 Honour Culture

- The thoughts and experiences of four young men, who have lived in a residential care home for unaccompanied children

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Abstract

This is a qualitative study that explores the thoughts and experiences of honour culture of young men who have previously been living in a residential care home for unaccompanied children. The data was collected through four semi-structured face-to-face interviews. The social constructionist theory was used together with previous research in order to analyse the results. The results of this study show that the informants highly associate honour culture with women, and therefore feel burdened with the fact that they are expected to guard females both in and outside their own families. Results also show that males are subjected to honour based oppression in different forms. Furthermore, it was found that honour culture is connected to shame and a fear of being ostracized from the family or the community.

Keywords: Honour Culture, Shame, Young Men, Social Constructionism, Patriarchal Structures.
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Introduction

Honour culture has for many years now been covered and discussed in the Swedish media. There has been many instances where honour culture has led to numerous political debates and legislative changes. The case that has received a lot of publicity is the murder of Fadime Sahindal, carried out by her own father (Wikan, 2004). The murder of Fadime made the Swedish society aware of the phenomena of honour culture, and the general belief was that women are the victims of honour oppression (Nationellt Centrum för Kvinnofrid, 2011). Honour culture is not a phenomena that is linked to any specific religion or country, and can affect both men and women (Ahmadi Lewin and Lewin, 2003).

In much of the literature concerning honour culture, focus is put on women and their relationship with honour culture (Wikan, 2004, Nationellt Centrum för Kvinnofrid, 2011, Amnesty International, 2016). The literature seems to set aside men living in an honour culture, and the issues and difficulties they may face. Regarding the honour culture debate, it is clear that girls and women have been given much more space and attention than men in previous research and in the media (Nationellt Centrum för Kvinnofrid, 2011). This awakened the curiosity to explore how it is to be a male in the honour culture.

A study conducted by the European Commission DG of Social Affairs and Employment (2003) shows that males are equally pressured as females regarding honour culture, and that professionals working with issues related to honour culture are in frequent contact with boys exposed to honour related violence.

This study will be conducted using qualitative research method, four interviews will be conducted and the participants will be chosen by using convenience sampling. The participants will be chosen from young adults that have prior to the study been living in a residential care home for unaccompanied children. The reason for choosing young adults that have been living in a residential care home for unaccompanied children is because many of the young adults comes from backgrounds where honour culture has been prevalent. Another reason is that one of the researchers, at the time of conducting this study, was working at a residential care home for unaccompanied children, which means that it based on the limited time frame is convenient to choose the informants. We hope
that with this study we will contribute to people getting more knowledge, and a different attitude towards males in honour cultures. Our hope is to reduce the stereotype that the male's role in an honour culture is always and only to be the perpetrator, but rather to see that often males are just as exposed as females. We also wish to contribute so that social workers or other professionals will want to develop strategies that offers support and provisions directly aimed at males living in honour cultures.

**Aim and research questions**

Our aim is to study the thoughts and experiences of honour culture among four young men who have lived in a residential care home for unaccompanied children.

Questions:

- What is the informants understanding of living in an honour culture as a man?
- What are the informants own experiences of honour culture?
- What are the informants own thoughts and experiences of the differences of being a man and being a woman in an honour culture?

**Essay disposition**

In the first section of this study an introduction of the chosen topic will be presented, where we motivate why the subject for this study was chosen, the aim and research questions. Section two will introduce previous research used in this study and will also go more in to depth and explain the main concepts that are used throughout the study. In section three the theoretical framework will be presented, also the relevant theory for the study and its connection to the subject. Section four explains our methodology, the studies credibility and ethical considerations are discussed. In the fifth section we will present the results and analysis of the empirical data. The sixth and final section is concluded with a discussion of the results and answering the aim and main questions.

**Definition of concepts**

This section will define the different concepts that are used in this study, as well as offer a brief explanation of the different concepts.
Honour culture:
With honour culture we refer to societies or communities where a central element within their specific culture has to do with female chastity (Amnesty International, 2016), this however does not presuppose that men’s connection to honour culture is always through women. The concept of honour culture is used in this study to describe the cultural patterns which control and limit individual’s lives. Honour cultures are often based on patriarchal structures where women are subordinate men and an individual is always a part of a bigger group or a clan, therefore, one individual's personal errors can inflict loss of honour for an entire group (Amnesty International, 2016).

Young adults:
In this study young men are defined as men in the ages of 18 up to 20 years old.

Honour codex:
The concept of honour connected to women's sexuality is built upon the notion that there is an honour codex for men and women. The honour codex consists of a set of rules that determine what it is that gives a person honour, and what makes a person lose honour (Wikan, 2004). According to Wikan (2004) honour codex is something that is shared by individuals within a group, who respect each other and keep the order by following the set norms and values.

Shame:
Shame is here defined as a personal emotion, which can be perceived as a collective emotion that can be closely connected to honour culture (Rasmussen, 2007). Individuals and their actions are bound by keeping the honour of the whole, which could be the family or the collective, in order to not bring about shame for the entire group (Eldén, 2001). Hence, honour culture and shame works together in order to control and manage individuals on a societal level (Grutzky and Åberg, 2013). Whereas, in a more individualistic guilt culture, a person is the only one responsible for their wrongdoing, and shame only affects him or her as an individual (Ahmadi Lewin and Lewin, 2003). Wikan (2004) states that “Shame does not affect honour until it somehow becomes known to the public.” Illustrating that one can still have honour, even if something has happened that is shameful, until the shame is common knowledge. It is only when the shameful act is known to the collective, that loss of honour occurs and becomes an actual issue.
Previous Research

This chapter will present the research that has been used in this study. The reports and literature that have been used in this study are: a book by Wikan (2004), a literature study by Awwad (2011), a report by Amnesty International (2016) and a report by the social services in Stockholm city (Socialförvaltningen i Stockholm Stad, 2012). The last study we present, was conducted by The European Commission DG of Social Affairs and Employment, has brought up males situation in honour cultures, and is therefore given a bigger platform in our previous research. The last section of this chapter will focus on the limitations of the previous research.

Honour culture and differences between men and women

Wikan has in 2011 written a book that is based on the murder of Fadime and the following trials of Fadimes father, and uses them as a starting point for the debate on honour culture that she writes about. Wikan has based her book on the transcripts from the trial, previous experiences of honour culture, reports and earlier research.

Wikan (2004) argues in her book that honour culture is often connected to women and their sexuality, and that an honour culture is built upon norms and patriarchal values in a society where men's honour is directly connected to the women's sexuality. In an honour culture the interests of the collective is put before the interests of the individual. For an individual to be accepted by the collective, honour must be restored if it was to be lost (Wikan 2004). Men are in charge of keeping the honour of the family, while women have the power of harming the men's honour and in extension the family's honour. The social structures in an honour culture is constructed in the way that the males in the society, are in charge and have complete responsibility of everything that goes on in the family and society (Wikan, 2004).

This book was of great help when starting off the research of honour culture, it defines honour culture and explains how it can be perceived. Although it touches upon how males are effected by honour culture, it is lacking a male perspective on honour culture and a more in depth study on males in general.
Awwad (2011) has conducted a literature study concerning “Virginity Control and Gender-Based Violence in Turkey: Social Constructionism of Patriarchy, Masculinity, and Sexual Purity”. The study is based on previous studies and research that concerns social constructionism, femininity and masculinity and honour culture. Awwad (2011) argues that honour and shame are socially constructed phenomena’s laying at the base of virginity control and gender based violence in Turkey, and that patriarchal structures work to oppress and control women, often with violence.

The results of the study shows that an important part of honour culture is the normative consensus of the concepts of femininity and masculinity. Awwad (2011) states that in an honour culture, masculinity is characterized by control and domination, while femininity is characterized as being sexually pure and submissive. A woman's identity, traits and obligations are defined and regulated by the patriarchal systems (Awwad, 2011), and the view on women and femininity deems women as rather powerless unable to affect their own reality. However, for men to achieve masculinity they must continuously protect and work for their masculinity to be maintained. This means that the reality of honour culture and the rules of conduct looks very different based on gender. For a woman to lose honour it can be as simple as losing virginity, whilst for a man to lose honour it is the failure to defend his family’s honour (Awwad, 2011).

Amnesty International has in 2016 assembled a report about honour culture, where it aims to give a general picture of honour killings as a phenomena and to discuss the concept honour. Their report is mainly based on sources other than Amnesty's own.

The report explains that a man’s honour is seen as connected to his family member’s actions and behaviour, the man’s honour is especially dependant on his female family member’s chastity, and extends to the fact that a woman’s actions is seen as something that can affect the whole family or even the group that she is part of (Amnesty, 2016). Further the report says that a woman is indeed responsible for her chastity, however the idea that a woman is not capable of protecting her own chastity, makes her sexuality the concern of her male family members. Although males are trained to decide over females, they are at the same time forced to obey their fathers or other older men, and are also expected to carry on the honour culture system to coming generations, and are under a lot of pressure to conform to the honour codex.
Amnesty’s report is relevant for our study since it scratches the surface on how males directly and indirectly are put in vulnerable and oppressed positions. However, the report completely omits men subjected to honour killings, and instead focuses solely on women.

The lack of provisions aimed at males as a target group

The social services in Stockholm city (Socialförvaltningen i Stockholm Stad, 2012) have assembled a report on the cooperation between the city of Stockholm’s protected housing support and counselling centre, Kruton and the Hedersam project. The study was conducted by doing a literature study and conducting field visits to the different units. The purpose of this cooperation has been to develop the work done with males that have been subjected to honour related violence and also to start a protected housing accommodation directed to the target group, which was men and boys that have been subjected to honour related violence.

This study was conducted by researching which units within the cooperation that was already working with the target group or who were in contact with the target group in their operation. The social services in Stockholm city also researched different theories and methods in order to get a holistic overview of previous research concerning the topic.

The results of the study shows a lack of provisions targeted at helping males living in an honour culture. Today’s work with males in honour cultures mostly has to do with preventative measures and attitude change, rather than working directly towards males as an exposed and vulnerable group. The report further claims that it is important to acknowledge that a person can be a victim of oppression and at the same time oppress others (Socialförvaltningen i Stockholm Stad, 2012). Therefore, the male’s role in an honour culture as the perpetrator must be separated from his role as an individual that is at the same time exposed. There is no doubt as to whether or not, males are subjected to oppression within the honour culture they live, since they live in the same cultural context as their female group members. Therefore, when accepting that women who live in an honour culture are oppressed, one must acknowledge the same regarding men.

This study is relevant to our study since it shows that males are as well as women living in honour cultures subjected to oppression. Lacking in the social service in the city of
Stockholm’s study, is the focus on how and what role honour culture plays in the lives of the males that are oppressed.

Males situation in honour culture
Among earlier research that was found for this study, there are limited studies specifically aimed at describing the situation of boys and men living in an honour culture. The European Commission DG of Social Affairs and Employment (2003), together with other non-governmental organisation, has as part of a European Union project developed a resource book about honour related violence, and how non-governmental organizations work with honour related violence in the countries Sweden, Netherlands and Finland. The situation of males subjected to honour related violence is described in one part of the study. The European Commission DG of Social Affairs and Employment (2003) have conducted interviews with people from 43 non-governmental organisations and the results tell us that boys and men should not be left out of the discussion and should be included in the work against honour related violence. The interviews show that 26% say that the boys and men are under just as much pressure as the girls and women and that 65% of the interviewees have in their work been in contact with boys that have been exposed to honour related violence. Five categories are further presented in the study that outlines how boys and men are exposed to honour related violence in Sweden.

The first category shows that many men have been exposed to honour violence based on being romantically involved with a girl who has a different background or comes from a different clan than the man himself. The man is seen as an unfitting partner for the girl and is therefore not accepted by the family. Which can cause serious threats being directed towards the man, and in worst case being killed to protect the family honour.

In the second category, focus is on boys and men who choose another direction than the traditional one; the brothers who do not adhere to the honour codex and do not wish to control and protect the honour of the women in the family. Just as it is expected from the girls and women to behave according to the norms in an honour culture, the boys and men have responsibilities and are expected to behave in line with the honour culture norms that applies to the males. Otherwise they risk reprimands such as threats or violence. A brother’s responsibility can be a heavy burden to carry and proves how also the males have limited choice within an honour culture.
The third category concerns Homosexuality, Bisexuality and Transsexuality: The situation for LGBT persons (persons that identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender) can be very hard in the honour culture since it is viewed as taboo. As in the previous two categories, the LGBT persons are often threatened and exposed to violence. It is not unusual that a homosexual man is forced into marriage with a woman as a way of protecting the family honour.

In the fourth category, Forced/Arranged marriages are investigated; boys are also forced into marriage, hence arranged marriages are common in honour cultures. Not adhering to the family’s wishes when it comes to marriage can expose the men to threats and violence.

In the last and final category, we find males who have in their interviews said that they have gotten reprimanded for taking distance from the family religion.

Lacking in previous research concerning honour culture and men

In many of the studies referred to above, there is a lacking of the men’s perspective and how they have been directly subjected to honour related oppression, therefore conducting this study is a way to enlighten this limitation. When males are mentioned in the previous research they are mentioned in connection to women, often as the perpetrator. Therefore focus has been on preventative measures in favour of females, which nonetheless is a very important group to highlight. However, there needs to be more focus on how males as a group are subjected to honour based oppression. Although the study conducted by The European Commission DG of Social Affairs and Employment (2003) does mention men and how they face oppression, it is evident that males are given much smaller space in comparison to the other groups that have been researched. Hence, the issue of honour culture is not only a subject that touches women, but also men. Another limitation of previous research is to study how males are subjected to honour based oppression independently of women. Meaning that, according to much of the previous research, males are often automatically pulled in, or subjected to honour based oppression via the women, and not on the basis of their own being. Surely males are subjected to honour based oppression based on their own attributes and choices, for example based on their sexuality or by not adhering to the honour codex. This is what we wished would show more in the previous research.
Theoretical framework

This chapter will present the theory that has been used when analysing the collected data of this study. A theory is used in order to explain a certain phenomenon and the theory that has been used in this study is the theory of social constructionism. The reason for choosing the social constructionist theory is because, the aim of the study is to explore the thoughts and experiences young men have concerning honour culture. The researchers have chosen to view honour culture as a social constructionism phenomenon that is created and maintained by communities in societies where honour culture is predominant. Therefore the social constructionist theory is a suitable tool for analysing honour culture in this study.

The theory of social constructionism claims that socially constructed phenomenon occurs through processes (Payne, 2014). When interaction between people occurs, knowledge is socially and culturally constructed. In other words, when people reach consensus about what something means or how something should be, they accept it as a truth or reality to live and behave by in a society. However, according to the social constructionist theory there is no truth or reality, only social knowledge constructed through people's interaction (Payne, 2014). Payne (2014) further argues that shared values between people is an important tool for people to live their lives consisting of meaning and order. Through the process of social knowledge, the meaning of words like honour, gender and masculinity are constructed.

According to Payne (2014) social construction is a process, in which people within a society create norms and rules of conduct. Shared values and opinions can be enough to create norms that directs how one is supposed to act and behave, such as in some honour cultures, the notion of a woman being a virgin when getting married is accepted by the majority of the community. Therefore, a woman being a virgin when getting married becomes a truth or a reality that in order to be a part of the community, must be adhered to. One could therefore say that in an honour culture people have accepted socially constructed ideas about girls’ sexuality and its connection to the honour of the collective, and these notions have become accepted as truth and reality.
Patton (2002) argues that social construction can also come from people that hold power, for example in the community. Meaning that a person, or a group, that is viewed as leaders or role models in a society, may have the power to influence the thoughts and the way of living for others in a community. For example, a man in a family setting the rules for how the women of the family may or may not act within the honour culture they live in. Looking at social constructionism from this perspective, one could argue that in a community where honour culture is deeply seated, the way of living an honourable life is dictated by the people who hold power. Connecting the social constructionism theory to honour culture is important, since this study perceives honour culture as a socially constructed phenomenon. The social constructionism states that a problem must be acknowledged before it can be perceived as an issue (Payne, 2014). Therefore, by applying the social constructionism to men’s situation in honour culture, it is possible to research how the thoughts and experiences of young men emerged.

Social Constructionism as a Circular Process
Since every individual within a society accepts social knowledge as truth, these individuals become a product of society. Just as people create knowledge, the society creates the individual. This is what Payne (2014) refers to as the circular process of social constructionism, individuals live by and implement socially constructed knowledge in social structures.

These circular processes can be seen when individuals act and express beliefs in society. While enacting these acts and expressed beliefs, society then makes individuals behave in these ways. Since, the individual's participation and acknowledgement of these acts and expressed beliefs will strengthen its power in society. Thus, these acts and expressed beliefs becomes social knowledge. Hence, when individuals act and acknowledge certain behaviours in society, they enable the creation of behaviour in society, thus creating social knowledge through a circular process.

Patriarchal Structures as a Social Construct
Kruger et al (2014) argues that patriarchal systems stems from feministic theories but are now generally accepted to be a socially constructed phenomenon. Therefore, in this study we have chosen to view patriarchal structures as a social construct, and a part of the social constructionist theory. A patriarchal structure is not limited to being a man oppressing a
women, it could also be the government or a community, where men hold the power and women and other men of lower status are excluded from power (Kruger et al, 2014). Patriarchy also has to do with how power is passed down through the male line, from father to son (Al-Baldawi, 1998).

Patriarchal systems in honour cultures are based on the community and men's control and power over the family (Länsstyrelsen i Skåne Län, 2002). In an honour culture, family is at the core of the society and there is a hierarchy in the family that is decided by factors such as age and gender (Al-Baldawi, 1998). Being an older man is therefore considered as being at the top of the hierarchy. The patriarchal system ensures that men are able to keep power by being enforced by society, this is what is expected by men that live in an honour culture.

Al-Baldawi (1998) states that in a family the father is at the top of the hierarchy, and because of this, the father becomes the face out towards the rest of the honour culture community. The children in a family are raised to act within the frames in the patriarchal systems, and are therefore accustomed to the fact that males are expected to be in power and continue to lead the family, while females are supposed to adapt to the power holders. The individuals in a traditional patriarchal family have a big sense of responsibility and obligation towards each other, not only within the core family, but also out towards the community. The family influence not only sets moral codes on the individuals within the family, but it also ensures that they at a very young age learn to place the family’s honour and good before their own individual needs, making sure the upholding of the patriarchal structures (Al-Baldawi, 1998).

Applications of the Social Constructionist Theory in social work
The social constructionist theory states that the society is dynamic, changes of socially constructed knowledge and ideas are possible and happen all the time (Payne 2014). From this perspective, it means that cultures are not static nor definite, but ever changing. Thus, honour culture has appeared from a social “context”; it was created and can therefore be recreated and changed. Hence, honour culture could be claimed to be socially constructed. In this study we will use the social constructionism theory as a starting point for the analysis and the discussion.
Social work has to do with change and a belief in people's capabilities that we can change for the better. Social work also has to do with people’s environment or social constructions that affect how we act and how we are shaped. It also has to do with our actions, both internal and external. Therefore, social workers need to have knowledge about the social constructionism theory and can then be used as a tool for people that work with social work issues. This study is examining the thoughts and experiences young men have of honour culture, therefore the social constructionist theory can be used in order to make sense of the structures that may emerge from the data. The social constructionist theory can be used as an analytical tool when creating an understanding what the informants in this study say, and also help understand how the honour culture is connected to the society that is in turn connected to the family and the individual. The social constructionist theory is therefore helpful when attempting to understand how honour culture affect the young men participating in this study and their thoughts and experiences of honour culture.

Method
This chapter will present the previous understanding of the topic as well as present the method that was chosen in order to achieve the aim of this study, to study the thoughts and experiences of honour culture among four young men who have lived in a residential care home for unaccompanied children.

Preliminary understanding
Our preliminary understanding of the topic before starting this study was varied. One of the authors, Johanna, had limited knowledge of honour culture and had mostly been in contact with honour culture through newspapers and television. The other author, Viyan, comes from a Kurdish background where honour culture is predominant, and had hands on experience with honour culture, but from a woman’s perspective. Viyan’s preliminary understanding and experience can be helpful in this study, in terms of having an understanding for the young men’s situation as well as having knowledge about honour culture as a subject. Therefore, both of us had very little understanding of men living in an honour culture. Since Viyan has been working with children at a residential care home for unaccompanied children, the interest in studying honour culture among young men and
their thoughts and experiences of honour culture was awoken. Thus, we decided to conduct this study.

**Research design**

We have chosen the qualitative research method for our study, since we seek to gain more knowledge about a certain phenomenon though the informants expressed thoughts and experiences. We also feel that the chosen method suited our research the most, since according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) the qualitative research method is suitable for studies where you want to gain a deeper understanding of someone’s personal experiences of a certain phenomenon.

We have conducted four semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, with the help of an interview guide (appendix number 1), since our wish was to get an understanding of the informant's life world based on their thought and experiences (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) semi-structured interviews allows more flexibility to both the researcher and interviewee, and can provide richer data. The interviewee also has more freedom to express their thoughts, opinions and experiences through semi-structured interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Since this topic can be sensitive to the interviewees, we as researchers need to be flexible and able to get in-depth data. Therefore, we chose to use semi-structured interviews. In order to answer our aim and research questions, we have used the data collected from our interviews, previous research and other relevant literature, and have used the social constructionist theory in order to analyse the results.

**Interview process**

Four males were interviewed for this research, and each interview was conducted in Swedish and took about 30-60 minutes. We recorded all interviews using two cell phones simultaneously, to ensure that all information was recorded. To have the interviews recorded helped us get more correct data, since researchers can always go back and re-listen to recordings in order to ensure good quality transcriptions. All recordings were transcribed in order to find themes, patterns and analyse the collected data.
Selection of literature

In order to gain a better overview of the topic we started the literature search by googling the topic. We used search words such as: honour culture, men in an honour culture and honour culture definition. These search words gave us many hits on honour culture, but the sources were mostly focusing on honour culture in general, honour violence and women situation in honour culture. Then we continued our search by sorting through the search results and reading relevant pages, noting down what books, reports or essays that could be useful later. When searching for books, which would be of use, we used LIBRIS. In order to get articles that have been peer-reviewed we used the search-engine Discovery on the University of Gävle web-page, found at www.hig.se. However, since there was not enough peer-reviewed literature concerning men’s situation in honour cultures, we have used other sources of literature such as reports and books. Other sources of inspiration was a seminar Viyan attended through her work and the written material that was given out at that time by the non-governmental organisation hosting, TRIS (Tjejers Rätt I Samhället).

Our choice of literature can best be described as choosing literature in steps, for a purpose. The first step had to do with our determination to both give ourselves as authors and the readers a good description of honour culture in general, to help getting a knowledge base in order to go deeper into the male’s situation in an honour culture. That is why we have used the book by Wikan (2004). In the next step we were interested in finding out the basic differences between men and women in honour cultures and how these differences appear, that is how we found the literature study by Awwad (2011). Awwad’s study was helpful for us in learning the differences as well as going deeper in to the discussion as to whether or not men are also exposed to honour based oppression, since he brings up both men and women as victims of honour culture norms. Another helpful literature that was similar to Awwad’s study was the report by Amnesty International (2016), which was chosen to demonstrate male’s vulnerability in honour cultures and the pressure to adhere to an honour codex. The report by the social services in Stockholm city (2012) was used to show how there is a lack of provisions aimed at males. What was found most helpful to our study in terms of literature was a resource report by the European Commission DG of Social Affairs and Employment (2003), since it gave us a more holistic view of what we were actually interested in for our study; the situation of boys and men living in an honour culture. The report was in comparison to other literature we had found, much more detailed in how males specifically are exposed to honour based oppression. The report by the
European Commission DG of Social Affairs and Employment was important for us in terms of being able to see the different categories on how males are oppressed, and further see if there were any similarities or differences compared to the statements of the informants in our study.

What we found during our search was that there is a lot of previous research done on the topic of honour culture and women living in an honour culture, but there is a gap of research concerning men in an honour culture and their situation. This issue made the search for relevant and useful literature difficult and taking longer than expected, but in the end we did find good literature that is presented in the previous research section in this study.

Sampling
We have chosen to interview four young men that have previously lived in a residential care home for unaccompanied children in a small city, in Sweden. These young men were chosen through a non-probability sample design called convenience sampling. This method builds upon choosing units that are easiest available to researchers (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2008), thereby selecting four young men who were conveniently available to us through the work place of one of the researchers, Viyan. It made the sampling process easier since Viyan had knowledge of young adults that were proficient enough in Swedish so that they could understand and participate in the interviews. The interviewees are in the ages 18-20, two of whom were from Afghanistan, one from Syria and one from Iran. These individuals were chosen based on that they were adults over the age of 18, but also based on their ability to speak Swedish, in order to be able to fully understand the interview-questions and express themselves in a sufficient way.

Tools of analysis
In order to analyse the transcribed data we have used thematic analysis in to identify themes and patterns. Braun and Clark (2006) states that thematic analysis is a method that can be used to identify, analyse and report themes stemming from data. In this study the thematic analysis was chosen because it allows for themes to be identified. The thematic analysis method was suitable to the purpose of the study, to study the thoughts and experiences of young men, and was therefore chosen as the analysis method.
After having gathered and transcribed all data, the transcripts were printed out one for each researcher, and read through several times in order to start identifying themes. Then we started to identify main themes that we named A, B and C and wrote them on a separate piece of paper, in order to make it more comprehensive for ourselves. The next step was to identify sub themes or patterns deriving from the themes, and wrote them beneath the themes A, B and C. During this process there were continuous discussions about the themes and patterns in order to get a holistic view and increase credibility.

Under each theme in the study, there is one or several quotations from the informants that were found relevant to answer our aim and research questions. The quotations were translated in order to get the proper meaning across, since the interviews were conducted in Swedish which were none of the participants’ first language. The quotes chosen were analysed using the social constructionist theory as a basis. At the end of each theme there is an analysis that derives from the theme, where the social constructionist theory was used as a starting point. The analysis process started off by finding parts that were of interest to develop further. In order to do this, we read through the part that we wanted to analyse and tried to look at it from a social constructionist angle. After doing so we raised the parts that we could relate directly to the social constructionist theory and patriarchal structures, and tried to see what was beyond what was said by the participants in order to develop and make an analysis. The social constructionism theory were used when we analysed the data, by viewing honour culture as a socially constructed phenomenon that is created and maintained in a circular process by communities were honour culture is predominant.

Ethical consideration

We have interviewed young men over the age of 18. Information about our study and the aim was given to all participants in both oral and written form. The participants were also informed that their participation will be anonymous and that our results would not be presented in a way that can make the readers identify the informants.

When it comes to humanities and social science research in Sweden, in order to keep a good quality on the scientific research, the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) has outlined four main requirements to ensure a high level of scientific research, which are: Information, consent, the confidentiality principle and the principle of utilization of data.
**Information**

The Swedish research council describes that information means that the researcher has a responsibility to inform the participants about the study and the purpose of the study. The informants have the right to know any information that can affect their willingness to take part of the study. The informants should also be informed that their participation is voluntary and that they at any time can withdraw from participation without any consequences.

When the researchers first contacted the prospective participants for this study, they were orally informed about the purpose of the study and their rights as participants. The second time that the participants received the same information more thoroughly was before each interview. A consent form (Appendix 2) was given to each participant to read through. The researchers then read the consent form out loud and invited each participant to ask if any meaning or word was unclear and in need of clarification. Since Swedish is not the participants’ mother tongue, the consent form given out was written in an easy and graspable language to make it as easy as possible for the informants to understand the information. The informants were told that they did not have to answer a question if they did not want to. Researchers’ phone numbers were given out so that the participants would have the possibility to contact the researchers for clarification, questions or if they wanted to change, add or withdraw something from their statements. Each participant were offered the possibility to receive a copy of the study after it would be finished.

**Consent**

According to the Swedish Research Council (2002) the informants in a study have the authority to determine their participation. However, it is the researcher's responsibility to retrieve the informants consent when taking part of the study. In cases where the study deals with a sensitive subject, it would be desired from an ethical point of view that there is consent from the legal guardians as well as the young participant.

The participants were informed on two occasions that participation is based on voluntarism and that they can withdraw from the study whenever they wish. A consent form regarding information of their participation (Appendix 2) was given out and signed by each participant.
The confidentiality principle

The confidentiality principle says that all data that has been retrieved from participants in a study must be kept and stored in a secure way, so that no third party can access the data. This is to protect the anonymity of the informants as well as keeping the confidentiality of data.

All participants were informed of the fact that their names would not be used in this study, and that we instead would make up fictive names for the sake of their anonymity. They were also informed that the data from the interviews would be kept confidential in our coded mobile phones until the study was finished (Appendix 2).

The principle of utilization of data

The principle of utilization of data means that the data that has been retrieved from the participants is meant only for the intended research, and shall not be used for other studies or non-scientific purposes.

The researchers have informed the participants that their statements for this study will be used for this study only, and that the data will not be used or given out for any other purposes (Appendix 2).

Credibility issues

While discussing credibility issues we have considered that one of the researchers have previously met with our participants in a work setting and that this may cause her to be biased. In order to avoid this we often discussed the issue and kept it in mind in all steps throughout the study. The other researcher has no knowledge of the participants and that may make it easier to remain unbiased.

Since Viyan had worked with the participants before, it made us in one way consider that it would not be credible to choose the interviewees that have taken part in this study. This is based on a thought that the informants might have felt pressured to perform even if they did not feel like sharing their thoughts and opinions. It might also have felt uncomfortable for them to be interviewed by Viyan in another form that they were used to, and this could have affected their answers. On the other hand, this previous connection may invite the young adults to further open up about a topic, which for some, could be a very sensitive
one when first meeting someone. Also, Viyan then had the opportunity to choose persons according to their ability to understand and express themselves in Swedish, since we decided to conduct the interviews in Swedish. Because many of the participants had limited knowledge in English and were more proficient in Swedish. By choosing to conduct the interviews in Swedish, we realised that we could encounter obstacles when translating, since the informants did not have Swedish as their mother tongue. These issues were dealt with by not translating the citations as quotes, rather as translations in order to not lose any meaning during the translation. Therefore we did not translate the citations literally, since many of the participants did not speak fluent Swedish it would be difficult to get their meanings across, and important information could then be lost. To ensure credibility, we listened to the recordings and read the transcript several times to make sure that we had understood correctly and so that their opinions came across and we could translate the meaning of their statements as properly as possible. We also double checked ourselves by doing the translations together, while having an open discussion about the citations meaning.

Validity

Patton (2009) states that validity in qualitative studies has to do with if the researcher has measured what they intended to measure. Thus, if the aim of the study has been achieved. It is also important in terms of keeping a high validity, that the methods and tools chosen for the study are relevant for answering the aim.

In order to ensure validity in our study, when constructing the questions for the interview guide, we kept our aim in mind. In all of the interviews, the authors kept in mind that the informants did not have Swedish as their native language, therefore they were encouraged to ask if they did not understand a question. At the same time, we felt that it was equally important that we as researchers asked the informants to repeat or clarify their answers, sometimes by us summarizing their statements in order to get confirmation and avoid any arbitrary interpretations of their answers.

According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), high validity depends on the researchers’ determination to continuously throughout the research process, go back, question and analyse the data. Therefore, the authors of this study have had a critical approach throughout the process when dealing with the gathered data. While working with
identifying themes and patterns we were simultaneously looking at the aim and research questions, in order to keep the purpose of the study in mind.

One thing Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) argues to be of advantage for a study’s validity is to be two researchers instead of one. To be able to reflect and discuss with someone else throughout all of the different steps in a study is very important for the quality and results of the study. This is positive for our study since we are two authors, making it possible for us to cross check our work with each other.

Reliability
Reliability has to do with how the results of a study can be replicated by other researchers using the same methods and material (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) states that it is of importance that the researcher is unbiased during the whole process of the study, not to affect the results and findings. In order to ensure reliability the interview questions were formulated as to be unbiased and open ended. The same interview guide was used, with the exception of follow up questions. In addition, the interview transcripts were read through multiple times to ensure that the results would remain unbiased.

Generalizability
In a qualitative research the sampling is done from a smaller group, and the data collected is supposed to be in-depth. Therefore, when using the qualitative method it is not possible to generalize the results (Patton, 2002). Another things is that we in this study have conducted interviews concerning a highly personal topic, and the aim is to explore the interviewee's personal thoughts and experiences. Thus, making it difficult to generalize the findings.

Results and analysis
Presentation of the informants
Four males were interviewed for this study. What all informants had in common was that they all came to Sweden as unaccompanied children. At the time of our interviews however, all informants were above the age of 18. All names mentioned by the informants in the translated quotations are fictive names to assure the anonymity of all people
mentioned during the interviews. The informants are presented below with fictive names in order to preserve their anonymity.

- Soran is 18 years old and is originally from Syria. He came to Sweden at the age of 16.
- Malik is 18 years old and is originally from Afghanistan. He came to Sweden at the age of 15.
- Mounir is 20 years old and is originally from Afghanistan. He came to Sweden at the age of 15.
- Yasin is 19 years old and is from Iran. He came to Sweden at the age of 17.

Results and analysis
The following section will present the themes and patterns that have been identified in order to answer our aim and research questions, and will help describe the expressed thoughts and experiences of the interviewees. The results are divided into three themes and under each theme recurring patterns that have derived from the interviews, which are connected to the themes, and at the end of each theme there will be an analysis. The three themes that we found are: honour and women, honour codex and conforming.

Theme one: Honour and women
In all of the interviews, the participants mentioned their sister or other women in the family when talking about their own thoughts, opinions and experiences regarding honour culture. During the interviews there was a recurrent theme that concerned the effect women have on men’s honour, and the responsibility men have, to protect that honour. Within this theme, two patterns were identified. The first pattern is about honour culture connected to women’s sexuality, and the second pattern concerns men protecting the honour of women outside the immediate family.

The first pattern concerns how honour culture is connected to women's sexuality. During the interviews, there was a clear pattern of the interviewees instantly making a connection to a sister or other females in the family when defining honour culture. The pattern shows that it was difficult for the informants to disregard women when asked questions about themselves or other men in general, in regards to honour culture. Women and women’s
sexuality seem to be greatly connected to honour. Mounir tried to put words on what honour means to him:

*When I hear the word honour; in the culture that I was brought up, the first thing we think about, concerning honour, is women...our women.*

*När jag hör ordet heder, I den kulturen jag växte upp, det första vi tänker på med heder är kvinnor...våra kvinnor*”-Mounir

Soran explained that girls have more sexual restrictions than boys, because girls are the ones that ultimately affect the honour:

*They say that a boy can do no wrong. But if, for example, a girl would have sex with a boy, they say that honour would be lost and that it is haram (something which has been forbidden by the prophet Allah, eg: pork, alcohol, sex outside of marriage). That is the reason why girls are not allowed to do whatever they want.*

“Dom säger om pojke skulle göra någonting fel, så gör det ingenting om det är en pojke. Men om en tjej sover med en pojke så säger dom: Ah! Heder har gått sönder och kultur det går inte såhär, o dom säger en ord dom bara säger det är haram. Det är därför dom säger att tjejer inte får göra alltting.”-Soran

Malik also expressed that he associates honour with females in the family, and how his sister's actions can disrupt honour:

*Honour is something that regards girls, not guys. For example if I have a sister, and she is together with a guy, it would be against honour.*

“Heder pratar dom mycket om för tjejer, inte för killar. Till exempel om jag har en syster, och hon är med en kille, det betyder att det är emot heder.”-Malik

The second pattern concerns men having a responsibility to not only protect one’s own family honour, but also having to protect other women’s honour. A man’s actions do not only affect himself, but affect women to a higher degree. Since a woman's chastity is connected to honour, women’s reputation and honour is seen as something very fragile (Amnesty International, 2016). Soran stated that before protecting one's own honour, one must protect the women:
I have to make sure to protect the honour of a woman before I start protecting my own honour. I cannot have sex with a woman, since it can cause problems for her. It could even lead to her being killed.

“Jag måste vara rädd om hennes heder innan jag blir rädd om min egen heder. Och jag får inte sova med henne också eftersom när jag sover (har sex) med henne, kanske det blir problem med henne. Hennes familj kommer att döda henne.” - Soran

Therefore, as our informants’ state, a man feels responsible when a woman’s honour is questioned because of, for example, having been seen in his company. Soran explains that the man must set boundaries for a woman’s protection. This should, Soran argues, be done before he can start to care for and protect his own honour. Because the woman is seen as incapable of protecting her own chastity. Yasin explained that when living in his home country, instead of risking being seen with a girl, thereby risking to jeopardise the girl’s reputation and her family honour, he instead straight out avoided women that he was not related to:

I didn’t want to approach a woman that I didn’t know, and say I want to be friends with you.

“Jag vill inte gå till en kvinna som jag inte känner och säga att jag vill vara kompis eller vän med dig.” - Yasin

Given the statements above, honour culture for the young men interviewed, is something that is directly connected to women and the actions of women. One could even argue that women are the bearers of honour and therefore the ones that can cause the loss of men’s honour. Wikan (2004) argues that in an honour culture, losing honour or when bearing the feeling of shame in a community, it is the worst that could happen to a man. The participants in this study seem to believe that it is of utmost importance to be able to walk with your head high in the community. A woman must act in accordance to the honour codex, and men have the responsibility to ensure that she does so.

Within the social constructionist theory there are social phenomenon’s such as patriarchal structures that help maintain and continue the honour culture (Al-Baldawi, 1998). By arguing that honour culture is a social construction, one could state that the interaction
between the people in an honour culture has created and is maintaining a patriarchal structure that controls people. Like the informants say, when they think of honour, the first thing on their mind is women and having to protect women's honour before their own. Mounir explains that his way of thinking is because of the way that he was brought up. Hence, thinking foremost of women is integrated by social structures from a very young age in an honour culture. These structures in a society is upheld and maintained by the community and is therefore a social construction. In this social construction there are patriarchal structures where the man must care for and protect the women, even though these young men now live in Sweden and is no longer in the home environment, these honour structures are strong. The social constructionist theory states that a socially constructed truth is very hard to deviate from (Al-Baldawi, 1998). This structure therefore affects both men and women, who, in order to live by the honour codex must adhere to the structures. The honour codex enforces men to guard and protect the chastity of their female family members, thereby strengthening the patriarchal structures. Although the limitations on men may not be as extended as those on women, still there are various limitations and demands on men that leaves them with a limited room of action.

The theory of circular processes in social constructivism explains that the notion, that it is men’s responsibility to guard women, keeps on being reinforced in the community because people accept the idea as a shared truth. Thus, the idea concerning men having responsibility for women, keeps being reinforced each time it is implemented, in a circular process that will keep strengthening the idea as a social structure that is accepted as a societal truth or norm that should be followed.

**Theme two: Honour codex**

The interviews showed that men and women must relate to different rules within the honour codex, and these different rules are based on their gender. Under this theme we found two patterns. The first pattern classifies the effect honour codex has on men. The second pattern concerns the effect the honour codex have on women, according to the informants.

The first pattern has to do with how the honour codex affects the interviewees. One issue that Malik describes that he faced when living in his native country of Afghanistan, was
that it could be challenging to be responsible for another person and having to, at the same time, adhere to the honour codex:

If someone was to kiss my sister, I would feel compelled to hit him. If I would not hit him, I would feel very bad and be unable to sleep until I hit him. After I would have hit him everything would be back to normal, I would have restored the honour.

“Om någon skulle kyssa min syster sen tills jag slår inte honom jag var jätte obekväm. Jag mådde inte bra. Jag måste slå honom, sen jag...sen nu är det klart. ...Annars jag kunde tex på natten jag kunde inte sova.” –Malik

Malik describes that for him, the responsibility of having to protect and control women in the family is a strong part of the honour codex, and can at times be very challenging. Another way the honour codex could be found is in the way it compels the informants to act, when faced with issues that has to do with honour. If Malik would not restore his honour in the situation that he describes above, he would have been affected negatively, both mentally and how he would be perceived in the community. Honour codex in this way is a socially constructed structure, since it is expected in society that males must always work very hard to restore honour once it is lost (Wikan, 2004). One cannot see the honour codex but it still works to keep the members of the honour culture in check, and dictates how to act, what to think and feel.

The second pattern concerns the effect honour codex have on women, according to the informants understanding, and how women live under harsher rules in comparison to men. Malik explained that women live under heavier restrictions than men:

Honour in regards to women has a lot to do with punishment. For example, if a girl and boy would kiss, the boy would not be punished. The boy would get a smaller punishment. The girl however, would get a harder punishment.


Mounir also demonstrated the gender difference:
Sons are allowed to do whatever they want since many people say that if their son would be dating a girl, it is the girl’s family’s honour that is at stake, not the boy’s.

“Han får göra vad han vill för att dom säger att om sonen träffar en annan tjej så är det den familjens heder, inte vår heder.” – Mounir

Soran explained that girls and women live under harder scrutiny, and have stricter rules to adhere to:

They say that if a girl would sleep with a boy, they would kill the girl right away, the honour would lost. For a boy there would be no difference...they say that it is okey for their sons to do that, but it is not okay for their daughters.

“Dom säger att om en tjej sover med en kille så dödar dom tjejerna direkt, dom säger att hedern har gått sönder. För en pojke det är ingen skillnad dom säger att... det gör ingenting för sina söner, bara för döttrar.” – Soran

While boys in many cases, he says, depending on family values, are able to live more freely. If a boy would sleep with a girl, it is only the girls’ honour that is lost. Not the boy’s. This also means that boys have a big responsibility to protect other women's honour. Mounir explained how losing honour sometimes has to do with breaking moral codes or the law, such as lying or stealing, and once again, when women break the same rules or codes, they are judged harder:

When a man does horrible things, such as stealing or lying it doesn’t damage the honour, but if women were to do the same things they will have damaged the honour tremendously.

“Om en man gör hemska saker så har det inte skadat hedern. Men om kvinnor gör det så har dom skadat hedern jättemycket.” – Mounir

The interviews show that honour has to do with rules of conduct, or an honour codex, and when you break these rules you lose honour, it can affect both men and women. As Mounir explains, both men and women can feel the effects of the honour codex, however, women are more often and harsher punished in relation to men. This shows how women are inferior to men in a patriarchal system, because even when the “fault” is both a man’s and a
woman’s the woman is harsher punished based on the attributes that she has been granted. These socially constructed patriarchal structures, can also be argued, to be a way to extort control over the people living in an honour culture.

**Theme three: Conforming**

The third theme that was classified has to do with conforming to the honour codex and the informant’s thoughts and experiences. The first pattern that was found has to do with the environment’s influence on the informants. The second pattern identified is the fear of being ostracized from the family or community.

In the first pattern, the informants describe how they have experienced honour culture in their environment. Mounir describes how honour culture can be seen and experienced between males within a community.

> When I got into a relationship with Lisa, there was one of the boys who told me that since my girlfriend is not Muslim I shouldn’t be with her. I said I don’t care if she is Muslim or not. And then there was someone else who said to me: what kind of honour is it that you have, she has been with another guy before you.

> “När jag blev tillsammans med Lisa, så var det en av dom (killarna) som sa till mig hon är inte muslim var inte med henne, jag ba ok jag bryr mig inte om hon är muslim eller inte. Men sen så var det någon annan som sa till mig vad är det för heder du har, hon har ju varit tillsammans med en annan kille innan.” –Mounir

Mounir explained how he experienced how other young men at the residential care home were affected by honour culture between each other, and if one would not conform to the honour codex the consequences could be being called “kaññir” (disbeliever) or being accused of having become too westernized.

> Don’t become like the Europeans, don’t become a kaññir.

> “Bli inte europeisk, bli inte kaffir.” –Mounir

Mounir explains that kaññir is a degrading expression that is socially unacceptable and can be seen as shameful. Which can then become a way for the community in an honour
culture to structurally extort control over persons in that community. Soran continues this by describing how his family would try to influence and put pressure on him if he would want to marry someone that the family did not chose.

*It is not I who decide over myself, it is my family who decides. If I marry a Swedish girl or, if I love her and would like to marry her. My family would call me and question how I can marry her. The first thing they would say is that she is a Christian, the other thing they would say is that our culture is not the same, and last that I don’t know how many guys she has slept with. Another thing is, if I don’t want to get married, my family could force me into marrying someone.*

“A concern brought up by Malik, when talking about family and environmental influences, concerns his fear of what will happen if he tells his family that he has distanced himself from the family religion:

*I have distanced myself from Islam in my home country, but I could not tell anyone. I could not even tell my family, my mom or dad or other people. I could not tell them. You are afraid to tell anyone.*

“Jag har tagit avstånd från islam i mitt hemland men jag kunde inte säga till någon, även jag kunde inte säga till min familj, till min mamma eller pappa, till dom andra. Jag kunde inte säga till dom. Du vågar inte säga.” –Malik

Malik explains here that he tries not to bring up the subject religion with his family because he does not feel ready, and needs more time before he can tell them that he does not share the family's religious beliefs. He also worries that his parent’s will blame themselves and have feelings of failure for having raised a young man with these kind of ideas.
The second pattern that was found concerns “the fear of being ostracized from the family or community” if young males do not follow the honour codex. The different quotes below explain, in the informants own words, what the consequences can be if they do not conform to the honour codex.

If I don’t do as they tell me, they will tell me I am a stranger to them and that I should forget who they (the family members) are, you are not our son or friend or anyone. They do not wish to have contact with me if I do something that is not in accordance to their will.

“Om jag inte gör vad dom säger till mig, sen dom säger till mig att vi vet inte vem du är och du ska glömma bort vem vi är, du är inte min familj eller min son eller kompis eller nånting. Dom vill inte ha kontakt med mig tex om jag gör nåt som jag vill”. –Soran

Here Mounir explains how one of the boys in the residential care home was living in fear of being left without friends in the residential care home, and how that fear made him conform to the honour codex.

There was one youth that I lived with who didn’t care so much about the honour codex, but he was afraid. If he wouldn’t show the boys that I care, I am one of you, he would have been alone. And he wouldn’t be a part of the group. So he did everything they wanted him to do. ...and it is embarrassing in my society to be without friends, to be without family bonds.

“Det var en ungdom som jag bodde med...och eeh han brydde sig inte så mycket (om heders koderna), men han var rädd. Om han inte skulle visa dom (killarna) att jag bryr mig, jag är en av er, så skulle han va ensam. Och han skulle inte va i gruppen. ...Så han gjorde allt dom vill... För det är pinsamt i mitt samhälle att vara utan vänner, att va utan familjekontakter” –Mounir

Malik seemed to be of the opinion that it is important for him to follow the honour codex when interacting with others within his community to avoid any negative consequences.

Talking to my friend or my friend’s father is ok. But if I would talk to my friends sister, my friend would become angry, and he would stop talking to me. He would stop being friends with me. He might also fight with me.
“Om jag pratar med kompis, med min kompis pappa, det är ok. Men om jag pratar med min kompis syster så blir min kompis arg. Han ska sluta prata med mig. Kanske han börjar bråka med mig” – Malik

The thought of one's family having a bad reputation and being gossiped about in the community made the young men somewhat reluctant to completely turning their backs on the honour culture, and instead chose to conform, to avoid being ostracized. Which can mean that following the honour codex becomes very important. Shame can be argued to be a way of structurally controlling people in environments where honour culture is strong. The informants’ mention that if the community was to ostracize them it would mean a loss of honour that could bring about feelings of humiliation and shame. VanScoy (2016) argues that when honour is lost, feelings of humiliation and shame takes the place of honour, and people can go very far in order to regain their honour and thus be free of the shame. The fear of being ostracized shows that in order to not be alienated from the community and feel humiliated and shamed, the informants argue for conforming to the honour culture and that keeping honour is imperative.

Discussion

With this study we wanted to shed light on male’s situation in honour cultures, and how their vulnerability appears. Our aim was to study the thoughts and experiences of honour culture among four young men, and what their understanding and experiences of living in an honour culture was.

Results have shown that the young men that participated in our study often relate honour to women, both in and outside their families. Because the participants are forced to live with a responsibility which they did not ask for, but are expected to live by. Being born male does entail more freedom in comparison to their female peers, but also limitations that tells us that they do not always have an option to choose how they would want to live their lives. Another interesting point is that the participants describe how different elements, such as family and the honour codex prevents them from breaking away from these structures. Results have also shown that the fear of being excluded from the family or the entire
community is more powerful than their own will, which makes conforming the only way for the young men to ensure their place in the community important to them.

One interesting point that we found in the results was that even though the participants mostly disagreed with honour culture and the honour codex and wanted to live more independently, they had issues of breaking free from the honour culture. What we found was that in order to stay in contact with family, since all of the participants came alone to Sweden without family, and/or continue to be a part of the community the participants felt the need to conform to the honour culture. This could be a reason as to why honour culture continues to be so strong even when the young men do not live in their home country or in close vicinity to family or relatives. Meaning that the participants seemed to relate having access to their family and community with having to adhere to the honour culture. This makes it even more difficult for the young adults to try to live independently, since family for many people is central to the psychological well-being, and having to choose oneself over family is a choice not easily made. Since most people do not want to become ostracized from their community, and the sense of belonging is imperative. An alternative interpretation to why the young men from our interviews might find it hard to break free from the honour culture could be because it can mean a loss of identity for them. To live and try to adjust to a new country can be challenging in itself, and when you are trying to find or form your own identity it can be easier to choose what feels safer. They might feel as though something is missing from them in a country so different to the home country, that all of a sudden it becomes very important to hold on to or in some cases reinforce the cultural identity.

Another important point we found was the relation between honour culture and shame. Shame can also be argued to be a reason for ensuring that the honour culture is maintained when a person moves from the original community where honour culture is predominant. The feelings of shame, which can be argued as a universal emotion, may be so structurally integrated in a person that it does not matter geographically where that person is. The emotion of shame is an advantage in honour cultures, since it can be used to oppress and control the people.

By focusing this study on males situation within the honour culture, the purpose has never been to minimize or deny the way women are exposed in honour cultures, neither has it
been to compare men and women. The purpose has rather been to highlight another element within the honour culture; the way males are exposed, to contribute to the honour culture discourse. We believe that honour based oppression against males exists and that measures should be taken to offer help and support, in order for boys and men to have their basic human rights.

Discussion of method
The difficulties with using the qualitative method is that it is biased and the findings will never be objective, since the aim is to gain in depth answers that are mostly based on personal experiences and opinions. Therefore, it is imperative for researchers to be unbiased in order not to affect the participants in any way. In order to be unbiased it was important for us not to assume that all of the participants were living in an honour culture, since that could then affect the answers negatively. One difficulty with this study was to be reflexive when interpreting honour culture and directing the focus mainly on males. Since one of the authors, Viyan, has had previous experience of honour culture but from a female perspective, this could affect her interpretation of certain answers from the participants. It could also affect how the questions for the interview guide were formulated. For us as rather inexperienced researchers that may be difficult, but having a good interview guide and guidance from a supervisor is a step for trying to remain unbiased.

One issue with this study is that it might be too narrow to describe male’s situation in an honour culture in a holistic way. Since we have only interviewed four young adults and have only gotten their thoughts and experiences, and in order to get a better view on men’s situation in an honour culture interviews with more informants would be necessary. On the other hand, with only four informants it is possible to get a more in depth result, presupposing that the researchers are experienced enough that they have the knowledge and the ability necessary when conducting in depth research.

Another thing that could have affected the study is the choice of theory. Since the theory used for the analysis highly affect the results in a study. If another theory would have been chosen for this study, it is likely that the results would have looked different, and other important factors might have surfaced that might have better demonstrated males situation in honour cultures.
Implications for further research

Much of the research that concerns honour culture focuses on women and their situation, and disregards that men are also affected by honour culture. With this study, we aim to raise awareness of men living in an honour culture, and the challenges they may face. In order to do so, more in depth knowledge of the issue is needed which can help in creating action plans for how to deal with honour culture for various professions in contact with honour based issues. Further investigations are needed that focuses solely on men and their experiences of honour culture.

The conclusion is, that males in honour cultures are exposed to honour based oppression and force in various ways. We hope that our results will be the object for further studies.

References


Kruger, D, Fisher, M, & Wright, P., 2014. 'Patriarchy, male competition, and excess male mortality', Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences, 8, 1, pp. 3-11, PsycARTICLES, EBSCOhost, viewed 20 February 2017


Appendix 1

Interview questions
Written in original Swedish and English in brackets.

1. Vad betyder ordet heder för dig? (What does the word honour mean to you?)
2. Vad är din erfarenhet av hederskultur? (What is your personal experience of honour culture?)
3. Finns det skillnader mellan hur en tjej respektive kille ska vara i din kultur? (Is there any difference in how a girl and how a boy is supposed to act/be in your culture?)
   - Få höra!...Berätta? (Tell me more)
4. Kan du förklara hur en kille ska vara i din kultur? (Can you explain how a boy should be/act in your culture?)
5. Kan du förklara hur en tjej ska vara inom din kultur. (Can you explain how a girl should be/act in your culture?)
6. Vad är skillnaden mellan vad en tjej får göra och vad en kille får göra i din kultur? (What are the differences in what a girl and what a boy can do in your culture?)
7. Vad är de största skillnaderna mellan din kultur och svenskkultur? (What are the biggest differences between your culture and Swedish culture?)
8. Kunde du se tecken på hederskultur i ditt HVB-hem? (Could you see signs of honour culture in your residential care home?)
   - Hur visade det sig? (How could you see that?)

9. Kände du att du kunde vara dig själv på HVB-hemmet? (Did you feel that you were able to be yourself at the residential care home?)
   - Kunde du uttrycka dig som du ville? Äta, umgås och klä dig som du ville? (Could you express yourself as you wanted? Eat, socialize or dress as you wanted?)

10. Anser du att din frihet påverkas av hederskultur? (Do you believe that your freedom is effected by honour culture?)
   - Hur då? (How?)

11. Hur påverkar din familj/släktingar dig? (Does your family or relatives effect you?)
   - T ex. Får du gifta dig med vem du vill? (For example, can you marry whom you want?)

Appendix 2

Consent form

Written in original Swedish.

Samtyckesblankett

Jag samtycker härmed till att medverka i studien och vet att studiens syfte är att undersöka åsikter och erfarenheter från unga män som tidigare har bott på boende för ensamkommande flyktingbarn och deras förhållande till hederskultur.

Jag har informerats om att mitt deltagande är frivilligt och att jag när som helst kan avbryta min medverkan.


Ort och Datum