and parents. Based on an intercultural perspective, it is vital to be able to communicate and understand each other's cultural positions in order to find a solution that both sides can accept. This requires people who feel at home in both cultures and can communicate and make sense of the problem and what caused the conflict.

In order to clarify to the family the fundamental values of Sweden and the law, it is good to involve a language teacher or other multicultural person to act as

an advocate or cultural mediator. Likewise, school staff need to understand the parents' values and emotions – especially the fears that are associated with being a parent in a new country with a "weakened parental role".

Obviously, it is not entirely unproblematic when schools and society undermine parental responsibility and authority. The goal of schools and their intercultural support system is to help parents develop their parenting in accordance with values that are central to Sweden. For this intercultural integration process, even more multicultural people are needed as role models for both students and parents (see Alfakir & Lahdenperä & Strandberg, 2010).

In families where parents eventually find a balance between their own values and the values of the new society, children can feel safe and quickly learn how to pick the best from both cultures. In a safe environment, young people, with support from their parents, develop their own identity with roots in both their own ethnic group and that of the majority of society. In this way, students can shift from living between two worlds to living and thriving in two or more worlds.

7.3 The need for practical knowledge and understanding

One recommendation on how schools should handle honour-related problems suggests that schools establish policies and action plans. Every school should have an equality plan that can be assessed by school inspectors. The risk with these plans is that the school's leaders become solely responsible, i.e. the work is prioritized as "document oriented" work (Grip, 2010), meaning the emphasis will be on the process of creating these documents rather than performing or developing practical work to be done with students or parents.

It is not easy to define and develop ways of working that create a clear relationship between different plans and practices within the schools (Lahdenperä, 2008).

Furthermore, descriptions of measures to be taken distinctly point to a need to provide more knowledge and information on honour-related problems. In instructions published by officials, the more practical work at various levels takes on a rather inconspicuous role.

For this reason, there is a need for more practice-based research that seeks to both identify and develop new methods for schools that involve school staff in the research process

Based on this overview of knowledge and research, we note that there is far too little research on honour-related problems in schools, both with regard to their existence and how they affect the work of schools and how schools can tackle the problems. In working on this overview, we, the authors, came into contact with several municipalities working with honour-related problems[3]. Therefore, the field offers both valuable and practical experience-based knowledge on how to manage such problems and could complement the picture that has emerged from this overview. However, in order to gain access to such experience-based knowledge,

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[3] For example, in Västerås, Sweden, the IDA project carried out practical work on honour-related problems from an intercultural approach. See: http://www.idasidan.se/

there needs to be more research efforts and comparisons, possibly even international research comparisons.

We can conclude that honour-related problems in schools are a very complex area that involves several different "systems of meaning" (Lahdenperä, 1998, 2013), which are more or less emotionally charged. How we talk about the problem - which perspectives we use, which groups and terms we use to describe the problem – become problematic within the framework of the school.

Honour-related problems that school staff discover are often experienced as risky situations given the stigma and fear of xenophobia and increasing prejudices. This should in no way prevent school staff from dealing with the problems and from being aware of what honour-related ideas can bring about. Preventative work on values regarding gender equality and remedial work with honour-related oppression cannot be neglected because of fear of the parents' reactions or fear of creating ethnic tensions. Honour-related values must not stand in the way of each and every student's right to education, regardless of gender, ethnicity, etc.

Honour-related problems in schools affect different spheres; first, the state sphere regarding education and gender equality policies, then the individual family sphere with family life and parents who are responsible for raising their children, then the individual's private sphere including their sexuality, relationships between the sexes, leisure, outlook on life and participation in society. All of these are single and coherent parts of a person as a whole and as a part of his/her environment. A dilemma that schools always have occurs in situations where honour violence becomes visible or noticeable in students when the fact is that parents have the right to control their children under the age of 18. Schools can determine the content of the school curriculum, but outside of school it is the parents who officially decide over their children until 18 years of age.

Regardless of ethnicity or background, there are various understandings related to what influences these different spheres amongst residents of Sweden. Therefore, it is important to work on gender equality issues in different school contexts, including mono-cultural schools and multi-cultural schools. School is a place that reaches everyone, it is a place where different conflicts can arise and where, by reviewing our ideas, concepts, beliefs, prejudices and values, we can contribute to knowledge and skill development for both teachers and students which, in turn, can contribute to solutions regarding the value conflicts mentioned above. In such a democratic and pluralistic society, we need to discuss and reformulate what the state and its institutions can decide over and what the family and individual spheres can decide over.

School staff, and especially principals, can often end up in a dilemma between Swedish gender equality laws, the family's values and the child's need for a sense of belonging and care. For this reason, we also need more practice-orientated education research that is linked to the principal's role and how the school administration can develop the learning environment to a more intercultural and inclusive one (Lahdenperä, 2008, 2013; Lorentz, 2010).

This overview of research and knowledge is by no means exhaustive; rather, it is a start to understanding this area. Hopefully, it will inspire further research and education on honour-related problems. Likewise, we hope it will improve schools'

knowledge of how education-based and responsive actions can contribute to the development of intercultural education related to honour-related problems in schools.

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