Women’s bodies and Men’s Honour
Supporting Middle eastern migrant women who have experienced honour violence.

Supervisor: Alma Persson, Gender Studies, LiU

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Abstract
This thesis is a study of gender and honour, focusing on NGO’s who work to support women in Sweden who have escaped honour violence. The purpose of this thesis is to find out and explain how they make sense of honour and more specifically, to investigate how does Swedish authorities can help the Middle Eastern women who are victims under this tradition.

My focus through this thesis will be on the data analysis, moreover, using intersectionality as an analytical tool will help to explain the intersections which lead to the honour killings.

The results show that the honour violence still exists in the Swedish society as well as the Middle East, in addition, some Middle Eastern people who moved to Sweden still believe and practice the honour culture in the Swedish society. More than that, I got the answers for all the research questions which helped me to clarify the relation between honour and its intersections which helped me to know the reasons why does the Honour violence/killings can happen. The answers agree that the honour violence is connected to the shame and guilt cultures. The meaning of honour is different in different cultures. Most of the honour related cases have women as victims. The honour has many intersections, most of them related to virginity, homosexuality, out marriage relations and rape. The Swedish organisations offer help for the victims of honour.

More than that, reading my thesis will give the reader the understanding of the phenomena of Honour, its intersections and how it does exist in the Middle Eastern culture and its old traditions.

Keywords
Honour, women’s rights, Intersectionality, Guilt culture, Shame Culture, gender difference, feminism, inequality, Middle East.
Acknowledgements

Finally, the work is ready for you to read. This thesis is part of me, I put my thoughts on papers, developed the thoughts with a brain storm in one of the lectures in the face to face week in Linköping university. I developed it to a plan. The plan started from day one with a positive energy, effort and fighting for women rights, gender equality and hoping for a change. It is with me wherever I go, I discussed stories with people who I never met before, I shared my own stories with my classmates, it became a daily conversation between me and myself. Now I am adding the last words in it, to see it in its final look.

I wrote this thesis being proud of what I did during the last years, being proud of myself and who I am. After leaving the desert, and running away to the nature, where I found peace and hope, at that day, I promised myself to fight for all Arabic women, to fight for equality, to support all female teenagers as adults who run away from the honour tradition, and want to free their bodies and souls from the dust. But now, I would like to thank myself first for the hard work I did, and without mentioning names, I would like to thank those who supported me in my hard and my stressful times and worries while writing this thesis.

Furthermore, the Master’s programme of Gender studies intersectionality and change has helped me to develop myself as a person, to inspire others and it has also motivated me in helping others differently. I would like to thank my classmates who taught me that sharing knowledge by reading each other’s work can help in organising the work in its best way.

I would like to thank the interviewees who trusted me by sharing their knowledge with me, who also helped me to get the data for my thesis, my teachers who inspired me and all those who supported me with their positive words.

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To my mother’s and father’s souls who wanted me to be educated! Here, I made it!

To all females who struggle in the circle of the old traditions, stand up for your rights!

Sweden, July 2017

To the souls of the victims of what they call “Honour”
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1 Introduction

When I read the Swedish news on social media that a girl who lived in the same city that I live in was killed by her father and brother, I heard the echo of my mother’s voice in my ears again telling me: “Do not fall in love, love is not accepted, your father will kill you using the sharpest knife in the bath tub”. I was young, and all I knew that Love was not allowed. The thought grew up with me, I became a teenager, my feelings started to change, I had the first boyfriend in secret, I did not want to be killed, I felt the love, it was beautiful, I was wondering why it is forbidden? And why is Love allowed for the male but not the female? I did not think that the word Love refers to sex, and even so, why was the natural thing is forbidden? I grew up together with the fear of Love, I got married at the age of 17, however, his and my family, were waiting to see the white towel with the blood drops, my virginity, and their honour. I also heard my mother’s voice repeating the same sentence in my ears “this is your father’s and Husband’s honour, I will be waiting to see the blood on the towel”, I was shaking, afraid when I took the small towel, I was asking myself, what is honour and why my mother was scaring me? The drops of the honour did not come. However, I spent years in that marriage, I was fighting for my rights, but they were pressing me down as I am nothing, all that I was hearing, you are a woman, you can’t do that, you cannot wear this, you cannot study that, but I was asking myself why were they deciding for me? Before her death, my mother asked me to run away from the masculine society, she asked me to leave the old traditions behind, and find my freedom. I run away, I left everything behind searching for my freedom, fighting for my rights and supporting the Arabic women rights, I run away from what they call “honour”.

She ran away, she left three parts of her heart there in the desert. She could not do anything but run away. Leaving the past, believing that the karma will return to the evil man. She fought for her rights for several years, but she ran away when she lost her breath in his dirty hands.

Moreover, I chose to write about the phenomena of honour violence because it is an important issue to raise. Understanding the reasons which cause honour violence can save a human being’s life, it also can help to stop the honour violence, I find it important to discuss its intersections.

It is also important to feel the struggles of the women victims of honour violence, and why they were silent. The reasons above led me to write about this tough topic.

More than that, to understand the meaning of honour, it is important to go back to the old traditions in the different cultures and examine the meaning of honour through the past years. Honour killings and intersectionality are linked together. In this thesis, I will explain the meaning of honour and its intersections through the interviews with activists who work in different organisations which support women who escaped because of honour violence. Moreover, the activists who I have interviewed for
this thesis agree that still there are honour cases in the Swedish society, and the honour is connected to
the guilt and shame which in their meaning differs from the Swedish contest.

1:1 Thesis structure
Before, I start writing more I found it important to outline the thesis structure to guide the reader through
the chapters in this thesis. In this paper, I will first write my objective and the research questions,
followed by with the theories and methods that I am going to use.

The methods in this thesis are used as a technique and a tool as the interviews, while the methodology
is where I am going to examine the thesis data with the theories. “Thinking methodologically involves
describing and analysing the methods used, evaluating their value” (Letherby 2005).

After that, I will explain the meaning of honour, and the intersections of honour. Moreover, I will present
the interviewees, and the analyses of this thesis. To make this work theoretically correct, I support my
examples with theories and use the methods as tools.

In the end, the results will outline the answers to the research questions, and will also contain the
achievements of the research. More than that, I will suggest in the end further research.

1:2 Aim and Research questions
The aim of my Master thesis is to analyse the interviews which are the data for this thesis. This aim is
attended to by interviewing the activists of Swedish NGOs working with women exposed to honour
violence, through that I aim to reach an understanding of the meaning of Honour and its intersections.
I also aim to understand the connection between Gender, guilt, shame, and honour.

The study will try to give the understanding of how the Swedish NGOs work with honour related
problems and how they help the victims of honour violence in Sweden. The study includes a discussion
of the Middle Eastern old traditions and the importance of Guilt/shame concepts in the Arabic culture.
In this Thesis, I attempt to analyse the interviews with a feminist lens. The feminist perspectives will
help me find out how gender matters in honour cases. It also will help me to understand how the culture
differs in understanding equality, gender and the meaning of honour.

From previous aim, I concluded the research questions:

1. How do the interviewees understand the concept of “honour”?
2. How do the interviewees describe the relation between gender and honour violence?
3. How do the interviewees work with women who have experienced honour violence in order to
   support and help them?
The reason that I found my case study matters is that finding the reason of Honour crimes can help to save humans life.

I have chosen to interview people who work with those women, who helped them and know their stories. The six interviewees are working in different organizations in different cities in Sweden. The organisations where the interviewees work have the same job, there they help women who run away rejecting the honour. More than that, I will compare the analysis to my personal experience on honour. Answering the research questions will make clear the meaning of honour and how it is connected to other intersections of Middle Eastern women´s lives. Furthermore, the answers will lead us to know how the victims get help in Sweden.

1:3 Background: Migrants history with the honour crimes in Sweden and the policy

Girls were murdered by their fathers, brothers, and cousins because of the honour in the Swedish society in the 20th century. The news talked about the murders, trying to analyse the crimes, which made the concept of honour more important to understand. From the beginning, the “Swedish authorities concluded that violence against women is universal-that culturally determined violence does not exist and consequently honor killings do not exist” (Wikan 2008). After the 15th of December 1996, the date of Sara´s death who died because of honour, the Kurdish Fadime talked in the Swedish parliament and introduced the meaning of the honour killings which was an important concept for her to introduce to the Swedish authorities.

“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.” (Darvishpour & Lahdenperä 2017). Following that, and in the 20th century, the number of honour crimes have been increased and known in the Swedish society.

After the murders of the Kurdish girls, Pela Atroshi who was killed by her father in June 1999 following the murder of Sara Abed Ali who was killed by her brother and cousin in December 1999, Fadime Sahindal wanted to publicize the meaning of honour violence by introducing her story to the Swedish parliament in 2002. That made the government and the Swedish police questioning the reason of honour. At that time, Fadime was afraid to be killed by her younger brother and father. The reason for that it might be strange for the European ears, but sadly it does exist in the Middle Eastern culture. The reason of Fadime’s fear was that she lived with her Swedish boyfriend, the person she loved and tried to
continue her life with. To live with a person without getting married or with a person who does not share the same religion is not acceptable in the Middle Eastern culture.

The time was short, Fadime Sahindal wanted to raise her voice, not only to the Swedish government but for all the world; she thought that she would raise the understanding of honour violence against migrant young women in Sweden, explaining the patriarchal cultural tradition by telling her story. Fadime wanted to live like the other girls in the Swedish society with the person she loved but the time was short, her voice reached the world after January 2002, since then, she was killed by her father, who believed that the honour will be washed when he kills his daughter who brought the shame to his family.

After Fadime’s death, the Swedish government started to learn more about honour, the police, women support and the activists who support women rights are working hard to reach the understanding of the honour supporting the women who need help. The Swedish people also started to question why the honour happens and how the migrant women struggle in their patriarchal cultural tradition, where the men decide over them and where the violence happens.

Now, the women who need support, those who are trying to reach peace and continue their lives far away from the honour storms, are getting help in the Swedish society. (Darvishpour & Lahdenperä 2017) By then, Sweden arranged conferences about honour and educations about other cultures, thus, the Swedish authorities were trying to understand the honour phenomena and why they happened.

The Swedish courts have judged different cases of honour violence; one of them was Fadime’s case and the latest case is in the court now while I am writing this paper. However, in the latest murder that happened in northern Sweden, the killers, the brothers and their friends, killed a man who was in a relationship with their sister. Their case was still open when I started my thesis, but the court announced the judgment lately in July 2017.

There is no specific policy for honour violence but it is mentioned in the policy of violence against women which contains the honour violence and violence in near relations while Middle Eastern women who move to Sweden do not have the same rights in their countries, where the man has the power. He also has the right to force her sexually, thus, refusing sex in marriage is forbidden in the Middle Eastern tradition and law, each woman must obey her husband and treat him perfectly. As a Middle Eastern woman, myself, I personally faced violence in Jordan, where no one could help me. It was difficult not to get any support from the Jordanian authorities, because the husbands then had the right to have power on their wives. Violence in Sweden can be described differently than the Middle Eastern countries, men
cannot force their women into bed, but there by the sharia law, a woman would be guilty if she refused her husband. The other point is that shouting at the wife, ordering her to do things, hitting her in the face and forcing her to cover her hair or to change her dress code are normal things in Jordan. For example, women follow what their husbands decide, but when it comes to Sweden all the points that I mentioned are violence, moreover, the husband can be judged by the court for doing such actions.

The Swedish Authority has an action plan which can stop men’s violence against women. The Swedish government put plans and studying how to stop the violence against women which the honour violence part of it, or an intersection which is one part of the violence. The plan which was written in the Swedish government is the base which will help to limit of the honour violence against women which became a big problem in the last years in Sweden. This problem of honour violence against women is evident in the Swedish society the statistics below which are taken from the action plan of the Swedish government shows the numbers of girls and woman who were under honour violence and the percentage of woman who needed a hidden place to live in:

In 2004, the Swedish country Councils (Länsstyrelserna) estimated that between 1500-2000 young women were exposed to honour related violence and between 10 and 15 percent of the young women needed hidden addresses, where no one can find them. They added, that the general idea of the honour is to control the young women’s sexuality as a main issue. (Reinfeldt & Sabuni 2007). The Swedish government agrees that the violence against women is a problematic issue in the Swedish society. According to the plan action of the Swedish government the honour violence on women is linked to the women sexuality and to the control of girls in some families and their culture.

From that, Middle Eastern women who died in Sweden under the code of honour, were judged by their families, because of their sexuality and the loss of the family control. Example of that are Fadime, Pella and many girls who were killed under the honour and because of their family’s patriarchal cultural tradition. Furthermore, in 2007, the National Knowledge Center for Women's Violence at Women in Uppsala University started a national health care program for victims of sexual offences to educate people who can help in the future the victims of the sexual violence and improve their health. (ibid)

Summarising, the honour related violence exists in the Swedish society; the government put the action plan which proposes to limit honour related violence in Sweden which increased in the last years and different educations about honour in different fields are taking place in Sweden to educate the teachers, social workers, nurses, doctors, and policemen to understand the meaning of honour, cultural differences and the traditions that support honour.
2 Methodology

In this section, I am going to introduce the methods I use, I will also describe why did I choose to write with the feminist technique, I will also write about my background, and why is it important for me to situate myself. More than that, I will explain why I chose the data as a method, following it by the data analysis and the ethics for this paper.

2:1 My writings as a feminist technique

“I have been working to change the way I speak and write, to incorporate in the manner of telling a sense of place, of not just who I am in the present but where I am coming from, the multiple voices within me . . . I refer to that personal struggle to name that location from which I come to voice—that space of theorising.” (hooks 1990:146)

My writing style was developed through the last two years of my studying. My background in the academia was more theoretical, I have followed the standard style, which was selected by the universities I studied in. Both universities had the rules, it was boring to fill up the papers with words. I wanted to write more, express my feelings, use my senses and catch the readers eye, I wanted to create my own way of writing. However, using the theories through sharing my experiences was impossible, I kept writing following the teacher’s rules and not using my writing style. “Writing is an inevitable part of academic work” (Lykke 2014) I followed the rules just to graduate but not to be creative. Furthermore, when I started in the Master’s program in Gender studies, I was afraid to write freely. After reading the intensive and the extensive readings for the first course, which were different, were inspired and caught my eyes. After the first meeting with our teacher, who was relaxed during the online lecture, I said to myself that it seems that I chose the right course, the students and the teacher were “relaxed”. But what is relaxed? I was happy for that, I also became more relaxed expanding my writings, and I was excited to meet the relaxed people on online lectures.

However, after writing the first RD and the first assignment in Gender studies, I found out that the student who uses the feminist perspectives can use their way of writings. I was happy, started to write, I wrote every word using my five senses, the smell of the flowers, the fresh air, the positive and negative situations gave me the energy to write, I have used every moment during my studying period in my writings. Using the five senses brought up the energy to my writing process.

According to Lykke, “most people within the academic professions will probably admit, the writing process can be very painful at times as well as immensely pleasurable and fun” (Lykke 2014). Comparing my new writing style to what I used to write before, on the other hand, I can see that I have developed my way of writings into the feminist writing style which is more simple and near to the reader’s ears, on the other hand before I started y studies on Gender studies, the writing period was
painful, it was difficult to write an essay with limited ideas and thoughts, but now, I am used to the writing and I find it as a fun moment. Also, and in addition to this, writing real examples can help the writer to find the main point that he is searching for, according to Lykke, an “example of how exploring an unfinished collection of thoughts, inspirations and references in the shape of writing a story about/around them can provide a way to open up creative thought and face the challenges of finding and sticking to a research topic and methodology.” (Lykke 2014). Feminist studies as an academic field grow in the 1960s while it became famous in the mid-nineteenth and twentieth century, feminist studies have put the foundation of the gender studies that we study today (Järvinen, Moisala & Vikko 2003).

2:2 Situating myself

“I must be ready to put my word into words, and to offer it to the other” (Levinas 2001).

I agree that situating myself in the text is an important issue, where I can use the intersections in my writings, as in this paper I find the intersectionality as a helpful tool to understand the Arabic culture in a different way.

It is kind of comparison since I compare my position in terms of gender, culture, religion, and identity. “The notion of writing one’s social geography could, of course, easily be applied to any number of identity markers (sexual orientation, class background, able-bodiedness, national belonging)” (Lykke 2014) and that can easily help understanding the different thoughts of people who are located in different areas in the world but they share the same traditions, beliefs, and nationality.

According to Behar, when the writer writes vulnerably the reader response to the text vulnerably (Järvinen, Moisala & Vikko 2003). From that the voice of the writer is important to reach the readers, thus, writing and situating the self in the text can be successful to reach the readers emotions, I argue that if the writer situate himself and writes with emotions which it can be sad, happy or angry it can affect the reader in different ways, some can read the text and be bored after reading it and others will like the text and be excited to finish it. On the other hand, Sara Heinämaa1993 argued that “It is impossible to position oneself fully: defining a position leads to localizing of the positioning in other words, to endless reflection” (ibid.) And here I agree that the writer cannot put all the voice or emotions in the text, but the writer can transmit some of the emotions to the reader. However, Vikko said in her book that the writer shakes hands with the reader trying to reach the writer understanding and she added that the writer learns new ways of writing through practicing. (Ibid.)

“Being personal in research reporting means striving to intensify the relationship between the researcher and the implied reader who is always constructed during the act of writing” (ibid.) In the coming section I will be writing about the issue of virginity, however, I find it important to situate myself in the text introducing
my own experience and tell a personal example about virginity and show how is it important to the Arabic culture.

I was young just 17 when I got married, I did not know much about traditions, or about the culture. I got married because it was against the law to live with a person and have sex without marriage, I did it, even though my parents were against me, either my cousins, but I wanted to take this step, I wanted to be an independent, adult woman, who by nature felt equal to men. I did not know then what under age marriage is, but I wanted to make my relationship legal where I used to live.

However, I studied the last years of high school in Jordan, where the sexual education does not exist, thus, I did not know what will happen in the big day. I was virgin then, girls must be virgin until the day of their marriage, otherwise it will be shame on the family and because the sentence that was always with me “If you will love someone, your father will kill you in the bathtub” this sentence scared me as many of my friends; mothers scare their daughters so they do not have sex before marriage to keep the honour of their families. How is the honour related to the women bodies? And why only girls? Why do boys do sex outside marriage with women that they call “sharmota” which means a bitch. On the big day, the party ended, the family had traditions, the first was to prepare the room for the bride and the groom, then the bride’s mother should come to help the bride to take shower, and put some lotion on her body to make it smoother. My body was soft then and I was happy because my mother helped me to prepare myself, to the one I thought I love. His relatives were outside the door, I did not know why, even some people were outside the window, in their boudin traditions, that they must wait until they see the blood drops, which comes after losing the virginity. I did not know why do people wait outside, I was shy, I asked him then why the people are outside the window? he said that “they are waiting to prove that I am a man and you are a virgin, and we must prove that tonight”. Confusion. The feeling that there were people outside the window and the door was not comfortable, I felt something different, I do not belong to those, I belong to the free world, where I swim, laugh and enjoy the sun. That was not my home, why do I have to prove to people that my body is pure, that I was virgin, and why were they waiting for? I was afraid, I wanted to run, I did not care about what I thought it was Love, I wanted my body not to be touched in that way, I was young, I was 17.

After a day, I was waving to my mother behind the window, that home windows were high with grating, she waved back, I belong there where my mother was, where the care was but not in this jail, where I had to be raped every minute to find the drops which never came out.
My Background

My background as I mentioned before is the base of the idea of my thesis, by that, I will situate myself between the lines as an example of true stories. However, my story started when I was born, I was the first child of my parents, who were born and raised up in southern Iraq, my father who was born in an aristocracy family was not religious, but he as his family followed the old traditions. On the other hand, my mother was a religious person, and she was following the old traditions and strictly supported the shame culture. Because of the war, we the family moved to different countries. Because of that, I have been raised in different cultures, in all the countries I have lived in, I have studied in international schools, but, the schools I studied in did not share the Middle Eastern culture that my parents were raised up in. The class level was something I raised up with, learning in international schools was one of them, more than that, me and my family travelled the world for our yearly vacations, we have visited the most expensive hotels in the world, we went to Disneyland and waterfalls, zoos and circus, however, in the middle of the year we used to travel some weeks to buy our clothes from Europe and especially London. However, living in different countries made my personality different from my family, the different cultures which I lived in opened my eyes to different views, I started to think differently, I broke the rules in a gentle way. Because of that, I have become different than the people who share the same nationality and culture, who share the same traditions and believe that those traditions will stay for ever.

Further, at the age of sixteen I came home happy after the interview with the Headmaster of the English international school holding my papers tight on my chest, and my smile on my face, I told my mother then, I am happy, I will study medicine in England and here are all the papers which I need, they accepted me to study in two of their most famous universities. I did not see my mother face happy as all the muscles on my face were, she said in a confident way “you are a girl, and girls do not travel alone” (Mother, 49 years old). I run to my room, I was crying, I saved all the papers that the Headmaster gave me, I thought they could change their mind. However, the papers are still there in our old house, the dust is covering them, and I am still here, in life, not a doctor, but as a girl who lives alone in the Swedish land, fighting for her rights, working and studying at the same time.

During the years of becoming an adult, I always asked myself it is possible to think differently and I speak about my thoughts. I became an adult and I was thinking about the old traditions and how they work and why people still believing in them.

More than that, when I started this program, I was also working in the Commune of the city that I live in, as an integration supervisor to the youth under the age of 18. My work inspired me and pushed me more into my studies, I practiced the theories that we have to learn in my working days, and the positive days, as the negative situations at the work place inspired me to give good examples during my studies.
which also showed me the importance of the Gender studies and the feminist thoughts and beliefs. From that, it is important to have employees with gender studies background not only at my work place rather than to spread the knowledge and work for gender equality in different work places in Sweden. More than that, Gender studies opened my eyes to different things one of them is the social class, and the other one is the importance of knowledge.

The last point I want to share in this section is that how did I finally found that angle of my thesis. In reviewing the honour crime thesis in Sweden, and the Middle East, I found that most studies are based on public conversations which include mostly discourse analysis, or document analysis such newspapers articles or on different books on special victims of honour. Intersectional study based on interviews as a data was rare, and female writers who come originally from the Middle East are also very few. From my own knowledge as a Middle Eastern woman, I have chosen to write about honour intersectionality, focusing on the real examples from the Swedish society and how can culture be moved with people to Sweden.

2:3 The Interviews

In the beginning of the last course of the Gender studies intersectionality and change, and I started to write the proposal I wanted to do different interviews than I ended up doing in my Thesis. I wanted to interview the victims, those women who faced problems with honour issues in Sweden, but with the guide of my supervisor, that the student cannot get a permission for interviewing the people under the secret identities, in that case, I got an advice from my supervisor to interview people who help the victim women in different organisations. I started to search and contacted the people I wanted to interview, I asked 15 people but I was lucky to get six to the interviews. During that time, I was planning to ask other people in case someone who would cancel the interview time. I directly started the interviews following the time table, different circumstances delayed some scheduled time.

In the interviews, the same questions were asked to six people, but more questions were asked to those who did not understand the main question. The time of the interviews was a different one from another, the time was between one and a half hour and 30 minutes. Five interviews were done face to face but one was done online via skype.

The questions of the interviews were:

1. Where do you work and what is your position in the organisation?
2. What do you think is the Honour killings?
3. Why it happens?
4. What is the guilt and the shame culture?
5. How can women’s bodies affect men’s honour? (An extra question).


For the interviews, I used the qualitative methodology. However, the benefits of using the qualitative research as a method help to find out reality which in that case, “the realism of conventional writing may, therefore, result in ‘thin’ description. Such arguments, that narratives and descriptions from a single, implicit point of view may not do justice to the complexity of cultural forms, have given rise to various alternative approaches” (Coffey 1996).

According to Roess et.al, “Data analysis was conducted using a visual method oriented to the work of Merleau-Ponty. The focus was on participants’ verbal and bodily expressions based on the analytic conventions of visual methodology.” (Ross et.al 2010)

Moreover, Bowen has pointed that the “Document analysis involves Skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation” (Bowen 2015). From that, after transcribing the six interviews I read carefully the texts, highlighted the main answers to the questions I have asked, aiming to see the similarities and the differences in my analysis.

Analysing the interviews and linking them to the theories will help me to support my work and prove the theories which I have chosen. Answering the research questions from the interview's data will clear out the meaning of the honour and how it is connected to other intersections in Middle Eastern women life.

The interviews as I mentioned before are the data for my thesis. They helped me to open my eyes for different intersections and analysing will help me to understand the connection between those intersections and the meaning of honour. Furthermore, the Skimming reading, which I will be using will help me to find the similarities and differences in the answers. The new themes that I will find in the transcriptions, will add new sections to my study case.

Before I start the process of the interview's analysis, I would like to give more information about the interviews and to which geographic place do they belong to, their location, and that will make it easier to understand from where the interviewees got the information that they are sharing with me in this thesis. In short, the interviewees have different nationalities (Sweden, Africa, Afghanistan, and Lebanon), different religions (Muslims & Christians) and different ethnicities. They are all educated people but their knowledge is different, according to their past locations. Five of the interviewees graduated from Swedish universities, three of them graduated from the Swedish high school while the other two, one is graduated from Africa and one has studied in different countries. However, the first participant did not study in Swedish schools, he was graduated from the Lebanese University in Beirut.
Besides that, the ages of the participants were also different which also helped to give different answers according to their knowledge.

2:3:1 Participants

1. Anton: 55 years old, Male.

Anton is originally from Lebanon but has the Swedish citizenship. Anton was born and raised in Lebanon but has a Syrian father and a Lebanese mother. He is a project founder and leader of an organization which helps women. He is also a politician, working on the court. Besides that, he is working in a commune in northern Sweden as an integration guide and working with the Red cross. Anton raised up in a traditional family who care about religion, guilt, and shame. On the other hand, he is not religious and does not believe in guilt and shame culture, he is his position supporting the LGBT people and Arabic women who need help. In addition, he was helpful, has a self-confidence and talkative in the interview which was at his home. His interview was recorded and transcribed. What was different in the interviewee with Anton that he speaks from his own experience and problems that he faced in his country, and what caught my attention was how he was fighting for women rights and freedom during the interview.
2. **Diana: 24 years old, Female.**

Diana came originally from Africa, but she lives in Sweden, where she studied and is working now. Diana works as a leader in an Organisation in southern Sweden. She educates the heroes at the organisation and travel to another commune, to educate the social workers and people about honour. Diana was helpful answering all the questions, she came on time on to the interview which was made online. The interview was recorded and transcribed. More than that, Diana is educated in gender issues and supports women in all situations.

3. **Mahdi: 32 years old, Male.**

Mahdi was born and raised in Afghanistan, but because of the war, he moved with his family to different countries, such as Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and then to Sweden where he finished his studies and working. He worked in an Organisation as a hero. Just now he is working as a Social secretary specialised in honour issues. During our interview, Mahdi was very nervous, he did not want to record his voice and did not me to write his name. But in the end, we recorded the interview which was in a café. During the interview, I got the feeling that the interviewee was stressed out, and did not feel good while he was talking. After the interview and when I stopped the recording he was talking not as the same way that he was talking when the recording was on. The interview was recorded and transcribed.

4. **Anna: 43 years old, Female.**

Anna was born and raised in Sweden where she finished her school and she also graduated from a Swedish university. The conversation with her was calm but the examples she gave were sad and painful. Anna is working for the Swedish church in an integration project which helps women in different areas, such as women who are under threat. The interview took place at the church assembly. During the interview, the participant was calm and trying to answer only the questions shortly. The interview took place at the church office and it was recorded and transcribed.

5. **Maria: 50 years old, Female.**

Maria born, raised and studied in Sweden. She is a priest who leads the integration project and she is also the first leader of an organisation which supports women in northern Sweden. Maria was calm and ready to answer all the questions. She gave me good examples and explained her answers with details. The interview took place at the church office and it was recorded and transcribed.

6. **Peter: 38 years old, Male.**

Peter born and raised up in a city in the north of Sweden. He was also educated there. He works as a leader in an organisation which is specialised to help LGBT people. He tried to answer all the questions
from his knowledge and work examples. He works in the organisation as a person who help people from different countries and most LGBT people, people who were threatened and has honour related issues. The interview took place at the office of LGBT and it was recorded and transcribed.

2:3:1:1 The participants work

The interviewees work in different organisations to support women who have experienced honour violence in Sweden. The participants showed how it is important that women who in order run from their families because of honour related violence, must be invisible in Sweden to protect their selves. First, they must change their names, their personal numbers, they change their phone numbers and delete all their information on the social media and more than that they must not contact their relatives no matter is the reason. The reason of that is to protect them from honour killings.

The interviewee Mahdi said that “The first thing that I do, is to write an action plan, by that I talk to the victim, understand their situation and write the information on the computer. Most of the female who gets honour threaten are between 16 and 25 years old. After that, the first thing we do in the social care, that we delete the phone number, the social media such as Facebook for example” (Mahdi 32).

From that the social care in Sweden helps the victims of honour violence first to delete all their online information, and they help them by setting a plan for their new life.

2:3:1:2 The participant’s emotions

I find it important to write about my experience with the participants and how was their emotions during the interview.

At the begging of each interview, the participants were mostly calm, except Mahdi who was stressed from the beginning of his interview. Mahdi changed the interview time three times, he found it difficult to talk about his work and especially about honour. When we came to the examples, Mahdi was sad telling me the story of his friend who was killed by a group of Arabic Iraqi guys, those guys are brothers and cousins to the victim’s girlfriend. Mahdi felt uncomfortable she could not sit still. He also asked me twice when we will finish the interview. After the interview which was recorded, Mahdi left the cafe directly.

On the other hand, the other participants were calm answering the questions. While telling the stories of honour, the participants were sad while saying the stories and how the crimes happened. Anton, who is Swede was surprised while talking, and he did not really know why the honour crimes happens and, he said at the end of his interview “It is horrible, horrible!” when I asked Anna “How can they do that for their daughter?” she answered me showing me her arm “I do not know! Look!”, she showed me the
goose bumps on her skin. The participants were emotional while speaking about the girls and sad while they were describing the crimes.

Nevertheless, Maria was talking with a self-confidence, she was explaining to me how she understands the honour phenomena and how the difference in cultures plays a big role. Turning to the examples, Maria was sad, telling me Pella’s story and the girls who got killed in the same city that she works in. But, she was happy to tell me how she was succeeded to help a woman and her daughters who run away from the honour.

2:3:2 The process of the interviews
After choosing the interviewees who are working the same positions but in different organisations, I decided to interview them individually. Each interviewee is (A hero) who is working in an organisation to help women and youth girls who are facing honour violence. In addition, the interviewees have pseudonyms names for their safety.

During the interviews, the participants were answering the questions, some of them were talking more than the others giving examples and going in depth with the conversation, that shows the difference of knowledge. More than that, one of the participants was very nervous while answering the questions and from the beginning, he did not want me to record the conversation, he also left quickly after the last question. While three of participants were engaging in the conversation, telling me examples and explain their thoughts, on the other hand, there were two participants who were answering only the questions without giving me any examples, thus, I asked them more questions which helped to carry the conversation on.

2:3:3 Analytical process
Using the Document analysis as a tool for the interviews helped me to understand the answers from a different point of view. Skimming reading as a primary tool helped me to focus on the data and pick the information I needed very easily, I also have used different pen colours to mark out the same answers for the themes of the analysis. Besides, “Qualitative analysis is often started by analysing and counting the distribution of answers question by question.” (Talja 1999). From that, I started analysing the answers of the participants, by analysing the qualitative data I found the answers were “equally clearly a reaction to the contextualization of the questions” (Talja 1999). It was tricky to answer the first and the second questions, what is honour and what do you know about it? The answers of the interviewees were different. Even though both questions were short and direct but more than two interviewees reacted when I asked the questions. They were surprised by the first question, more than that, I have explained the interview purpose and gave a brief summary of my thesis and studies before each interview. The
analytical tools for the interview were helpful to make my work done. In addition, the answers to the research questions will be used as themes where I have collected them from the interviews. The Thematic analysis in this qualitative research will be used to answering research questions. According to Braun and Clarke, the thematic analysis is a flexible and useful method for “identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79). Each theme has the data which is related to one research question. More than that, dividing the analysis into themes helps to structure the answers to the research questions. That structure will make the results more obvious to the reader in an organized, detailed way.

2:3:4 Sharing knowledge

All interviewees support victim women and disagree with the honour traditions. According to Edyta: “production of knowledge rather than just meaning, through discourse rather than just language”, and she added that we see the “discourse as a system of representation”. (Edyta 2016) From that, all the participants were sharing what they know about honour, their discourse which was discussing the guilt, and the shame culture, they all shared what they know and what they have experienced. More than that, they all shared examples which happened in Sweden, and they all agreed that honour issues must be known more in the Swedish society. From that the discourse analysis could be useful to understand the meaning of honour through the discourse of the interviews.

More than that, Cervone & Parvin agreed that “Each culture has its own institutionalized and sanctioned patterns of learned behaviours, rituals, and beliefs” (Cervone & Parvin 2010). In line with that, the participants, shared examples from their cultures, explaining how the people in their cultures behave, to exemplify, Anton said “At home in my country, when I used to do things which were out of my family traditions, my mother used to say “what shall the people say about us? What should our neighbors say?” In Lebanon, I wanted to be a dancer, but being a dancer is a shame in my culture” (Anton 55 years old). The utterance “what shall the people say about us?” means that Anton’s mother, does not want the people who share the same culture gossip about her son. From that I understood that, being a dancer is not acceptable in some families in the Lebanese culture, where the gossip could make serious problems.

2:4 Ethics

Ethics are important for me personally, my research and for the interviewees as well. The topic of my thesis is a sensitive topic which is private, stressful. At the beginning of my thesis process, I initially thought about interviewing women who live in Sweden and who have run away from honour violence. But because of the nature of the topic of honour, and the ethical implications, victims cannot be
interviewed because of their personal safety. After that, I decided to interview people who work with the victims.

Further, the interview discussions brought for me emotional moments. The subject became part of my daily routines, I was discussing it with different people in different occasions. I also stopped myself to talk about honour subject in separate times. It is also scary to think that such crimes exist generally in the world and especially in Sweden where people find peace and follow the law. I could not manage to stop myself to think about the honour cases, my curiosity took me to the Middle East, to Amman, I visited the places of the crimes and felt how easy it is for some people to kill their relatives, daughters, sisters or cousins in the name of honour. I was in a taxi when I passed from the first place where a woman was killed, it was outside a hospital; I said to the driver, here a crime happened before two months, did you hear about it? He said yes, she deserved it! I was swallowing my tears, I could not speak, I was angry, I felt like I could not breath.

The next day on my way to the Swedish embassy in Amman, I passed from an empty house, they call it “the devils house”, I asked the driver about it and why it is empty, he said “here, the homosexual people used to meet; they prayed for the devil and they were naked when the police caught them, why do the European ways exist in our Muslim society? If you saw them, you would be afraid, young women love each other, men also, it was terrible”. The conversation ended when I arrived at the Swedish embassy, where I took a deep breath, I felt something heavy on my shoulders, I saw then the Swedish Dala red horse on the table, with some papers which was saying “Gender Equality in the Swedish society” I was smiling, but the tears still in my eyes, a strange feeling was then, when I was telling the Swedish officer, and my tears were falling down like the rain on my face; there is no need to stay here, I want to go back home tonight, I want to be safe.

It was hard to talk to people about homosexuality, virginity and outside marriage relationships without commenting or saying what I believe in, I listened to people, to their stories and what I found that the gender equality needs years to exist in Jordan, it is a hard way but the change must come in one day if the people fight for it.

Because of the topic's sensitivity and to avoid the risk, the names of the interviewees and the names of the organisations are anonymous. Moreover, the interview examples which were taken from real stories are intense. The interviewees were informed about the thesis subject, the university which the research will be published and that the conversation will be a data for this thesis. They all agreed to do the interviews and they would like to read the thesis. More than that the interviewees have the right to read the transcription and the thesis when it is finished. (Letherby 2005)
The British sociologist Letherby asked in her book *Feminist research in theory and practice*, “what if no one comes forward, or if those who do all wish to drop out halfway through a project? Because of this, when respondents do come forward” (Letherby 2005:102). In the beginning of the interviews planning, I was sure that the people I have chosen are the right people to keep time, promises and they want to talk about their job. On the other hand, and following Letherby I chose to do individual interviews. I chose, in that case, individuals both men and women who work with honour related cases, telling the stories they know but I was not prepared to hear very sensitive stories which shocked me during the interviews.

According to Letherby, feminist research can be done with friends, family members and colleagues, but I preferred to do the interviews with people I know but one, to keep the distance and make the conversation more formal.

Furthermore, the “Space and place are also important in research terms. When doing research on emotive or sensitive issues, respondents may or may not feel more comfortable when the research takes place in their own home, workplace, social club etc., and it may be important to offer an alternative venue” (Letherby 2005). Space is an important issue to think about before the interview, in my interviews I asked first the interviewees where they wish to do the interviews, I wanted them to be comfortable, relaxed answering my questions. Feeling relaxed during the conversation is also important, to get good answers.
3 Feminist research perspectives on honour related violence

In this chapter, first I will discuss the meaning of the honour, following the intersections of honour which they are important to understand the meaning of honour and why it happens. Every culture has its traditions, beliefs, and ways that the people follow, but does the Middle Eastern culture and old traditions help to explain what is “honour”? Do the intersections of honour the answer of why honour crimes happen? That what I will discuss in the following sections.

In this section, I am going to give a brief introduction of the meaning of the word “honour”, in the coming sections, the meaning of honour will be deeply understood through its intersections and the analysis of the material.

What is honour? Finding the meaning of the word honour can be easy but to define what is the honour crimes it needs more explanation. Searching in the lexicon for the noun Honour can give a lot of synonyms like integrity, moral, nobility and honesty. The meaning of honour in Europe can be understood as a positive action. Wikan has explained honour as, “honour has a ring of heroism and nobility” it goes back to the history where men share morality, however, the moral issue is gendered in Europe as is it in the Middle East, and in both regions, honour “depended to a large extent on the sexual behaviour of women” (Wikan 2008).

While searching in google can give very different results from the lexicon. When you search the word honour in google you will get many different suggestions, like articles, videos and books, but they are all connected to the honour crimes. However, the word Honour in my mother language is called Sharaf, and that is connected to the body and sexuality. The opposite word to the word Sharaf in Arabic is “adem Sharaf” which is an insulting word, which it can be used to the person who lost his honour. Thus, I aim to understand the meaning of the honour phenomena through the interviews questions, the data I am collecting and through the intersections which I choose to focus on.

Furthermore, Shame is connected to honour like the relationship between men and women. “Unni Wikan (2004) discusses honour in an honour cultures having to do with male attributes. Wikan argues that the man possesses honour, whilst the woman has no honour, only shame. Therefore, it is men´s responsibility to manage and protect the family honour as it is presented to the outside world” They also gave some examples of behavioral actions “that it could challenge a man´s honour in the family include having sexual relations outside of marriage, being unfaithful, refusing to partake in an arraigned marriage or inappropriately flirting with an unfamiliar man” (Darvishpour & Lahdenperä 2017).

In 2000, the Jordanian journalist Rana Hosseini got the prize from the human rights watch. The feminist activist Hosseini got the prize for her work against the honour violence. In December 2014 Hosseini
visited Stockholm and spoke at the International Conference on Combating Patriarchal Violence against women. In her speech which was “Focusing on Violence in the Name of Honour”, Hosseini said: “Honor in the context of these crimes implies the honor of a man, and by extension the family, who feels his own and his family's reputation was disgraced by the behaviour of his sister, daughter, wife or mother”. Husseini also added: “The man chosen by the family to carry out the murder brutally ends his female relative's life to cleanse the family of the “shame” she brought upon the family or tribe” (Husseini 2006). In the same way, Darvishpour & Lahdenperä explained honour as “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” (Darvishpour & Lahdenperä 2017).

Further, Honour in the history is related to some old cultures, thus, to explain the meaning of honour it is important to understand the culture that the honour came from and why it is important to some groups. “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” (Darvishpour & Lahdenperä 2017).

Female in Jordan for example, fear of losing their virginity, some girls at schools, skip the PE lectures, where they jump, run and train with different sports equipment. If the girls lose their hymen during non-sexual causes such as: “Vaginal intercourse, falling on a protruding object, horse riding, riding bicycles and swings, high jumps, masturbation where objects are inserted in the vagina, gynaecological examinations, using vaginal douches, and using high-pressure water hoses for personal hygiene” then they have the right to do a hymen reconstruction surgery. (Muawwad, 2009a). The hymen as a symbol of virginity is important for every single young woman in Jordan. Losing virginity in sexual causes can bring honour related violence but if the cause is proved by the medical doctors as a non-sexual cause, the female can do the surgery which will protect her honour in the future.

Mahadeen, in her academic journal mentioned that the virginity is “medicalised” in the Jordanian media, information about the different types of hymen and the causes of its loss is also provided. The Jordanian media use the medical and the religious authorities to support their information, by that people believe in the information that they hear. (Mahadeen 2013). In addition, because Jordan, “the country most intensely under the international spotlight when issue of crime of honour are discussed” female in Jordan fear to lose their virginity. The crimes in Jordan “are committed by male family member against female relative” (Welchman& Hossain 2005). The British Kurd Nazand Begikhani, a researcher, and a human right advocate, has said: “It is interesting to observe how in such contexts, honour has nothing to do with virtue and honesty, but is firmly linked to proper behaviour by the women” (Wikan 2008).
Moreover, this summary of what does honour mean is the primary definition in this thesis, thus, the intersections section will go in depth explain the meaning of honour and the section of the shame and guilt culture will explain more the reasons which cause to practising honour.

Is the honour connected to shame? Does gender matter in it? Does the honour have intersections? What is the reasons that cause to honour killings? The answers of the questions above will be answered in the coming sections and will be more clarified in the conclusion part.

3:1 The intersections of honour
In this section, I attempt to outline the intersections between gender, sexuality, and honour through themes such as outside marriage relations, rape, virginity, and homosexuality. I will also provide an overview of previous research and key discussions in the field.

3:1:1 Outside marriage Relations
You brought the shame to our family, we will take your life, you are guilty you are a whore. She was screaming before they took her away to the room, her brothers decided to put her inside a dark room, they left her without electricity, without food or water, they left her to die to hide their shame. Selma was pregnant from her boyfriend who was killed by her brothers. Selma run away, her grandmother helped her to escape. Selma was a victim of honour but she got her freedom.

To have a relationship outside marriage is not acceptable in Islam, thus, relationships should be a marriage to be legal in Middle Eastern society.

The Muslims follow the Quran and the prophet Mohammed, who in their beliefs got the Quran as a gift from the God. All the sentences which were said by the prophet of Islam were written and collected in Bukari book “Sahih al-Bukhari is a collection of hadith compiled by Imam Muhammad al-Bukhari (d. 256 AH/870 AD) (rahimahullah).” (Al Sunna) However, prophet Mohamed said as it is written in Bukari book:

“A man must never be alone with a woman unless there is a Mahram with her” and he added, “Behold! A man is not alone with a woman but the third of them is Ash-Shaitan” (Al Sunna).

From the sentence above that women are not allowed to be alone with men that do not relate to them, the word “mohram” means that the woman’s father, uncle, brother, husband or her son can be alone with her by the sharia law. The sentences above, are sayings which are used in the daily conversations, it can be an advice from the family or friends and this is what they teach kids at schools. Indeed, I was as all
my class listing to those sentences at school, but why we were taught that? Is it about power? is it about sexuality? Or to control female minds at the early age?

Furthermore, on 21 January 2002, Fadime Sahindal was killed in Uppsala, Sweden by her father in the name of honour. The reasons for the murder were that, she was in a relationship with a Swedish man, and the other reason was that Fadime spoke in public about her story, that leads that she brought the shame to her family. Being in a relationship outside marriage itself is a problem in the middle eastern old traditions. Women in Islam must get married before moving with their husbands. Fadime Sahindal who had a secret identity she also was in a secret relationship with her Swedish boyfriend. Her father found about her relationship, then he arranged a marriage in Turkey for her, which she rejected. After that, she ran away to Sundsvall. Fadime said when I became a teenager, my parents wanted me to travel to Turkey and get married to one of my cousins. (Fadime Sahindal 2001) However, getting married to a cousin is a tradition in some countries like Iraq, Turkey and Jordan. Some families plan and decide their daughter’s partners at an early age. Further, Fadime spoke her story in 2001 in a seminar on the violence against women network, she also spoke in the parliament and the reason of that she was afraid of her family and she wanted to open the people’s eyes on the term “Honour”, which was not known then in the Swedish society. (The Seattle times 2002)

Fadime was one of the victims who was killed because of honour, and there is a lot of girls who even are afraid to live their life with their choices with the fear of honour.

According to Husseini: “Often evidence of a crime is not necessary – gossip and rumour are enough condemnation for the victim.” (Husseini, Rana 2006). From that, in honour crimes, it is not necessary to see the victim being with a person outside marriage. For example, what the people in that society say is enough to believe that the victim was guilty. Example on that, many women in Iran, were stoned by their first relatives to death because of the honour. In Iran as in other Middle Easters countries “Stoning breeches the International Convention of Civil and Political Rights (1966), to which Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria and the Sudan are party signatories, amongst others.” (Kar 2011)

Furthermore, another victim of honour was stoned by her father and two sons, in Iran. Sorya M. was a victim of the gossip of her village. People at her village said that she had an affair with a person, her husband and the Imam of the village decided that a love affair, in that case, an affair can cause honour killing. In her society, where the men are very powerful, they can judge and punish women. Acting independently can cause women their life in some countries in the Middle East, thus, Middle Eastern men control women through force and the by limiting their individual liberties, their actions and their
way of thinking. “The cultural and/or national identity of the men must express itself in control of the women” (Wikan 2008).

Soraya M. was judged, to be stoned to death in the public in Iran. She was stoned by her two sons, husband, father and men from her village. Gossips can also be dangerous to women’s life in such societies where the honour plays a big role as in Soraya’s case. Further, “as such, stoning violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which guarantees the right to life, liberty, and security of person without distinction of any kind, including sex” it is also “undeniably one of the most grave human rights abuses, one that should not be overlooked by the international community” (Kar 2011).

3:1:2 Virginity

Losing virginity before marriage is forbidden in Islam. Islam forbids relations outside marriage. Many girls who were Muslims, were killed because of their virginity, in some cases, and after checking the girl’s body after her death, they find out that she was a virgin. Because of that and now in the Arabic Middle Eastern countries, it became possible to make a virginity test for girls, and if the girl is not virgin that means that her family lose their honour and according to the Arabic old traditions, the girl becomes zanya which means adulteress, and this word comes from Zina which is illegal relationship which is not confirmed by the sharia law. By that, her family can kill her because of their honour. In the book Honour crimes, paradigms, and violence against women, in the chapter culture, national and state, Sliman says: working against the ‘crime of family honour’ within the Palestinian community in Israel, in the first example of her chapter, a girl was killed by her brother, who said that he was defended the family honour. However, “before two days of the killing the girl was taken to the hospital by her father” to make the virginity test. The doctor refused making the test without a permeation from the police. The family suspected that the girl had a relationship with a guy in her village. The second day the girl was killed. It is not the only case of honour because of virginity in Palestine but “there are approximately ten cases a year” (Welchman & Hossain 2005). On line with that, Nawal Al Sadawi mentioned in her conference in Egypt 2015, a story of a girl who visited her Clinique to do the virginity test, she said that “the girl was shaking, she was afraid when she entered with her father to my room, the father had a gun in his holster, holding his daughter from her shoulders, and asked me to do a virginity test for her, and he said that her life depends on that test” (Al Sadawi 2015). Virginity means a lot to the Arabic families, it is their honour, as honour is based on sexuality. Women in the Middle East are afraid to lose their virginity before marriage, some girls stop to exercise or ride a bicycle fearing to lose their virginity. Arabic families and schools teach the girls at an early age religion, and the sharia law which in its position forbid relations. Family and tribe law can judge the female if they lose their virginity. The tribe law can be above the law.
in the country by tradition in some countries of the Middle East. There is different punishment for losing virginity in the Middle East, one of them is stoning the non-virgin girl to death, and on the other hand, there are families who arrange a quick marriage to their daughters to hide their shame. In addition, stoning was practised in different religions such as Judaism and not only in the Sharia Law.

The story below summarises the attitude of virginity and honour in a Middle Eastern family:

She was 19 years old when she decided to move in her life like her friends. She was beautiful, clever, she did not accept her family old traditions, she thought that the Swedish social care will protect her. She has a secret power; this power is like the sun which shines from her intelligent face. She did not care about the religion either, all she wanted her freedom, she wanted to live with her boyfriend. On a summer day, the news wrote that there was a missing girl, her family and the police were searching for her. They put the picture of the missing girl on the news. I thought directly that she did it and ran away, as her family used to be very strict to their old traditions, and she wanted her freedom. Her family came originally from Iraq, Kurdistan, they did not accept that their daughter will move from their home at the age of 19. A week after, the girl came back to her family, she told them that she runs away with her boyfriend, but then, she found out that he was married, she did not accept that, she decided to come back. A few days after, her father who is in the jail now pushed from the third-floor balcony. The father confessed that he did the crime, explaining did not want to live with his daughter’s shame because his daughter was not a virgin. After arresting the father, her mother took the other kids and moved out of the city, where no one knows them, they disappeared hiding their shame.

The example above shows that the family still believe in the honour issue, the father felt that his daughter did something wrong and brought the shame to his family, he killed his daughter to clean that shame out. The victim did not believe in honour and did not understand what does it mean, rather than her family who have their roots in Iraq, and they belong to the tribe society, they believe that virginity is the family’s honour. Moreover, the mother also believes in honour and shame, and that was the reason that she moved to another city where no one knows her and her kids.

In addition, and according to Mahadeen, “Medical expertise is also sought to confirm the “innocence” of victims of honour crimes. What I call “the hymen status report” is present in the majority of stories covering honour crimes. This line, which often reads “post-mortem examinations found the victim to be a virgin,” can serve to educate the readers about circumstances of honour crimes” (Mahadeen 2013).

Furthermore, in some of the Middle Eastern countries the genital surgeries, Circumcisions, for girls are very important. And the families do the operation to their female kids as a tradition to control their
sexuality. As I mentioned before in a paper that I have written during my studying period in the university: “Circumcision is a traditional surgery which means the removal of the clitoris and inner lips of the girl. However, the Circumcision is an old African tradition. It is legal in Africa and the Middle East while it is illegal by the Swedish law. According to the United Nations “Female Genital Mutilation affects about 100-140 million women and girls worldwide, and each year it is estimated that an additional three million girls are at risk of being subjected to the practice globally.” (United Nations 2012). In line with that, and according to the Swedish authorities, that the honour of men and family depends on the sexual behaviour of women and girls, that’s why the families force young girls to get married and control their sexuality by circumcision. (Reinfeldt & Sabuni 2007).

Furthermore, Circumcision and virginity are linked together, being a circumcised will keep the girl virgin under her family’s power which is forbidden in the UN and Swedish law.

To sum, virginity which was defined as “the woman who has never had any sexual contact with a man” (Mahadeen 2013), is an important issue for Middle Eastern culture, which it can lead that the woman is not “sharia” which means she is a bitch. In addition, families in Jordan likewise in the most of the Middle Eastern countries owns their daughter’s bodies, which means that women are not allowed to have sex outside marriage but if she does it, and the family finds out, that will cause her to honour violence. The person who judges the woman first is her husband, on the other hand, is her family if they find out that the girl has an illegal relationship. I will discuss more the virginity in the intersections section.

3:1:3 Rape

In the Middle East and under the Islamic Sharia law, the rapist can be judged if four male witnesses saw him raping the woman or if he confesses. The Quran says "Why did they not bring four witnesses of it? But as they have not brought witnesses they are liars before Allah." (Quran 24:13). That confirms that the woman is part of the rape action until four men confess that she was having sex by force.

Some of the Middle Eastern families punish their daughter to death. Having sex outside marriage is punished by the sharia law which most families follow in the Middle East. How the rape relates to honour is what I am going to clarify in this section. Back in the history men who belong to tribes in the Middle East were protecting their women’s bodies during the wars. The culture of the Middle East was built on the honour system and after that, the religion came to support it. The Islamic religion gives men the responsibility of protecting women in their families. However, comparing with Europe, the Arabic families see the rape as a shame, and in most cases, the rapist should get married o the victim or her
family in some cases take her life, while in Europe, families support their daughters who got raped and the daughter also can get support from the medical care in her country.

Moreover, to exemplify, a 15 years old Arabic student, who I was teaching in here in Sweden, came to the class very happy, telling me that his twin sister is getting married in Iraq. The student and his father moved to Sweden before two years, but they left the mother and the sister in Iraq, they could not pay for everyone, as the student explained that it was a long way to come to Sweden and women should not do that, only men can take the hard-travelling way. He added that they will apply for a visa for his mother but not his sister. However, the student added that he is not worried about his twin now and she does not need to come to Sweden, he explained that first, the society and the culture are different which will not suit his sister, secondly, that he is happy that she became adult and will get married, which means that her husband will support her” (Ali 15 years old). From that, taking the responsibility and the thought of the early marriage, are cultural and traditional thoughts. Supporting women is also part of the Middle Eastern culture which is still alive until now. The thought of supporting women means protecting her from rape which is a shame to her family. Another story I will share here, which was told by a brother who killed his sister in Jordan can explain to us his thoughts:

“Sirhan, a young Jordanian of 29, killed his sister Yasmin because she had been raped by her brother-in-law, thus losing her virginity. Sirhan told the journalist that he loved his sister and didn’t want to kill her, but people in the village were turning their backs on him and his father, saying they had to cleanse their honour. Death was the only solution, he said, to stop the gossip and restore the family’s honour. During a second meeting with the journalist, after his release from prison, Sirhan said he was unable to find a wife because no man in the village wanted him to marry his daughter” (Conseil du statut de la femme 2013). In that case as the other cases of honour crimes the killer wanted to clean his shame, which means more to him than his sister, the only way to clean the shame, is not to take a shower, or to pray or even to walk in the forest, the only way to clean this kind of honour according to the Middle Eastern old tradition is to kill the “victim” of that honour. Complication. Why must the victim be killed? Shall the brother kill his sister because she was raped? Is honour more important than a human being’s life? Are the feelings more important than a soul?

Furthermore, rape itself has intersections, rape within marriage, rape in families, raping the kids etc. and if we go more in details and discuss each kind of rape, we will come to a result that it is all about women bodies. Some women do not accept it so they take their lives and some they got married by force to the rapist and others who get killed by their families, and few who lived there lifelong with the ghost of rape in their minds.
As I work with such cases at my work, I know that there are rape cases in Sweden which are secret and not announced to the public. Most of the cases that I have experience with, the rapists are from the Middle East and the victims are girls from Sweden. The culture differs where those guys come from, there in their country, they can do anything to uncover girls, as they say, they can touch them but here in Sweden when they can even kiss the girls, the thought that they could do more, two situations ended up with rape. How to educate and integrate the Middle Eastern kids, is a big problem which we face at the work place.

Furthermore, feminist’s thoughts about rape, were criticized, even though, women in fact, share their stories about rape, which in some societies are not moral to talk about. In Sweden as in many other countries, feminists are criticized as radicals who analyse rape as one of the multiple forms of men's sexual violence and exploitation, looking at their interconnections and how they work in concert to maintain and reinforce women's oppression. Second, they expand the definition of ‘rape’ to encompass more than just overt physical force and violence (or the explicit threat therefore) (Whisnant 2013). Supporting women and talking about rape experiences are criticised by people who do not believe in equality, and want women to be under men’s power.

To sum up, rape which “is completely forbidden in Islamic law, and is a crime punishable by death” (Huda 2016). Islam denies rape in all it is situations. Women bodies are part of the family honour, that makes men take care of their daughter, sister and wives which all symbolize their honour. Rape, as an intersection of honour, plays an important part in the Muslim cultures, where a lot of women get raped under marriages or outside marriages. Middle Eastern women, who moved to Sweden, and studied the basic law of women rights, and those who run away from rape situations, are now getting help from the Swedish authorities, while others, who are not informed about the Swedish law, and did not know what to do in such situations, are still victims of the rape.

3:1:4 Homosexuality

“In Iran, we don’t have homosexuals like in your country. We don’t have that in our country. In Iran, we do not have this phenomenon. I don’t know who’s told you we have it.” (Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad 2007).

Middle East countries do not accept homosexuality as it is being against the Gods creation. Middle East people believe in Islam, Christianity and other religion, most of them are against Homosexuality.

Being a homosexual in the Middle East is illegal in countries like Yemen, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the UA, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Qatar. According to Brian Whitaker, a person who works in a Saudi school Administration was put in Jail and the school have been fined because they have painted the school wall with rainbow colours which are “the emblem of homosexuals” (Whitaker 2016). He also added “Among
other Arab countries, the penalty in Algeria, Bahrain, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Tunisia, and Syria is imprisonment – up to 10 years in the case of Bahrain. In those that have no specific law against homosexuality, gay people may still be prosecuted under other laws (Whitaker 2016).

“Islam has influenced culture through the application of Islamic Shari'a law, though the law punishes those who outwardly display homosexual affection more than it punishes the practice or existence of homosexuality. Further criticisms of homosexuality are found in Hadith, history or teachings of the Prophet Muhammad that was passed down orally through history until they were recorded in writing. Many Hadith reports contradict each other, but they include severe condemnations of homosexuality. Hadith is cited as the basis for killing those classified as “homosexual.” Those perceived to be “gay” or who do not fit gender norms are frequently charged with “contempt of religion.” Many argue for continued self-assessment and personal interpretation of the Qur’an, Hadith, and Islamicate practices” (Simmons 2014).

However, the homosexuality is condemned in the Middle Eastern countries as it is being against the Gods creation. The homosexual woman is called “shatha” while the homosexual man is called “shath” which means literally that he is an outsider, in the same meaning the word “sihāq, comes from the root s-h-q, from the which the more common word tribady/lesbianism, musâhaha, is derived.” (Douglas 1995, p.133) Even though the risk of homosexuality, people who come originally from the Middle East to Sweden are breaking their traditions coming out to the Swedish society proud of their identities, but that can cause a problem to the LGBT people families who will be part of the shame of their family members among the people who share the same traditions in Sweden.

Some of the Arabs believe that homosexuality is a sin. In the Arabic newspapers and in the daily conversations talking about homosexuality was a taboo, but after the liberation in some countries, talking about homosexuality started to be a choice of dissection and some people started to accept LGBT people. But on the other hand, some people in the Middle East still believe that it is a taboo and it is punished in some other countries like Iran and Iraq.

The Swedish culture is different from the culture that I have raised up in, their people follow their religion; thus, homosexuality and transnationality are haram which means forbidden by the sharia law. People in the Middle East reject change and specially the change which is against their traditions and religion.

In sum, it was difficult to write about homosexuality without referring to the religion in the Middle East, where religion rule most of the countries as it is a big part of their law. Homosexuality was a taboo in the pastime, while is not in some countries in the Middle East. Homosexuality is a crime and it is
punished by death in Iran, Iraq, and Saudi but it is not punished in Jordan for example. Comparing that to Sweden, homosexuality is legal, the Swedish people respect the change, but on the other hand, there are also people who do not believe in gender change. Homosexuality is related to honour related violence because the families who believe in honour can punish their daughters to death because of being a homosexual. As an intersection of honour, homosexuality can cause honour crimes, but the crimes against LGBT people are obviously not reported in the Middle East countries.

3:1:4:1 The culture differs

“Culture comes into play at precisely the point where biological individuals become subjects, and that what lies between the two is not some automatically constituted ‘natural’ process of socialization but much more complex processes of formation” (Hall 1999).

Hall added “Representation connects meaning and language to culture.” And “One way about thinking about ‘culture’, then, is in terms of these shared conceptual maps, shared language systems and the codes which govern the relationships of translation between them. (Hall 1997, p.21) that explains, that the people produce their culture through their language, how people share concepts, codes, or explain things. Therefore, the explanation of concepts, things, codes and words all have the connection to the culture and that is produced and spread through language.

On the other hand, Anna Lundberg also defined culture as “a set of shared attitudes, values goals and practices that characterized an institution, organization or group”. (Lindberg 2015) The definition gives the understanding that a culture is a shared attitude which a group of people share together and practice in the same attitude to create a society which shares the same practices, values, and goals. Thus, the people who live in the Middle East countries share the same attitudes against LGBT people, they therefore, do not accept homosexuality because of their religion and beliefs. However, in the Quran, there are direct referring to a gay behavior in two sentences:

"We also sent Lut: He said to his people: "Do you commit lewdness such as no people in creation (ever) committed before you? For ye practice your lusts on men in preference to women: ye are indeed a people transgressing beyond bounds. (Qur'an 7:80-81) Being homosexual is a sin in the Islamic religion and by that some people in the Middle East are homophobic. On the other hand, some people think that being a homosexual is a sickness. People in the Middle Eastern societies, such as Jordan, Iraq, Saudi, and Iran, who follow the Sharia law, do not accept homosexuality and want to avoid it in their countries. Arguing on that, the roots of homosexuality belongs to the Middle East, if we go back to the history and read the story of the dead sea we notice that homosexuality was there, however, connecting that to Sara Ahmed, “You cannot always close the gap between how you do feel and how you should feel. Behind the
sharpness of this "cannot" is a world of possibility. She also added, “A killjoy: the one who gets in the way of other people's happiness” (Ahmed 2010). However, it is not easy to change what a person feels, LGBT people in the Middle East know exactly what their religion and culture refer to, but they still have their relationships in secret, thus, it is difficult that LGBT do not have rights in the Middle Eastern countries, which make them leave their countries and families for Europe.

Further, writing about homosexuality is not accepted in the Arabic culture, My. Kali magazine, which is the first LGBT magazine in the Middle East and North Africa, started publishing articles with fake author names, the magazine which was found in 2007 and was closed by force in August 2017 “addresses these stereotypes through visually engaging features and social commentary with a local and regional flavour.” (My.kaly 2007). According to the Jordanian law “Jordan legalized homosexuality in 1952”, but “A 2015 Pew Research poll found 97% of Jordanians still reject homosexuality” (The Times of Israel 2017). The old traditions and the culture of shame and guilt are controlling the Jordanian society and even if the homosexuality is legalized the people reject it in many ways. According to Järviluoma, Moisala and Vilko “We are not born with an identity rather, it gradually develops in relation to our experiences of social interactions and our cultural surroundings” (Ärviluoma, Moisala and Vilko 2003). So, if the people in the Middle East, for example, accept homosexuality in their society, it will be easier to many people to feel themselves freely, to understand their actions and reactions. Some people in the Middle East fear to be themselves as homosexual or bisexual because their culture, society and some people at the government reject it.

Moreover, Mary Lou Rasmussen in her article “Taking homophobia’s measure” mentioned the “‘Riddle’s Scale of Attitudes’” which was practised in a work shop, where the participants placed themselves in two groups: heterosexuality and homosexuality. (Rasmussen 2010) However, the group who see “Homosexuality as a ‘crime against nature’ are “Repulsion group”, from that, the studies which were made in the USA and Australia may show the same results in the Middle East. However, people who belong to the Islamic culture and who share the shame and guilt concepts see homosexuality as a sin, thus, they can be called a “Repulsion group” (Rasmussen 2010). And because “Homophobia is commonly associated with psychological understandings of sexuality.” (ibid) and sexuality is a sensitive subject in the Islamic world, Muslim people do not like to talk about it, and they also do not accept the same sex marriage because that is not mentioned in the Islamic religion, therefore they become homophobic and a heterosexual, who do not accept any discussions about sexuality which is shame in the same culture. On the other hand, some Middle Eastern people who run away to Sweden, because of their society ignorance and troubles to their identities, run away to Sweden, those who “celebrate gay
and lesbian people and assume that they are indispensable in our society. They are willing to be gay advocates” can be called as celebrates. (ibid) Both the USA and the Middle East, are religious societies but have a different religion, which has the same beliefs against gay people.

In line with that, the Swedish government has agreed the homosexuality is related to honour cases and it was mentioned in the action plan which is part of the police of violence against women that:

“Honour related violence can also affects homosexuals and bisexuals of both sexes as well as transgender” (Reinfeldt & Sabuni 2007).

Therefore, LGBT people who come from the Middle East as asylum seekers can get a special place to live in and not with the people who share the same culture and reject their identities. By that, the Swedish authorities helped LGBT women from honour violence.

To sum up this section, the reasons for the honour crime are based on the intersections of honour. The intersections above, virginity, outside relations, rape, and homosexuality showed us why male members of the family kill their daughters, sisters or even female cousins. The reasons for the honour violence related crimes have the same reason in many cases, which are all linked to sexuality and control women’s behaviour.

In addition, there are more intersections to discuss such as dress code, leaving the house frequently, prostitution and smoking.

However, because the “culture is "a set of shared attitudes, values, goals and practices that characterized an institution, organization or group" (Lundberg, 2015), a discussion about the difference between the Swedish and Middle Eastern cultures will be discussed in section 6, to show how people who belong to the same group can share the same attitudes and practices of their culture. Example on that, during a conversation with a friend who works in the American embassy in Amman, we came to the subject of homosexuality and the law in Jordan, that the homosexual people have their rights in Jordan but it still brings conflicts in the society. My friend followed two of his American colleagues to the Jordanian immigration to register them, they were both men and married to each other, the register refused to register them because they were a couple of the same sex, and that does not exist in Jordan.
4 Under the theoretical lens

Theories are always there to support our work. For this paper, I found out that the feminist theory on gender and power, similarly, the intersectionality support and structure my paper. In addition, the sexual difference theory can help to understand the sexual differences in the theory for this paper.

The 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” (Idén 2003). That will help to clarify the stereotype and gender roles in both cultures the Arabic and the Swedish. And it will also show other intersections which are also important to understand the meaning of honour.

Using the feminist theory on gender and power in practice will help to analysis the examples of honour related violence. It will help to explain why such acts happen and how can the gender rules the power in the Middle Eastern culture.

4.1 Intersectionality as a base

Back in 2015 when I read the word “intersectionality” for the first time, as it was part of the Master course tittle, “Masters in Gender studies Intersectionality and change”, I asked first my partner did you hear before about the word intersectionality? He said it comes from the intersections, I have also asked my friends and my classmates, I was thinking a lot about the word, I searched in google which can help sometimes but I did not get the answer. After two of studying, I found myself using intersectionality in my writings, at my work and I found it very important to think about intersectionality which was the first word I have learnt in the first days, thus, I find it very important to explain the meaning of intersectionality which is the base of my thesis.

The African-American Feminist Kimberlé Crenshaw has introduced intersectional thinking. (Góraska 2016). In 1989 in her research on violence against women of color, Crenshaw has introduced the meaning of Intersectionality as a “particular forms of intersecting oppressions, for example, intersections of race and gender, or of sexuality and nation” (Collins 2000). It also refers to “the mutually constitutive relations among identities” (Shields 2008). Lykke added that “intersectional analysis is born out of conflicts within and in-between social movements struggling for social justice, cultural transformation and a difference and diversity-sensitive, socially, culturally and ecologically sustainable democracy” (Lykke 2010)

Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw has introduced Intersectionality to the feminist theory in 1980. The academic concept of intersectionality was developed as a study of “intersections” the social identities into gender, race, social class and ethnicity. (Góraska 2016:114). In line with that Lykke 2010 as Hill, Collines agrees that “Intersectionality is a term highlights the structure of the relationships of sexuality
interact, race and gender” (Lykke 2010). Which means that intersectionality from the beginning helped to bring up different intersections to support Black woman’s struggle and through the years it helps in feminist studies as different fields to study in depth the different intersections.

Moreover, the intersectionality as a feminist revolution “became a both empowering and critical analytical and political practice” through the years and today the concept of intersectionality became a tool in the critical analysis in different subjects such as racism. (Górska 2016). In addition, intersectionality was defined as: “is not singular, static concept with clearly bound theoretical delimitations and empirical applications” (Górska 2016:117) it is “an umbrella term for divergent debates and political projects, both radical and hegemonic ones” (Erel et al. 2008, 265–26), also Górsk in her research added that intersectionality has become “a tool for analyzing operations of not only gender, race, sexuality and class but also diverse dynamics of living within structural operations of power such as dis/ability, queerness, migration, aging, beauty, mental and physical norms and more” (Górska 2016).

The practice of the intersectional thinking as a tool helped me to study the concept of honour in depth, as focusing on its intersections. And it also developed my writings, my thinking and added meaning and structure to this research. It also helped me to use it in practice through my job, it helped to organize my thinking, it also helped me to analyze each case in depth and draw the attention on various categories which helped to open the way to new possibilities to solve each case problem.

Overall, intersectionality as an analytical tool can help to organize, to structure and it also help to study different fields of studies. The metaphor of intersections (Lykke 2010), on the other hand, has both political and theatrical aims. (Górska 2016). In this paper, intersectionality helped to understand why does honour happen, by studying the honour intersections as virginity, rape, outside marriage relations, and homosexuality. Therefore, the intersectionality as a useful critical tool helped to study the intersections in depth and the practice of intersectional thinking from a feminist perspective structured this paper and opened new doors in terms to understand the phenomena of honour.

The figure below shows how I think about intersectionality and honour.

Figure 1.1
Figure 1.1 The intersections of honour
5 The Results

In this chapter, the results from the interviews will be discussed as themes. The themes are divided into two themes. First, “understanding the concept of honour” which will introduce some stories of honour killings in Sweden, the understanding of the otherness and embodiment. The second theme is “understanding the shame and guilt culture” which will explain the relationship between gender and honour violence. More than that, the thematic analysis will help to structure the chapter, which will help the reader to see read in organised and detailed way. However; each theme will answer one research question.

5:1 Understanding the concept of honour

How do we understand any concept? For example, how do we approach the concept of honour so that we can understand what it means? I believe that to understand any concept, the researcher must understand the subject at its roots, and because this qualitative research concerns itself with people working with the victims of honour, they will help us to understand the meaning of honour. The people who were interviewed for this paper have varying nationalities, ethnicities and educational backgrounds but they all live in Sweden and are all working on helping victims of honour in different ways. The interviewees have a different explanation to the honour but they all agree that it has the same meaning. Reading different books and articles about honour, gave me different understanding to the meaning of honour. In the Arabic books, and articles, for example the word honour means different than the western books. Which concluded that the diverse cultures have different meanings to the word of honour. Before going in depth in understanding the word of honour, I will explain first what does difference means. To reach the understanding how can the meaning of honour differs in different cultures.

Explaining the difference, and according to Derrida, “Différence is the difference that shatters the cult of identity and the dominance of Self over Other; it means that there is no origin (originary unit). Différer [to differ] is to not be identical.” (Guillemette, Cossette 2015) To be different means not being the same, and the difference between the Swedish understanding of the word honour, is that it is different from the Middle Eastern meaning of the same word honour. To be respected or to be proud is part of the meaning of the word honour in the Swedish language while in the Arabic language which is used in the Middle East the word honour “Sharaf” relates to women and their bodies and behaviours. That the same word can have a more positive meaning in one language and a more negative understanding in another can be traced to the “difference” in cultures and traditions.

The first interviewee, Anton explained honour as an old tradition. He said, “Honour violence came from the old traditions and the collective thoughts of the tribe. He also added, “If I want to explain how I use the
word honour, I say that I have the honour to work or graduate from the university and I can use the word even if I am in the army defending my country, that is how I explain the word honour. But using the word honour for women in the Middle East is all about sexuality. This is far removed from the meaning of the word and it is related to old traditions and the fear of being guilty” (Anton) while the second interviewee said: “For me, honour is a way of thinking. In Swedish, we can say: It is something has to do, with how society is built.” (Diana).

While Mahdi answered the same question differently: “It is difficult to explain. I can say it is two people who have sex outside marriage, not being a virgin.” and he added: “It is the culture, that it did not accept some actions, if I want to explain more there are more than 50000 meanings but what I want to talk about is about women breaking the rules.” (Mahdi)

From the answers to the first research question, however, honour is an old tradition, which comes from old culture, it is a way of thinking and it is also about women breaking the rules. However, “In the discourse, analytic approach, the researcher abandons the assumption that there is only one truly accurate version of participants’ action and belief” (Talja 1999). From that, and according to the interviewees, honour is an old tradition that focuses on women and started back in the old ages of the Middle Eastern culture.

Furthermore, Foucault’s thought “the power is everywhere”, I agree that Foucault’s quote explains the power of men in the Middle Eastern families, and how the power isn’t necessarily negative, but could also be viewed positively. In some Middle Eastern families as I wrote before, men have power over women, and according to the Quran, they must use this power to help their families. I see this as a positive thought and maybe was understood from another angle. Some Middle Eastern men, use it as a power to rule the family, but in the history, the old Middle Eastern traditions gave men the responsibility to support their wives, mothers and daughters in the wars. The interviewees agree that some Middle Eastern men have power in their families.

However, this tradition of saving women from danger, is still with the men generation after generation” Anton said: “Men used to protect women in wars” he added, “That came to men by heritage from one generation to the next. I was raised up believing that I have power over my mother and sisters because I am the man in the family” (Anton). The interviewees agreed that the men in the Middle Eastern families were granted power via their old traditions, religion, and history. This power gives the men the right to control women in their families and the purpose of that is to protect them. If their women went out of control the men would lose their honour and respond by using violence. According to Foucault “Where there is power, there is resistance.” (Foucault 1976). Some Middle Eastern women do not accept the power of their brothers or husbands and they choose to be different even from their families and do what they want in life, for example working, which is against their culture, religion and attitudes.
In their jobs, the interviewees listen to the victims, analyse their stories, and help them to think in a way that will prepare them to face their problems. Anton said: “Our work is based on teaching the girls how to deal with family; a lot has to do with managing time, for example if we meet this girl and her family will likely force her to get married one day, we discuss this with her and teach her what to do. We do not work directly with her family, rather we try teaching her how to deal with her family” (Anton 55).

While Peter described his work as “I try to help them as much as possible, they come to me, and I am kind of friend to them, (breathing loud) someone to talk to, I do not provide any legal help because I do not have that kind of certification but I can assist them or their lawyer if they have one” (Peter 38).

Listening to the victims and trying to guide them after analysing their problems can help them avoid honour violence. For example, Anton said that he teaches the girls how to speak with their fathers and by that time she makes a plan for her future, away from honour violence. By that, the interviewees who work in different organisations help the victims by sharing their knowledge and experience so that they can avoid the honour violence.

Answering the question, “What do you think Honour killing is?” was not as easy as I thought. It was a tricky question and it was much more difficult to answer for some of the interviewees than for the other half of the interviewees. However, the third question “Why it happens” I did not have to ask it in some of the interviews because through conversation people started to answer it because it completed the second question. The answers were the same, Diana said: “If you come to Sweden it is like a clash between the Swedish society, it is very strong that you have the social security and in other countries where your family is your security and that makes it a unit, if one person goes out of that unit, it can cause problems, like that when they think they will do something to bring shame on the family. When they fail to help the family member the next step has to do with honour.” (Diana 24). Understanding the answer above, there are differences between Swedish culture and Middle Eastern culture and when people from the Middle East move to Sweden, and their daughters learn the Swedish way and laws and want to follow it, the family doesn’t accept that change and then honour is brought into the situation. Saying “When they fail to help” means when they try to make their daughters follow their rules and they do not succeed then honour happens and that answers my third question. Furthermore, the interviewee Anton, said in his interview, answering the same question, “the fear of being guilty”, “They killed their sister under the name of honor to hide the real reason why they did that” (Anton 55) the real reason that the brothers killed their sister was because they wanted to share the money that she inherited from her father, but they claimed it had to do with honour when the real reason was getting their hands on her money. Diana confirmed that the honour related violence is mostly happening to females but also the victims of honour can be males, she said: “in honour
related situations the men play a big role, they are victims and mistreated, because they have it tougher. The boys are also victims of this kind of culture” (Diana).

In summary, “honour and shame are strongly associated with one another; however, the concepts are not the same” (Darvishpour 2010; Ekström 2009; Wikström 2011; 2012a). Shame is a concept where the person does something outside of the family traditions while guilt is the feeling that comes after the shame, and they are both related to the actions of honour.

The results show that, all participants had different understandings of the concept of honour. Mahdi said, “What I want to talk about is about women breaking the rules” (Mahdi 32). Peter said that “There are different kinds of honour, especially concerning women.” Then there are cases “when people are LGBT and can both be women and men.” We also discuss, “young people are coming out of the closet”. On the other hand, Maria, compared the differences in the meaning of honour by examining the Swedish understanding of the concept of honour to the Middle Eastern understanding of the same concept; “honour is when the person respects each other” she explained regarding honour in the Middle East as it “an action and it is about the person that goes out of his or her culture”. Anton said: honour happens because some people are afraid to feel guilt and also some people hide the reasons behind the killing. While Diana and Anna agree that the honour is an old tradition, against humanity, it is still existing in the Swedish society because of the men’s power on their female member of the same family. All the participants agree that the honour is linked to gender, shame and guilt. They all agreed that it is all about power.

5:2 Stories of honour killings in Sweden

Honour killings took place both in the Middle East and Sweden. Recently the people who committed crimes in the name of Honour in Sweden were originally from the Middle East. In this section, I will give brief examples about honour killings in different countries in the Middle East and different cities in Sweden. In addition, the examples will show how individual behaviour can affect family honour.

The interviewees gave me examples of honour killings; however, the six interviewees have mentioned two of the most famous honour killings stories, Fadime´s and Pella´s, which took place in Sweden.

Maria Said: “We have two well-known examples of honour cases that people were talking about in other countries which are Pella and Fadime. It is terrible”.

On the other hand, Anna said: “Fadime and Pella are well known”. She means that the people know about their stories. Anton added “We want to prevent the honour from happening and that´s why we work with time. For example, on Fadime´s case.” Anton wants to help the girls in Sweden, by teaching them how to use
time and conversation to their advantage when dealing with their families as a way of stopping honour violence. Prevention through conversation and understanding.

Diana said: “Yes, the biggest example of a person who put the honour killings on the map in Sweden is Fadime’s case.” She also added: “she talked about these issues with the Swedish people”.

Peter said: “Because we know about Fadime, we know about Pella, and that is the intention of honour killings.” From that, Peter is working hard, listening carefully for girls who need help in Sweden, trying to prevent future honour killings in Swedish society.

However, Fadime the biggest case in Sweden was mentioned in all the interviews, the interviewee's expressions were the same, they were talking about the story, they were sad, they were also surprised because Fadime was killed by her own family members. In addition, the interviewees have mentioned different stories but similar to Fadime's case. However, in one of the stories, the victim was in a relationship with a guy she loved. On her way to Sweden, her mother and brother found out that she was pregnant, they opened her stomach with a knife and took out her son. In another story, in Sweden, a father pushed his daughter from the balcony because she had a boyfriend. All girls were killed because of their family’s honour, they were struggling for their rights and their freedom. The girls wanted to live like the girls in Swedish society. Furthermore, after listening to the interviewee's stories, I found it important to write about Human rights.

According to UN estimates over 5000 women die as a result of honour killings in the Middle East. (RT 2010) The daily Middle Eastern newspapers share real stories from their society. Even though the crimes are forbidden, honour crimes take place in most of the Middle Eastern countries. In Jordan for example, Al Rai newspaper has shared weekly stories about honour. According to the Al-Rai newspaper in 2014, honour crimes should become less common in the coming years, at the same time the article states that honour killings are ‘justified’ and this attitude is still prevalent among Jordan’s next generation. Another study shows that “the government of Jordan has increasingly criminalized honour killings” (The University of Cambridge 2013). At the end of 2013, the Jordanian court gave the death penalty to two brothers who killed their sister because of honour. (Al Rai 2014). For the same reason, a girl named Samia was killed in Pakistan. The British citizen was on vacation in Pandori, visiting her family when her ex-husband and father decided to kill her. (Al Arabia 2016). From Pakistan to Iraq and Kurdistan where “The murder of a young Kurdish girl at the hands of hundreds of men in Northern Iraq was casually captured by a cell phone camera.” In this case, in what is tragically known as an honour killing, 17-year old Du’a Khalil Aswad, who is Yezidi, was stoned to death for falling in love with a Muslim
They added in the same article that “Raising the level of awareness makes women understand their rights and suffer less from violence. We have found that more than 70 percent of the women that have encountered violence are illiterate. Also, more than 90 percent of those who are committing violence against women are illiterate. As a result, we conclude that raising awareness leads to lessening violence,” Mrs. Qaradaghi says. (RT 2010) According to the University of Cambridge, the “Researchers surveyed over 850 students, and found that attitudes in support of honour killing are far more likely in adolescent boys with low educational backgrounds” (The University of Cambridge 2013). Men with poor education are those most likely to believe and commit honour crimes. Because of the wars in the Middle East, educated as well as uneducated people moved to Sweden, the risk here is that honour violence may increase in Swedish society.

Above all, knowledge and education have proven to be effective in changing the attitude of the individuals which in turn can affect their behaviour. To exemplify, Middle Eastern educated men who moved to Sweden are trying to understand their old traditions and some are working in Swedish organisations to educate people about honour violence. I have interviewed two Middle Eastern men for this thesis, who are working in two different Swedish organisations. They are educating the people about honour and trying to help the Arabic women who are under honour threats. They also try to help by sharing their knowledge with others who need to understand more about the Middle Eastern culture and how it compares with the Swedish culture.

Furthermore, Anton gave an example of rape during marriage. A man who lives in Sweden got married to a woman but their traditional marriage failed. After that, he travelled back to Lebanon, and got married again. He also brought his second wife to Sweden. Anton said “The second wife who came to Sweden, did not like how he treated her so with our help she got a hidden identity and succeeded in living alone here in Sweden. I helped her to run away. He used to close all the doors and keep her locked in. First, he closes the bedroom door on her and then the apartment door, then he would just leave her. Is this life? No this is not. Also, he used to force her to have sex, and this is also another problem, rape inside of marriage” (Anton).

A different story was told by Anna. She was sad when she was telling the details of this story. Anna said that an Afghani refugee girl got pregnant on her way from Afghanistan to Sweden, and when she arrived in Sweden her stomach was visible to her mother and brother who felt shame. They cut her stomach open, getting the fetus out and killing her because of their honour (Anna).

The last story was told by Mahdi. After the recording process was complete, Mahdi started to talk freely, he told me about his friend, who was killed last year in northern Sweden because of what is the so-called
honour. His friend was in a relationship with an Arabic girl, who comes originally from Iraq. The brothers of the girl found their sister and her boyfriend’s picture on the social media, the brothers forced their sister to call her boyfriend and tell him to come to Gävle, where they kidnapped him to the forest where they did their crime. The interviewee Mahdi was sad telling the story of his best friend who got killed under the name of honor, he said he reported them to the police, he even asked his friends to call the police if he did not answer his telephone but that did not help, they killed him, said Mahdi.

Furthermore, in one of my “honour” conversations with a friend, she told me the story of the girl that she was pushed in the river by her father. I asked her to walk to the place, we walked and talked more about the details, the young girl, had a Swedish boyfriend, her family did not accept that, her father decided to kill her and clean out his “shame”. A person from the city found out clothes on the river but there were no people around, he called the police to find out the 15 years old girl was drowned. After the investigation, they found out that her father drowned her in the river. Our conversation ended with a question from my Swedish friend “why does honour happen?”. That was the same question that I am trying to find in my studies I answered her.

What is the so-called “honour crimes” can happen to all gender, but mostly women as it was mentioned before.

5:2:1 The otherness/embodiment

“Bodies-in-time are embodied and embedded entities fully immersed in webs of complex interaction, negotiation and transformation with and through other entities”. (Rosi Braidotti, 2006: 154)

Embodiment. She moved to Sweden when she was 28, she was complicated and she did not know if she could adapt to Swedish traditions or not. She needed to live simply, far away from the crowd, the pollution, the masculinity and the upper class. She spent years learning the Swedish way, not because she was forced to learn it but because she found herself in it, she found simplicity in everything, she did not want to be like the others, she wanted to be like everyone in the Swedish society, she learned how to eat knäckebröd with sill, she started to drink coffee, she learnt how to dance the traditional happy dance, she learned how to be independent. In the last country she lived in, Amman, she was independent but that was not acceptable by her step-family or by her cousins. Everyone wanted to rule the way she lived her life; her clothes, her studying, her working hours, even the smile that she used to have on her face, it should be for a reason. She ran away from the complexity, she found herself in the middle of Sweden, where she did not know anyone, but she felt the embodiment for the first time. Here she belongs, where she can dance, smile and sleep in peace.
Being a woman in the Middle East has the limitations in some areas, for example, women in Saudi Arabia are not allowed to drive cars, while men do; women must cover their faces and bodies in Saudi Arabia, while men do not cover their faces and bodies. In Iraq, Iran and some other Middle Eastern countries girls cannot ride a bicycle but boys do. Even jobs, like drivers, farmers and bodyguards are for men but not women. That is because they believe that females do not have the physical capability for such jobs, but men do. In line with that, Young in her essay, ‘Throwing Like A Girl: A Phenomenology of Feminine Body Comportment, Motility and Spatiality’, described the limitation of women’s activities, that females are not equal in some activities to males. However, she described that women are forced to “remain in one place more often than men” and “react” to the things that she is used to rather than exploring what she likes and doing what she decides. However, some differences or what some people call feminine work and masculine work came from what people thought and not because of any physical differences between men and women. (Young 1990). Women in the Middle East have had a limitation in terms of work throughout the years. Eventually, women started to work as teachers or nurses after being housewives and that developed over the years, but modern women still haven’t reached equality at work places in many countries and not only in the Middle East. Young claimed that “Women in sexist society are physically handicapped” (Young 1990:42-3), which means that women in different countries do the things that her culture decides for her and not what she chooses to do for herself. More than that, I want to argue that women are not only “physically handicapped”, but “emotionally handicapped” as well, where their society, culture choose for them their gender, religion, the gender of partners and the time to lose their virginity, so, everything is constructed as a way to control women.

Sheila Jeffreys (2005) in her book ‘Beauty and Misogyny’, mentioned the harmful culture which force women and girls to practice things against their will “Harmful cultural practices” are seen as existing in cultures in which women do not have choice. The idea that “chosen” harmful traditional practices can be distinguished from forced ones does not fit well with the United Nations’ understanding of what constitutes such a practice” she added, “culture can enforce that women and girls are not free agents able to pick and choose” (Jeffreys 2005:34) If women and girls are not able to choose and pick up things in their life that means they are forced to practice their lives, which means they did not choose, they did not feel in control of themselves and they did not pick up what they wanted. From another perspective, sexual differences play a big role in the harmful culture, where men have power over women.

Furthermore, the examples which the participants spoke of in the interviews are connected to harmful cultural practices, thus, the stories showed how Middle Eastern women feel, their embodiment, and how they feel that they are different from their culture, therefore, their culture categorizes them as “others”, because they brought shame upon their families. From the same examples, the word embodiment took
hold, but that time the victims themselves wanted to choose their lifestyles, feeling that they belonged to Sweden and Swedish culture rather than their family’s cultures. However, Sara Ahmed in ‘Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality’ (2000), provided her thoughts on embodiment and how some people have looked upon their peers like “others” or “strangers” According to her perspective, from such embodied opinions, the gender differences and cultural differences are produced. (Ahmed 2000).

For example, Anton in the interview mentioned a Lebanese woman who was aiming to study and work in Sweden rather than staying at home but because her husband did not allow her to do that, she felt like an outsider in the society she lived in. He also spoke about girls born in Sweden having two identities. He said “Most Arabic kids grew up with double identities, the first one, is the identity that the kids get from their family’s old traditions at home, and the second one they get from schools and the friends that they meet in Swedish society. (Anton 55). Here the kids have a better understanding of who they are and where they belong, but having double identities can be problematic for the kid’s future.

On the other hand, women who adapt to Swedish society try to avoid the word ‘Others’. Some groups after moving to Sweden try to keep their traditions and adapt to Swedish law, while others try to change Swedish society to suit their law or traditions, thus, cultural clashes arise. Choosing to be like others is visible in Swedish society, some immigrants become groups according to their ethnicity or religion. They see themselves as being different from the Swedes. In addition, some people try to adapt for the sake of their Swedish partners, for example, adhering to their religion or traditions. On the other hand, and according to Darvishpour, some people can easily adapt to the country they move to, however, “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).

Two of the interviewees that I have interviewed come originally from the Middle East and during the interviews and the way they talk, they both showed their emotions, their love for Sweden and where they find themselves. Thus, Anton said, “in Sweden it is different, no one has the power over his family, my wife and I both decide together. Sweden is where I belong”. Here he shows how he belongs to Sweden and the Swedish traditions and where he shares equality with his wife.
5:3 Understanding the shame and guilt culture and the relation between gender and honour violence

The question “what is the shame and guilt culture” was an excellent choice which gave me examples that I could use in the intersections part of my thesis. The examples can give an understanding of gender differences and they will clarify the relation between gender and honour violence.

Anton explained guilt as “It is the feeling that someone did something wrong” “being a dancer is shameful in my culture. Here the collective thoughts and old traditions have power.” While Mahdi said that “It is related to honour, especially shame which is the basis of the honour actions, actions that the family does not accept” on the other hand Diana said, “it is a huge part of honour related problems”.

Peter did not have enough knowledge about the concepts of guilt and shame but he gave examples of honour after I explained to him how honour is related to the guilt and the shame in the Middle East. I was not sure how to ask the question “How does gender matter in honour cases?”, but during the conversation with some of the interviewees, I asked the question, the interviewees who were asked, confirmed that most cases were women, and the other cases were LGBT people.

Further, the relation between gender and honour violence is coherent. But are there any gender differences in the Middle Eastern culture? Is it a gender minded culture? The article “On Gender and Things” proved that “we live in a technological and gendered culture” it also mentioned that “feminists have shown how gender is further imprinted onto objects through instructions, advertisements, associations with gendered divisions of labor, and associations with gender symbols and myths” (Hubak,1996; Lie & Sørenson, 1996; Oudshoorn et al. 2002). From that I understand that the Arabic culture is a gendered culture, to exemplify, most of the things in Arabic society are divided into two categories; men and women, for example, gold is made for women, while silver can be used for men. On the other hand, women in the Arabic countries used to wear long dresses while men wore trousers. Likewise, women have long hair while men must have short hair. The clothes colours are also divided by gender like red, yellow and pink for women and black, white, blue and green for men. Women could not travel alone, women must have a man with them while travelling, a brother, teenage son or her father, generally men who are related to her, would protect her, while men could travel alone. In Sweden and Denmark for example, people from the Middle East rejected the female Imam. An Imam is the person who works in the mosque as a religious leader, in Islam and in Middle East the Imams are men. The Muslim Female Imam was rejected in Denmark as it was in some Arabic countries as well. Professor Sherin Khankan, who teaches at Copenhagen University, opened the first Scandinavian women mosque in Copenhagen. According to the Guardian the reaction of the Muslim community in Denmark was mostly positive about the Female Imam and her mosque but some people were negative about it. (The
Guardian 2016) from that, Middle Eastern people did not accept the change that she made, and they gave her negative feedback to what she did. However, Muslim people in Sweden and Denmark, follow their tradition and religion, which causes them to reject any change in their beliefs. Sherin, the Imam is a friend of my sister, according to my sister, Shirin is a wise woman, she taught me that a Muslim woman can do things, she inspired me to continue my education, to work and to be a proud Muslim woman.” (My sister 36 years old)

Further, and according to Peter, who I have interviewed and works in an LGBT Swedish organisation, being gay is a difficult issue for people that he helped through his job, he said that it “is a big problem especially in the Middle East” (Peter 32).

Anton on the other hand has helped a gay person through his job at the organisation. One refugee gay person was not able to stay in Sweden for a couple of reasons, and he committed suicide in Sweden instead of getting killed by his family because of the honour. Anton added he killed himself “because he knew that he would be killed, so before he was transferred, he hanged himself and died. All because he felt guilty about being gay and by that, he would bring shame onto his family” (Anton 55).

5:3:1 Shame, guilt cultures and emotions

It was a cold and snowy day. The sun did not visit northern Swedish winter, people get tired easily. Especially those who come from the Middle East, most of them get depressed. She was happy in the summer but not in January when it became cold, she started to ask why people drink a lot of coffee in Sweden and why others walk or go to school in the cold weather. She moved to Sweden one year ago, everything was new for her. She was calm and she liked the flowers that we put on the table in the living room. She used to walk without any voice, invisible, eat, drink her tea and play the piano. On that snowy day, she was different, visible and talkative, she was screaming and crying, she ran to the room, started to hit her head on the wall. She was screaming “I want to live like other girls, I want to be like my friends”.

Many of the Middle Eastern women of all ages are tired from shame and guilt cultures. What do the guilt and the shame mean? That I will talk about in the next chapter.

Shame is when “A person who fails to live up to the group’s code loses his honor, his right to the respect of the other honor group members as equals” (Brett 2012) In addition, the “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”. (Darvishpour & Lahdenperä 2017).
Sexuality, the female body, her feelings are they all shameful? How can men use their bodies and practice their sexuality without shame? Is shame equal to sexuality? Is it all about power? Different questions came into my mind.

She is thinking why there are differences between herself and her brothers. She was born a girl, is that something she should feel guilty about? She was not allowed to go out and visit her friends, or go out for dinner. She was not allowed to swim in a swimming suit.

While I was wearing shorts, my parents did not have any problem with the shame issue, they let me wear whatever I wanted, even my mother used to buy clothes for me. I was living on the second floor while my friend Sara used to live on the third floor. I went to their home, I rang the bell, her mother and her brother opened for me, I entered, I went to my friend’s bedroom, she was there listening to Islamic prayer, I asked her to put music on, she told me that it is not allowed because it is forbidden in Islam. At the same time, her mother came and told me that I must go back home to change my shorts, it was not polite to wear them, it is shameful. I ran home, I was seven years old and I still remember the details now. I asked my Nani to bring jeans for me. At that time I had a special Nani who took care of me, my mum came and asked me why I changed my nice shorts. I told her it is Haram which literally means forbidden, she asked me who said that and I said our neighbour, and that they told me that there were boys at their home, so they don’t look at my skin. My mother was shocked and asked me not to go back. I love my friend but I did not understand the rules that they had at home. When I grew up I understood that what happened was connected to shame and the old traditions.

To understand the guilt culture is not very easy, and that it is connected to the person’s emotions. To exemplify, most Middle Eastern families try to raise their kids with a deep understanding of honour and the associated feeling of guilt and shame.

I remember, the first time I went dancing with my friends here in Sweden. It was a birthday party and I came home late, but I felt the guilt wondering what the neighbours would say about me. I mean the neighbours who are Arabs who share my family culture. What would my sister say if she knew that I came home around two o’clock at night? I knew I was safe, but guilt surrounded me, it was in my head. I felt afraid when I came home late, I was sweating, I did not know why, but I was afraid, I put the cover over me I slept and I woke up the next day saying to myself, ‘no I will not be late again’, I felt guilty.

“It is shame” this utterance entered my ears a hundred times. Talking to guys is a shame, playing drums is also a shame, falling in love is a shame, writing love poems is also a shame. People left behind their hobbies and the things they loved because of the same. But who created these rules? And why is it inside a lot of people’s minds? And why do we care about what other people think about us?
To answer the questions above, I will use the cultural analysis method and I will also put myself in different situations.

A member of my family started to play drums at the age of seven, he has musical ears, he even has a good voice, he used to play drums as a hobby when he was young but he did not want to continue when he grew up, I asked him, ‘why did you stop playing drums?’ he answered me “it is a shame for the family, what would the people say about me and my father if they knew that?” (A family member, 32 years old). I was shocked from his answer, trying to understand his point of view. What I have analysed from his conversation with me was that he is playing drums secretly at home while there is no one around, but he is afraid to start his own band because of the family shame. That people in his family are educated and work as doctors, engineers, businessmen or teachers. To clarify, the family member born in southern Iraq and his family belong to the shame and guilt cultures.

Furthermore, in an assignment I have written during the last two years in Liu, which has “our bodies” as a title it also talked about the shame and guilt cultures. In the assignment, I wrote: “in shame culture what matters is what people who share the same ethnicity think about you while in the guilt culture it is the inner self-conscious and the feeling of being guilty. Shame and guilt cultures control people in the Middle East and especially women, where it is seen as necessary to control their behavior and tell them what should they do. In line with that and according to Foucault “Biopower is literally having power over bodies; it is "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault 1998).” (Al Shayma 2016) However, shame and guilt are two words with two meanings but they are connected to each other, both words can affect a person’s mind. How is that possible? Both actions are based on the person’s understanding and about how the culture describes the meaning of it. To reach the understanding of how the Middle Eastern culture describes and understands guilt and shame I will explain it through the next example.

_Sara and Ahmed were born and raised in Sweden. Their family originally came from Iraq, and they were born Muslim. It is a tradition for the people who come from the Middle East that the kids follow their father’s religion. In this case, Ahmed and Sara followed their father’s religion. The family was traditional, and they wanted their daughter and son to finish their studies and then travel to Iraq to get married. The parents wanted their kids to carry on their traditions. The daughter was born and raised in Sweden and likes the Swedish traditions as much as her family traditions. When she was 20, she was forced to marry her cousin, who used to live in Iraq, while the parents, asked her brother to choose a bride from another family. Both Sara and Ahmed came back to Sweden with their partners. Sara did not want to disobey her parents and she did not feel guilty because her parents were happy that she got married, and she did not choose to move away from them and bring shame to her family._
The previous example shows how being guilty is part of shame. Sara did not want to bring shame to her family and at the same time, she was integrated into Swedish traditions where she found herself. Her family traditions were with her all the time. If she strayed from the family traditions she would feel guilty and bring shame to her family. Guilt, on the other hand, is connected to the family’s need to control and protect women from punishment while shame is losing the family’s control on women and then she gets punished.

In addition, Karadsheh wrote in her paper that “A woman brings shame to the family when suspected of immorality. Her immorality brings shame to the family, and therefore must be killed to remove that shame that she carries.” (Karadsheh 2010; Abu Lughod 1986:66). From that, women who were killed because of shame, are victims of honour.

According to Pether Wirsen Carl, the shame and guilt cultures are connected to each other. In his lecture which I attended in 2016, the lecturer explained the importance of understanding the culture to understand the concepts and the attitudes that come with it. Wirsen in his lecture has explained the meaning of shame and guilt and how in some cases the effect it has on the person’s identity. He also added that what that is important to understand is the behavior of the Middle Eastern youth who move to Sweden, and why shame is part of their identities. In order to understand all these factors, we must understand their culture. On the other hand, he emphasized that identity can be changed with time. For example, girls who move to Sweden holding their old traditions, the guilt of moving to Sweden for example, will be able to change their thoughts in five years, and they will be able to adapt to the new society and forget the shame culture and instead understand the cultural differences and the democracy in Sweden (Wirsen 2016)

5:3:2 Between two cultures
The analysis of the interviews brought the focus on two cultures, the Middle Eastern and the Swedish. The participant’s started answering the questions by their present location. That helped me to understand the meaning of the concepts from a different point of views.

The participants mentioned that gender matters in some Middle Eastern families in Sweden. They also added that the sexual differences were in place a hundred years ago in the Swedish society, but after the women’s revolution and their struggle to get their rights, the women’s rights started to become established in Swedish society. The question “How gender matters in honour cases? Was asked in some interviews and Peter answered with his point of view:

“The people that I have met that I think are more threatened are girls. I think the families in the early stages think that she is going to grow up, marry and get children and everything, not even go to work maybe, ha ha (laughing),
stay home and be a wife. I think the women are the most, ahh, the ones, ahh...he added “Of course, those men who I have met are also victims, but they, most of them ahh. Ahh. (thinking) they are not raped for example. Most of the women I met got raped by their husbands or their husbands to be or maybe family members. Sometimes abused and bitten and everything, so I think most women are the victims.” (Peter)

Diana also answered the same question as follows:

“I think most honour cases are men and women, they were all affected and when you talk about gender, violence is more towards women who are abused by men, but in honour killing, men and women abused, you know, the people, it is not just the men. And if it’s honour related the men have a big role, they are victims and mistreated, because they have the torture. The boys are victims also of this kind of culture.” (Diana)

The above answers clarify that most of the victims of honour violence are women. But homosexual men are also affected by honour violence.

According to Jeffreys the “western culture is founded on the notion of sexual differences” where the masculinity and femininity appear in the behaviors of men and women, however, their behaviors were based on the sexual differences. Jeffreys agrees that “the practice of different, masculine and feminine behaviors by men and women is based on the idea that there is such a thing as ‘sexual difference” (Jeffreys 2005:20). On the other hand, Shaheed (2004) agrees that “many practices and norms that discriminate against women are justified by references to culture, religion and tradition” (Shaheed 2004) From that, culture plays a big role in women equality or inequality which are visible in the societies and in human behavior. The old Middle Eastern traditions can be also based on patriarchy and male domination, which gives the men the right to practice their power on women at the same families or even in the society.

In line with that, the United Nations agrees that “Gender equality is not a ‘women's issue' but refers to equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men, girls and boys, and should concern and fully engage men as well as women” (OHCHR 2017). But gender equality is missing in some cultures where the men provide for their families by working and women stay home taking care of their children which are part of her duty. Women must ask their husbands before making any decisions. The men, on the other hand, are responsible for the behaviour of their women.

From the interview examples, women and girls who faced honour related violence mostly come from the Middle East and Africa and the person who treated them badly is often a member of their family.

Further, Jeffreys added that “Girls from immigrant communities are likely to need the support of families and communities more than those from the dominant culture” (Jeffreys 2005:46) In line with that the participant
Diana explained the differences focusing on women’s situations in families of both Western and Eastern societies and cultures.

“Their mindset, is a collective mind, that you are just a little dog in a big city, that your family is the whole world and your ethnic group. In other countries, the family is not important, it is each individual, and you have an example here, the Swedish people, they visit their family once a month, maybe twice a month, and they have their own life, and they move out when they are 18. Their parents are expecting them to move out when they are 18, they should have a job, you know, they should have responsibilities. In the honour countries, you live with your family then you get married and you have your own family, you see the difference there?” (Diana).

Based on the above quote, it seems that in some ethnic groups, the woman follows her family traditions and culture, while in Sweden for example, women are independent; they work, study and they make choices in life. Both sides are traditional, most of the women in the Middle East, for example, follow their family because women of previous generations did the same, while in Swedish tradition women as much as men, can start their own life at the age of 18. Equality plays a big role in this case; both the Middle East and Sweden should follow the international Human rights convention which says that:

1. “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.”
2. “Everyone has the right to work.”
3. “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.”
4. “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” (UN 2017)

I would like to ask some questions here, do the victims’ families of honour violence understand that there are laws, that there are human rights? Do their home countries understand that there is equality and that everyone has rights in this global civilization?

Well if they knew that, they would not kill their own daughters or wives and blame it on their traditions and culture. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) agrees that there are gender differences by declaring that: “at birth, we are immediately treated differently based on whether we are a boy or a girl. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights acknowledges that men and women are not the same but insists on their right to be equal before the law and treated without discrimination” (OHCHR).

In brief, the combined understanding of the Human rights law, the OHCHR, Shaheed (2004) and the practices of some migrant families in Sweden show that there is a gender difference in some families which makes inequality apparent in the Swedish society. By treating females differently than males in
the same family is a traditional, religious and cultural issue that migrants bring with them to Swedish society. Going out of the traditional, religious and cultural circle will cause dishonor problems for Middle Eastern women who live in Sweden, and that will probably cause honor problems to increase in Swedish society. While the same honor problems or crimes could happen in some countries in the Middle East such as Saudi Arabia, where tribal law rules over the country’s law, some cases will most likely not be reported or punished because the men in that culture are hiding the shame of his family by killing the women who brought shame to them. The shame tradition brought guilt to many girls who live in Sweden. Those who were forced to get married at an early age and others who took their lives in order to hide their family shame. An example of that was talked about by the participant Anton who worked with an Iraqi guy. His only problem was homosexuality. According to his culture as well as his friends and family being a homosexual is a sin, which can be judged by the court in his country Iraq. More than that, his family could kill him as soon as they saw him. The guy decided to end his own life in Sweden instead of taking the shame back to his country. (Anton)

I will end this chapter by discussing an important question which is: How can a brother or a father kill their own family member?

I will start the discussion by introducing the reasons of the honor crimes and I as I have written before the honor crimes it happened for women who went against their family’s traditions. According to the Human Rights Watch, the most common reasons for the honor crimes that the victim refused to accept a sexual assault or rape, or she refused the arrange marriage or she had a sexual relation outside marriage or even a tradition that the family do not accept. These reasons are illegal and not accepted in the family’s traditions and society and the actions can be quick. (Holt 2014) In the name of what so-called honor, some Middle Eastern families have decided to kill their daughters in Sweden, Fadime, Pella and Sara and many other victims were killed because of Honour, their families clarified that the actions clean their honour.

The honor crimes have shacked up the Swedish society, the Swedish people want to understand the reasons for these actions, and they want also to understand how can the male member of the family kill his relative? The honor related crimes, made some men aware of the risk of talking to Middle Eastern women as it might risk their lives.

In the end, it is hard to imagine that someone can do a crime to feel proud in his society which sadly can support him. More than that, not all the families who live in the Middle East believe in honor crimes. There are families who try to accept what their daughter chooses by making the relationship
for example, legal or try to solve the problem by arranging another marriage with a different person who she might like.
6 Concluding discussion
6:1 The results from the interviews
After the interviews with the members of Swedish NGO’s working with women exposed to honour violence, I reach the understanding of the honour concept, which it came primarily from the old traditions. Honour has its intersections such as, under-age marriage, rape, virginity and homosexuality. The reasons that cause to honour violence are different from case to case. All the cases have the same base, which is the old traditions and the same beliefs and culture. The person who usually does the honour action is a male family member. From that and according to Wikan, “honor killings occurs in certain groups, living in certain regions or locations” (Wikan 2008) Under the last year’s people have moved to Sweden from different regions, many of them came from the Middle East, and some of them brought their old traditions and Honour with them.

The articles and the books I have studied show that the Honour crimes are much more in the Middle East rather than Sweden. Some people who come originally from the Middle East and moved to Sweden still believe in honour. Honour crimes are against the international law. In some countries in the Middle East, the trips and traditions can judge the victims. In Iran, for example, the honour judgment is legal while in Jordan it is illegal but some people do it. However, the authorities in Sweden help the women who run away because of the honour violence. They get hidden identities, homes and they continue their lives as new persons. The crimes which happened in the Swedish society are known as honour cases, two of those cases, Fadime and Pella cases were known internationally.

However, the dialogues with the interviewees were very useful to my research. Further, the descriptive codes such as `honour` `Honour violence` `shame` `guilt` `run away` `help` are actions which were used in the research, while the analytical codes described what the victim women wanted.

I also observed that the interviewees wanted to give me all the information that they could share, they were aiming for change because they were sad telling all the examples they experienced through their job.

6:2 The Middle Eastern culture, religion and law
It is important to understand the culture of the Middle Eastern countries, their religion, and law in terms to understand the phenomena of honour and how did it come to Sweden. On the other hand, it will help to understand the importance of honour to some Middle Eastern families who live in Sweden.
The reasons above in it terms help to understand why honour happens? The reasons that make a family member kill his sister, wife or daughter, the importance of shame and guilt, how it negatively affect the families who come from the Middle East, and how do the law and the society in their countries support honour violence.

6:2:1 Is the Middle Eastern Culture Masculine?
Masculine culture is where the men have power in families, work places and in society and also, where men rule economy and success. In a masculine culture, there is inequality in the society, where every person knows that men have the power and can do more than a woman. In this section, I want to examine if the Middle Eastern culture is a masculine culture.

If we go back to history when Islam came to the Middle Eastern Arabic countries, many of people followed a religion, before Islam people were Christians, and before Christianity they were Judith. The culture of the Middle Eastern countries is a mix of different religion, and because of most people followed the last religion Islam, in that case, the law of Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran, Yemen, Qatar, Bahrain, Egypt, and Jordan is the Sharia Islamic law. The sharia law follows the Quran which is the Islamic holy book. From that, the judgments in courts are basically taken from Quran.

However, Bassiouni in his article “the Islamic law-The shariah” proved that “The Qur'an is the principal source of Islamic law, the Sharia” and he also added “The Qur'an contains a variety of law-making provisions and legal proscriptions interspersed throughout its chapters (suwar) and verses (ayat)”. (Bassiouni 2012). Clearly, that in the societies where the Islamic law rules they follow the understanding of the Quran law. To exemplify, the verse Aya 34 from chapter Sura 34 I Quran says: “Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So, righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard. But those [wives] from whom you fear arrogance - [first] advise them; [then if they persist], forsake them in bed; and [finally], strike them. But if they obey you [once more], seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand” (Quran 2016). That explains that the law follows what it is said in the Holy book Quran, which gives the men the power over women. In that case, the Muslim people followed what is written in their Holly book. However, following the sharia law makes the society more masculine rather than an equal gender society.

Moreover, Arabic people believe in the Quran and Islamic religion that makes their society structured as an Islamic society. By structured, I mean that Arabs follow the Islamic rules, and they take their references either from Quran or from people who studied Quran and became Islamic leaders. Those leaders are called Imams. Example on that, in Jordan, women who are married must listen to their husband and do whatever they want, that is supported by the law. More than that, in some countries,
women must have a permeation from their husbands to travel, similar to that, in some countries such as, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, women are forbidden to travel without a man, which makes it more difficult for women in those countries. Thus, some women were tired from this power, some have travelled with their family members but, they disappeared in Europe searching for their freedom building a new life. In that case, their family gets shame, which makes them with worthless and rejected from their society, and that is because a member of their family broke the rules. The side effect of this situation can be huge, it can cause violence and Honour for all the family. That gives the right to take their honour from the woman who broke the rules, by that, they judge her by honour which means they can kill her if they find her, the judgment can be taken by the family and by the country’s law. To exemplify, a Saudi princess who ran away to Britain because she had an affair with a British man, and she got pregnant said that “if she went back there with her baby she could have been subject to Sharia law.” She also added, “that even if the Saudi legal system spared her, she could have been murdered in an 'honour killing' by relatives of her husband.” (Dailymail 2009). I will add to that the example that the interviewee Anton brought up, it was a girl who could not live her life with her girlfriend so she run away to Sweden to live a normal life where the society accept her as she is and accept also her relationship with the same gender. In addition, being a lesbian in Iraq is forbidden and it can cause honour killing, where neither the family nor the society accept her situation.

In the most cases of honour related violence which took place in Sweden, the girls went out of their family power choosing the way they wanted to live their life, when the father or the brother lose control, and according to their traditions and the shame, they killed their daughters or sisters because of losing their control over the girls. As a rule, in the Arabic families, the men have power over their female family members. Some Arabic men who moved to Sweden with their families have the masculine power over their families, even they have the masculine attitude at their work places towards women who share the same culture or nationalities. Agreeing with Jeferson, in Engstrand lecture (2015) that “All men are created equal” and “each person is to have an equal right to the most total system of basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty of all” (Engstrand 2015). The article “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (UN 2015). Every Human Being should be equal in every society, thus, understanding and believe in equality will help women to get the same chances in life as men. Middle Eastern women should fight for their rights, for their equality and freedom in their societies. They must start in their families, in their classes, at their jobs spreading the knowledge of their rights into their culture.

Furthermore, Honour killing exists until now in many countries, Jordan for example, has a considerable number of honour killings. Recently in the 25th of April 2017, and according to Roya daily newspaper, which showed the new law which was suggested by the parliament that any person who kills another
person because of the honour will be judged in the Jordanian court. That took place lately in April 2017 because of the increase of the honour related killings. And one of the last killings which took place outside a hospital, in the main street in Amman, when the killer decided to kill his 40 years old sister because she decided to move out from her family and live alone in an apartment. The brother felt that he no more can control his sister, and in the Jordanian eyes, his sister is his honour which he must take care of all his life. The woman, wanted to live alone running out of her family problems, and connecting that to the Human rights, that “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person” (UN 2017) In the Jordanian woman case, she did not have her rights as a person, she was not able to live her life neither she did not get help and security in her country.

She was screaming outside of the hospital “la ya khoy” which literary means no my brother, do not kill me. When her brother killed her outside Isra hospital in the main street of the university of Jordan. When I read the news, I imagined the street where I used to live, that street where I passed every day for 15 years. I used to walk there, and sometimes I was waiting for a taxi outside the hospital. That street is crowded all the time, year around, cars, people, hot weather and it has a special smell of pollution. People in Amman, especially those who lives in this area of the town, were mostly teachers, workers and some just came to the country and found themselves forced to live there, like me and my family. We never liked that long street, even, they call it in Jordan, the street of death, because of the large number of accidents which killed people who were walking or passing the traffic. But I never imagined that a 40 year old woman will be killed there, speechless. According to the news, the adult woman, moved to an apartment to live alone. That in the Jordanian old tradition, is a shame. Women should not move from their families, while it is possible for the men to move and start their life if they afford it otherwise they stay home until they get married. The masculine culture, on the other hand, lets the power with the men of the family, such as the brothers, the father, the uncles and the cousins. Here, however, the killer wanted to "تطهير شرف العائلة"(Maamaa 2017) and that means that he wanted to clean the family honour because the victim lives alone, and according to the Jordanian old traditions, women should not live alone in an apartment. In addition to that, the killer was preparing for the murder, he asked his mother to call his sister the victim and tell her that he wanted to see her and he wanted to stop all the problems between them, the mother called and asked her daughter to come outside the hospital, where they met, but he, the killer, was planning to kill his sister and as they explained I the article that he wanted to clean the honour of the family. Furthermore, the difference in culture and traditions make the western people not understanding this situation, thus, moving from the family is something normal in Sweden for example. At the age of 18, girls as boys choose to move from their families to study or work, aiming to be independent looking forward to their future.
Being a Middle Eastern, Arabic woman in Sweden is still an issue that a lot of relatives in Iraq, for example, do not understand, not even them but also the Iraqi people who live in the same city in Sweden and share the same culture as my relatives, thus, they ask the same questions: “Are you married?” “Who supports you?” then they suggest that I must get married as soon as possible. The problem here and maybe it is a positive problem, that I think differently, liberality, and I believe that each person in this life must support himself, learning from my past life in Jordan, made me different than many girls in my region. It also gave me the power to use the religion as a weapon and evidence to support my rights. It opened my eyes to different issues in life, that women are equal to men, we born the same, we born with thoughts to talk with, we born free to build our thoughts in life and support ourselves as individuals. Equality if it does not exist where I came from, in the Middle East, it will exist in the future, when more women make a revolution fighting for their rights.

However, in Jordan, calling the man “woman” or telling him “you are weak as woman” or asking him “not to be soft as women” is an everyday conversation. If we read the pervious sentences as a feminine it will be positive but what people mean by saying do not be soft like women, for example, is negative where the masculinity dominion. People in Jordan have traditions, but having a strong leader who fights for equality can make a big change in the future. Sitting rules, renewing the law can help to achieve gender equality in Jordan or other Middle Eastern countries. Thus, Queen Rania mentioned: "Women's empowerment involves looking at three issues,” said Her Majesty, "There are cultural pressures, which involve changing perceptions; the legal environment, which is the most straightforward issue; and, creating an enabling environment for women to work in… The Prime Minister has made verbal commitments; the next step is to come up with a plan and tackle these issues one by one.” She added: "I'm hoping that Jordan could be a catalyst for change in the right direction, but we can't do it alone. History has shown that to succeed, we need to work together. The commitment is there and I'm hoping with your support we can foster the change," said the Queen. (Media center 2017). “We need to work together”, this sentence summarises all the conversation. People in Jordan as well as in the other countries in the Middle East should work together to make a change. Women in Jordan started to fight for their rights because they found the support of their Queen who supports women and fights for equality herself. Recently, on the first of August 2017, the Jordanian government has deleted the article 308 of the Jordanian penal code which releases the rapist from the punishment if he decided to marry his victim. The Parliament took a positive step to avoid violence against women in the Jordanian society. The Human right watch director said: “The mere existence of article 308 puts pressure on women and girls to marry those who assault them, including teenage victims of rape.” (The human right watch 2017). I was in Amman on the same day, I saw the happiness on women’s faces, women celebrated their revolution, they
celebrated their victory, women were happy to reach one of their rights, half of the Jordanian Parliament was happy for the decision, but the other half was against it. What is more, some of the Jordanian people did not approve of this change of law and still keeps to the old traditions.

Furthermore, another example of the Arabic culture, is when the woman gets her first child, the relatives, friends and even her husband start to call her the mother of the child, but the man gets a nickname the father of Mohammed for example, from his friends and relatives, each male name has a “male nickname” that male nickname will stay with him until he gets his son, then people call that man the father of his sons name, I know it is complicated to understand these phenomena, especially if you are European, it is hard to understand it because it is not used in the European culture, people are called here with their first names, but it is a traditional issue in the Arabic culture which shows the masculinity in the Arabic society. An example on that, my father had the nickname “Abo Shaker” literary Abo means the father of Shaker, and Shaker is a male name. The relatives, colleagues, neighbours were calling my father “Abo Shaker”, until the birth of my youngest brother, people did not call him Abo Shayma, for example, because it was a shame to call a man with a female name. I understood that later, after my marriage and after getting the first kid. I was questioning the reason for calling my father Abo Shaker, my question was who is Shaker? I thought that my father had a son, but with the explanation of my mother, that the man gets proud of having a son which will carry their family name, while women will belong to their husbands, clarified for me that the Arabic culture that I was born in is a masculine culture. Indeed, discussing why are we not equal, women and men, in the Arabic society, did not get any answer, people try to use Quran, the holy book by answering questions, but the level of understanding the holy book it differs from person to person. Arabic people who did not study, or read books have difficulties to understand what educated Arabic people are talking about. Do the human rights work in the Middle East? Or do Arabic people who move to Sweden know that Human rights are valuable in Sweden? Is it all about power? Are all important questions, but, I will choose to answer the last question because of the limitations of the paper.

To answer the last question, I would discuss Foucault’s the power of subject which it says that: “The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify'others”. He added that“Power exists only when it is put into action, even if, of course, it is integrated into a disparate field of possibilities brought to bear upon permanent structures. This also means that power is not a function of consent. It is not a renunciation of freedom, a transference of rights, the power of each and all delegated to a few” (Foucault 1982). From that, Power is an action which individuals can take over other, partners in the Arabic countries have a planned power relationship where the man is the leader, that is supported by law which it takes its power from religion.
Foucault explained that power does not come at once but in actions “it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future” (Foucault 1982). However, in some relationships the partners use their power by daily actions, that it can be through discourse, by that it does not come once but gradually. Some Arabic woman changed their way of thinking, the way they dress and the way of behaving trying to follow their husband’s thoughts forgetting about what they want in life; they let their men decide for them. To exemplify, when I moved to Sweden I attended obligatory classes to learn the Swedish traditions, ways, and law. The course was twice a week and the teacher speaks Arabic. The group of students was from different Middle Eastern countries. In the course, some men had troubles letting their wives attending the classes because those men did not want their wives to learn the Swedish ways or the law. On one of the classes which were based on violence in near relations, a man forced his wife to go out. From that, the man decided to his wife not to listen, and she obeyed him.

6.2.2 The power of men
‘When we speak about gender we also speak about hierarchy, power and inequality, not simply difference” (Kimmel 2008).

During the pastime I was asking myself, several questions which I would discuss in this section: why do the men have power over women in the Middle East? And why do male cousins have power over women in the same family? The answer I found it in Foucault’s idea of power.

On the other hand, women who come originally from the Middle East use their knowledge when they talk to the men in their families, according to Edyta: “production of knowledge rather than just meaning, through discourse rather than just language”, and she added that we see the “discourse as a system of representation”. (Edyta 2016). With full agreement with Edyta, that people should share knowledge and I value what they say rather than just saying words without meaning. And the Middle Eastern women can protect themselves from honour, using the discourse with their families as a system to share what they believe and want, supporting their discourse with religion, so they can affect their families mind through conversation. The most important thing of sharing knowledge is to understand each word, and to know how to answer questions on the same subject that you are talking about, “A discourse as a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.12).

A part of sharing knowledge and back to the idea of power, Foucault has the idea that “power is everywhere’, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and ‘regimes of truth’ (Foucault 1991; Rabinow 1991). And he added that “Power is everywhere’ and ‘comes from everywhere’ so in this sense
is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault 1998: 63). In an equal thought with Foucault, power exists everywhere in life, schools, families, workplaces, in speech, and in our daily routines. Power in families as it was described before in Quran, is a man issue. Arabic men should take care of their families, work and support all family members. Some of the Arabic men in Sweden, still practice the power over their families, by that, they can control their daughters for example, when the daughters try to adapt to the Swedish society and do not listen to their fathers, in that case, “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). And by that, the risk of the punishment is high which might cause to honour violence, and that it because the men feel that they lost their power on their daughters.

6.3 Gender differences, inequality and sharia Law in Middle East
The weather was cold, the coffee machine made the sound tick tick, the coffee was ready, she took her coffee, smelled it took a breath, on that time she was standing behind the window, looking at the road. It was slippery, she moved her eyes up to the sky made a wish. She wished that her three kids who live in the Middle East are in a good health and strength, she took a sip of her strong Swedish coffee, she like it but her hands were shaking, she felt something strange, her heart was biting fast, however, she felt that before, it was always connecting to her three kids who were living apart from her by force of the sharia law, the law which took her kids from her, because she was a single divorced woman. And who will take care of the kids better than their mother? She could not stop thinking about them, she called, they did not answer, she called again but this time not through the internet, her youngest daughter answered with a sad voice: “Hello mum, we are good, do not worry! But something happened, my aunt was screaming at me and stopped me while I was going out, she also did that while my best friend was here, she treats me like a child, but I am 17, why do my brother go out with his friends but not me?” (R 17 years old). The eldest daughter took the phone and said: “I hate everyone, I hate all of them, I hate myself” (S 19 years old). She left the coffee cup, her body was on fire, she wanted to scream, she cried alone, she wanted to hug her kids hard, but she could not. She was strong, she listened, she gave them the power through the phone call, she believes that the words can change a person, she believes in her daughters, and they will be fighting for their rights where ever they are. They can and the sun will shine on one day.

The story above is one of million stories that happen every day in Middle Eastern culture. According to Deleuze dictionary: “Thinking makes seeing and speaking reach their own limits.” (Deleuze 2005:117).
Middle Eastern woman who moved to Sweden, started to face her rights, by learning from their friends at schools for examples or from the adult courses which they attend in Sweden.

However, girls who live with their families who believe in and value honour, cannot practice their rights as other girls of their age in different societies, do that is because the families who believe in honour believe that women rights are a threat to their families. (Darvishpour & Lahdenperä 2017). From that, Arabic girls who move with their families to Sweden at an early age face some problems by thinking in two ways, they want to follow their family’s old traditions, and they also want to live like their school friends, those girls understand their rights but they cannot practice them like other girls. On the other hand, some girls in Jordan for example, who live with families with traditions, do not practice their rights in their country, they also want to be like the other girls who share the same nationality, ethnicity, and religion who can practice their rights. Some Jordanian families with a higher social class, wealth and education, especially those who were educated in Europe, do not follow their family’s old traditions, trying to teach their daughters as their sons their rights at an early age, those families believe in the human rights, women rights and equality.

Furthermore, in the Jordanian law, for example, women take care of their children physically, while men are responsible for the property. In that case, women who are unemployed cannot afford to support their families and children, thus, they are under the power of the men who pay for their kids, and some of the women let their families support them if they have a good economy, but some women do not have a family that takes care of their economy which makes the living situation difficult. In Sweden on the other hand, women are more powerful, women can work, raise their children and have help from the state, and share the maternity leave with their partners. That makes difference, and the individuality is a natural way of being in Sweden, women raise up equal to men. Both women and men start their life, either by working or studying, being independent individual. In that case, they do not need any support from their families, while in Jordan, the family is the main support for both women and men.

Further, the sharia law which gives the power for men over women, has clear sentences which are taken from Quran, and it says:

Quran (4:34) - "Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property (for the support of women).

Quran (2:228) - "and the men are a degree above them"
Quran (33:33) - "And abide quietly in your homes..." Women must be at homes and they should have reason to go out.

Quran (2:223) - "Your wives are as a tilth unto you; so, approach your tilth when or how ye will."

The above quotes from Quran which is as I mentioned before the basic reference for sharia law, shows that the men have the power over their women. By that, the women who live in Middle Eastern society and follow the Islamic rules will obey by religion and law her husband, brother, and father. Further, I will discuss in this chapter, the gender differences, inequalities supporting my thoughts with references from the sharia law.

_She never saw my face yellow before, it was pale. She opened the door that was the last thing she saw before opening her eyes finding herself on the floor. On that day, she decided to run away from his jail, but her heart was beating hard. Fearing the results. Where shall she stay? Where to go? Even if she goes to the social help organisation which is connected to the police they will return her to his home because he was her husband, who decides for her. Because of the Sharia law in the country that she lived in, that law gives the men the power on women. She rejected the violence, she rejected his power and the law power, she wanted to live. She fainted behind the closed door, while he was out enjoying his life._

The women in the Middle East fear to leave their husbands, but some women decide to run away from their husbands, and that is against the old traditions. Arabic women were raised up in a culture where men are taking care of them, supporting them and are responsible for their finance. Even though, women ask their men for permissions before doing activities in life, for example, going out without the husband’s permission can cause a problem, single women take permission from her father or brother and the married woman also have to ask her husband before deciding any appointment in her life. Nowadays, Arabic women started to read, educate themselves and started to decide in the society, while, there are women who are educated, but they follow their men decisions. According to Islam, women must follow their men and if not their husbands can punish them. That is also what the law follows, if women do not listen and follow her man he can bring her to “bait al taa” which is literary means the house of the obedience, where the husband decides when his wife eats, and where to go and what to do, it is like a jail. Indeed, this is also can show the power of men, where both law and religion support him to make the wife as an object.

Power is the main actor that make women fear men in the Middle East, where by their power can kill their female family members. According to the lawyer Reda Omar and the Egyptian law, that if the married woman went out from her husband home, if she did not listen to him, the husband, in that case,
can apply to the court, and by their force she will come back within 30 days to her husband home, he added that the husband should pay for her food and prepare an apartment just for his wife, without his family, in that case she in her position as a wife, should obey him and if she did not then she will be called nashes and that means literary discordant (Omar 2000).

6:4 Killjoy stories

“Cover your hair, I will pay you 30 JD to buy Hijab” (X father in law, 2000)

She was a beautiful young mother. Her hair was long, her eyes were not the same colour as the other women in the family, she did not have enough money to buy clothes, but she had enough clothes to change from. Every year, she was waiting for her mother’s yearly visit, bringing with her the Danish fashion which no one can buy in the city of Amman. She was different in her conversations, she read books, she thinks wisely before answering any question. She knew that they were planning to ask her to cover her long brown hair. What she likes more, her hair natural colour. But she liked most the house balcony, where she used to be under the sun light. However, before the marriage, she used to swim, she was getting all her energy from the salty water, the sand, and the sun. When she moved from Cyprus to Jordan, she started to swim in the swimming pool, the sea was far from Amman city, it was four hours far away. After the marriage, she was promised by her husband that she will continue swimming, but that never happened. Everything was changed after the marriage and a lot of promises did not exist. On one day while the sun light reflexes on hair face on the same balcony, a sound came from behind, why do not wear hijab to cover your hair, I will pay you 30 JD to buy hijab. The 30 JD was a good amount of that time, she could buy different hijab colours which could stay as long as she lives. But, no one would buy her new ones after that, she knew that the main thing that the husband’s family wanted is that she covers her shiny hair, because of what? The answer was because of our religion, Islam.

They were sitting on the balcony drinking tea, behind her, discussing people’s stories and her hair. Their discussion was empty, all that they wanted on that time is to speak about the importance of covering women hair. She asked why? She was logical and clever, she read all the books they have in their dusty shelves. She wanted a reason, but they could not prove it. Illogical. They were silent and she left. In addition, that was not the first time that people ask her to wear veil “hijab”. However, after divorcing, she worked in Western union, in an exchange company, behind her desk was the company owner, her cousin, who also asked her to cover her hair, and that is “Fetna” which is means literary, temptation, and that means, that she with her beautiful long hair will make the men who work at the same company to look at her and get desired. She did not believe in her cousin’s old traditions, but she listened, she did not talk, but secretly, she applied for visa, she did not want to stay in Amman, she left to the Western
world where no one can talk about hijab and no one will force her to live the life that the others decide for her, she was wise and clever.

More, and according to Sara Ahmed “A killjoy: the one who gets in the way of other people's happiness” (Ahmed 2010). In line with that, the woman in the above example, was happy, enjoying the sun and her hair details, while the family of her husband and her cousin, wanted to kill her happiness by forcing her covering her hair which she enjoys by hijab.

Inspired by Irigarary “If we continue to speak the sameness, if we speak to each other as men have spoken for centuries, as they taught us to speak, we will fail each other again” (Irigarary 2010) I chose to be different, following my own traditions which I picked up from all the countries I lived in and all the people I have met in life.

From that, and generally, if the Middle Eastern women will stay the same following the old traditions of the shame and guilt cultures, they will not change, repeating the old generation thoughts and their traditions that they were born with.

Here, I will write short stories from the interviews I have made which can explain the sameness and killjoy terms together.

Anton said in the interview:

“The story of a girl who moved as a child with her family to Sweden, later, her family wanted her to get married to her cousin which she does not know. The girl came to us seeking help. The girl who studied and grew up in Sweden understands the Swedish law, and she did not want to get married in general and specifically to her cousin”. He added, “I heard from father’s that they said to their other male friends that if my daughter will go out of the traditions I will kill her. They also speak about Middle Eastern fathers, who want to do their traditions in Sweden, and they did not think or care about the Swedish traditions and law, they even make their kids fear the integration” (Anton). Both examples show that the families of the girls want them to be the same as them, to follow their rules and traditions while they kill their joy, by forcing them to marry their cousins for example or by deciding for her life style.

6:5 Aiming for the change

To make a change and to avoid the honour cases, the Swedish organisations can educate the people who work with social care, police, and schools about honour issues. The Swedish organisations are also helping women/girls who have honour related problems with their families, that will help to change their lives. The stories of Fadime, Sara, Pella and other examples which were mentioned in this paper can help the reader to find out the intersections and cultural norms to avoid the honour tragedies in the future.
Female victims of honour tried to live their life as any other girls in Sweden, breaking their family rules and flooding out of their father’s control was the problem which causes their lives. Aiming for a change is the dream of many Arabic girls who fight for their rights. Helping the Middle Eastern families to understand their daughter’s thoughts and their new society traditions, can help to solve many problems. Moreover, understanding the Swedish law and realise the consciences can help to stop honour related violence.

In conclusion, I aimed in this thesis to find the answers to the research questions, I aimed to understand the meaning of honour and to understand the connection between guilt/shame and honour. In this thesis, I also aimed to interview the activists of Swedish NGO’s working with women exposed to honour violence, and analyse their interviews.

My research was succeeded in terms of finding the answers for my investigation, due to the application of an appropriate methodology on the data – along with an appropriate theoretical framework, I found the answers to the research questions and that explains the importance of understanding the intersections of the honour, the cultural differences, the old traditions besides the shame and guilt concepts. The concept of honour has different meanings in terms of location, ethnicity, and traditions. Consequently, the meaning of honour today differs from the meaning of honour in the pastime, thus, people can learn the different meanings, the cultural differences in terms of understanding the concept of honour. However, the understanding of the meaning of honour in the Middle East differs from the meaning for the same word in Europe. “Honour lay in what was the public eye”, “it does not contain entail killing by definition” “it has collective aspect it belongs to the family”, “honor killing is a matter of tradition rather than religion” (ibid) the definition of the honour differs in order to the countries, traditions, and culture. Wikan added that the honour happens in groups who live in the same location and share the same traditions.

Thus, it is also important to understand how other societies follow human rights and to examine the existence of gender equality.

Further, Coomaraswamy confirmed that in many societies that the honour connected to women behaviour and sexuality, the honour crimes “are committed by a male family member against a female family member” who did unacceptable behaviour to the family and society (Welchman and Hossain 2005)

Human Rights Watch defines "honor killings" as: “Honor killings are acts of vengeance, usually death, committed by male family members against female family members, who are held to have brought dishonor upon the family. A woman can be targeted by (individuals within) her family for a variety of reasons, including: refusing to enter into an arranged marriage, being the victim of a sexual assault,
seeking a divorce—even from an abusive husband—or (allegedly) committing adultery. The mere perception that a woman has behaved in a way that "dishonors" her family is sufficient to trigger an attack on her life" (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

On the other hand, the Council of Europe admitted the definition of the Honour crimes which is: “the concept of so-called “honour crimes” covers any form of violence against girls and women (and more rarely men and boys), in the name of traditional codes of honour, carried out by members of the family, hired criminals or by the victims themselves. So-called “honour crimes” are a serious violation of the rights of the person subjected to them.” (Council of Europe, 2009, paragraph 13).

However, honour killings are reported daily to the police, but not all the cases are published in the news according to the UN news: “Most of the 5,000 honour killings reported to take place every year around the world do not make the news, nor do the other myriad forms of violence inflicted on women and girls by husbands, fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and other male – and sometimes even female – family members.” (UN 2004).

Honour violence exists in the Swedish society. Different work places are educating their employees to understand the phenomena of honour, what does it mean and why it happens, more than that, the understanding of the shame and guilt concepts is important to understand the foundation of the honour related violence.

Honour violence has no specific policy in Sweden but it is part of the policy of women violence. More than that, there are many cases in Sweden which are named under the honour related issues, example on that, Fadime and Pella’s cases.

Nawal Al.Saidawi (2001:16) said that , “have showed a connection on bodily force by the preparator, while the use of a firearm in case of so-called crime of honour appears as a guaranteed means of getting rid of the victim where-as in these cases- the intention is indeed to kill”, she added that in some cases the killer record the crime to be sure that the victim would not escape death. (Hoyek, Sadawi& Mrad; Welchman L.& Hossain S. 2005, p.130) In line with that, from the story that was written in chapter five, the killers according to the Swedish newspaper Aftonbladet 2017, that the killers were dancing on the victim body. According to the Middle Eastern old traditions, that the killers washed their honour by killing the lover of their daughter, and dancing on his body means that they were happy reaching their goal.

To avoid honour violence, Middle Eastern girls at an early age should learn at the Swedish schools how to fight for their rights through the conversations with their family. Learning how to deal with conversations can help to avoid honour actions in the Swedish society. On the other hand, understanding the Middle Eastern culture in depth can help to understand the phenomena of honour violence. More
than that, some Middle Eastern countries like, Jordan for example, set a new law to avoid women violence in general and specifically on honour related crimes which were their number was raised in the last few years.

Above all, Swedish authorities help the victims of honour with hidden identities and new locations in terms to stop the honour violence following the Human rights and law. Sweden like the United Nations countries, tries to pass sit laws to limit the honour related violence. The culture is one of the causes of the honour related violence, which is one of the most well-known crimes in the Middle East against women. Honour related violence tradition must be stopped in order to build a safe society and to protect the human beings from what they call “Honour”.

6:6Further studies and suggestions

This research is part of a very sensitive subject which is very important to be studied in depth in order to reach the understanding of what Honour is, its roots and history. Therefore, this paper discussed the Honour and three parts of its intersections, there are more intersections to be studied in depth such as religion relations, the genealogy of the old Arabic trips and the Middle Eastern culture and its intersections. A research case can investigate the question: what is the source of the honour culture and why is it still relevant today? Is the honour a patriarchal cultural tradition?

I also believe that there is need to investigate the real number of families who believe in honour tradition in Sweden. I also believe there is need to investigate the reason between the honour tradition and the forced marriages of youth in Sweden.

Furthermore, the case of the woman in Iran who was stoned to death, Sorya Ms could be a thesis by its own and connect that to the question: how the rumours matter in honour cases? and how can a son stone his mother to death?

Further, the intersections of the Homosexuality can be reasons for the honour violence in the Middle East, which can be a subject for a research case. It is also important to make research to examine if Human rights are valid in the Middle East or not.

Finally, I believe there is need to examine the thoughts of the new generation of the Arabic youth in Sweden and how they treat the Honour problems.
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