

**Analyzing multiculturalism, feminism,
women's rights and negative social control in the
minority community in Oslo**

The shameless girls and other women with minority background

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Når du allerede fra fødslen stemples, fordi du kun er en pige; når du fødes med mærkaterne skyld og skam præget ind i huden, fordi du kun er en pige; når dit vilkår som menneske er, at du aldrig vil være god nok, fordi du ikke er født som dreng – så har du kun tre veje, du kan vælge gennem livet:

Du kan forsøge at holde ud, dræbe din stemme og gennemleve volden og undertrykkelsen som en tavs eksistens bag dit slør.

Du kan dø for din egen hånd eller en mands.

Eller du kan forsøge at bryde fri, selvom det koster dig alt. Måske endda livet.

Vi bliver nødt til at tage kampen op, for det er vores liv, der er på spil.

Sara Omar “Dødevaskeren” (2017)

Acknowledgement

In the beginning of the process of this thesis I wrote on my Instagram profile: *“I hope and think it will be an exciting, interesting and not at least enlightening process. I also believe it will be challenging and with a lot of frustration and late nights. Then let’s hope it is worth it.”* And it certainly has been, all of it. I have learned so much and it has been a very interesting process, while also sometimes challenging and frustrating. But with the help and support from so many people I managed. There are many people to thank for this. First of all, a big, wholeheartedly and humble thank you to my informants, the women who have taken their time to meet me and who shared with me. This thesis would not have been possible without you. I admire your courage and dedication, and your ability be clever, open and constructive in a sometimes very harsh public debate. I hope you will all continue inspire people around you. A big thank you to my supervisor Jemima García-Godos, for your support, advices and thoroughly feedback, and of course for the motivation to continue working. I always walked out from our meetings with confidence in my work and a clear view of the next steps. A special thank you to my friends, Olalla Gonzales, Carmen Ionita and Sara Guizani who have helped me with proofreading and going through my texts. I am so grateful for your help. Big thanks from my heart to friend and family who have given me so much support throughout this process, you all know who you are and I hope you all know how appreciated it has been. I would also like to thank Osloforskning for the grant I received for this study, it has been an important contribution in this process.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to those who are fighting for equality, freedom and rights, and especially for you who are risking something when doing it. It is with your effort we can move our societies further in a positive direction. A special greeting to my Armenian and Georgian friends who have been an inspiration during the last weeks, with your fight for freedom and rights, and against injustice with peaceful means.

I hope this study will be can be a positive contributor to the debate around negative social control, women’s rights and minority rights, and can bring some new perspectives and ideas.

Marit Moberg
Oslo, May 2018.

Summary

This master thesis study explores the complex issues of negative social control and women's rights in minority communities, and the public debate around these issues. The theoretical framework of this issue is multiculturalism and feminism, and the tensions between these two approaches. Negative social control is an example of this tension, and the over-arching research aim of the study is therefore: *How to deal with negative social control in order to ensure women's rights in the minority community in Oslo?* I address this by conducting qualitative interviews with the shameless girls and other women who have raised their voice and have taken part in the public debate around these issues. The interviews have helped to understand what negative social control is, who are exposed to it, why and how it is legitimized, as well as identifying the challenges and opportunities with taken part in the debate. This has been analyzed and discussed with other empirical research and the two main theoretical approaches, multiculturalism and feminism.

The main findings of the study are that negative social control is a complex issue that restricts freedom of those exposed to it. Anyone can be subject to negative social control, however young women in minority communities are more vulnerable. The reason for this is that their sexuality and sexual behavior is closely connected to the honor of the family, and if not acting appropriate the women might bring shame to the family. The culture of shame and honor and patriarchal family structures are used to legitimize negative social control of women. Religion can also be used as an excuse to legitimize negative social control. The debate around these issues have been characterized by polarization and conflicting views, however when the shameless girls and other women with minority background entered the debate last years they have been able to address negative social control and women's rights in the minority communities, while at the same time addressing minority rights such as discrimination and racism. This has contributed to a more constructive debate focused on finding solutions. The main solutions identified are more knowledge and understanding about the issue, engaging in preventive work by including key actors in the community and arenas as the schools and the mosques and creating dialogue meeting inside the communities. Integration of minorities and the prevention of closed communities should also be an area of focus. It is also important that women realize that they are responsible for taking action and create change in their own life. These measures might be a step in the right direction to address negative social control.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the topic

*"For the people who are affected, [they] are totally normal people you meet in the streets. It is your colleagues, classmates and maybe friends. Despite this they fight the battle every day, in a reality that for some seems totally far away in a free country like Norway. Us, the shameless movement have achieved quite a lot together, but most importantly: We have spoken to girls who feel the social control on their body. (...) For us it is important to say that girls who experience social control are not a deprived group of people: They are some of the strongest we have met. The stories of everyone that finally get room to talk for themselves, is what will create a change. This is our fight."*¹

(Herz, Srour & Bile 2017)

The young women that Herz, Srour and Bile (2017) are referring to are women have been exposed to negative social control. Negative social control² of young women has been recognized as a real issue present in Norway today (Paulsen et al. 2011; Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017). Herz, Srour and Bile have raised their voice against these practices in the minority communities in Norway, they are part of. They are known as "de skamløse jentene" (the shameless girls), and have become the front figures of a movement addressing women's rights and negative social control in the minority communities in Norway. These women are an essential part of my study about multiculturalism, feminism and women's rights in Norway.

According to Okin (1998) multiculturalism and feminism are "two political aims that are in conflict with each other." Feminism is a broad field concerned with the situation of women and women's rights, and that women should have the same opportunities than men (Okin 1998). Questions about women's rights are highly relevant in our society and in the public debate, much discussed in Norway and worldwide. Multiculturalism is also a large academic field that includes several views and approaches. The classical idea of multiculturalism includes granting minority groups special cultural rights (Kymlicka 1995). Multiculturalism

¹ Author's translation

² Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 12) defines negative social control as: "different forms of supervision, pressure, threats and force that are executed to ensure that individuals lives according to the family and group norms."

and these cultural rights for minorities have been heavily debated as it might sometimes challenge other essential values concerning women's rights (Helseth 2015). Helseth (2015: 64) asks: "*Should we acknowledge the rights of the minority group(s) to keep their culture or women's individual rights?*"³ Though the classical idea about multiculturalism has been rejected (Helseth 2015; Modood 2013), the problematic question of how to address women's rights in the minority communities is still relevant. Helseth (2015: 63) highlights that we are confronted with issues on how oppressing cultures towards women in the minority communities should be addressed, and argues that this is exactly the main question in the conflict between feminism and multiculturalism. Negative social control of women in minority communities is an example of the conflict between multiculturalism and feminism, a conflict that should be addressed.

1.2 Aim of the research and research questions

In order to understand the intersection between multiculturalism and feminism, as well as the issues connected to women's rights and negative social control in the minority community in Norway, I will focus on the shameless girls and other young women with minority background who have raised their voice about these issues. The over-arching research question for this study is formulated here:

How to deal with negative social control in order to ensure women's rights in the minority community in Oslo?

The research questions guiding the process are the following:

1. What are the issues that the young women are raising their voice about?
2. What kind of challenges are young women with minority background experiencing and what opportunities open when raising their voice about these issues?
3. How do the young women with minority background understand and experience negative social control?
4. What kind of solutions do the young women suggest to ensure women's rights in the minority communities in Oslo?

³ Author's translation

By getting a better understanding of negative social control and how to deal with it, this thesis aims to contribute to the debate at the intersection between multiculturalism and feminism. We thus need to know what negative social control is, who are exposed to it, why and how it is legitimized. We also need to understand how these issues are addressed in the public debate and what impact that has upon those active in the debate. I address this by conducting qualitative interviews with women with minority background who have taken part in the debate concerning women's rights and negative social control within their community. I consider important to understand what kind of challenges they face as well as the opportunities that arise through their participation. By studying the women's perspectives and experiences of negative social control and of being a woman in the minority communities in Norway and Oslo, we can find solutions about how to deal with negative social control, and how to address these issues in public based on knowledge from inside the community. The theoretical framework of this study is multiculturalism and feminism, which I will use to analyze the interview material and discuss possible solutions to the challenge of negative social control.

1.3 My interest in the topic as a human geographer

My interest in this topic is an interest in both women's rights and minority rights, with special attention to migration, integration and inclusion. I am also concerned about how these issues are raised and discussed in the public. As a Human Geography student, I find it an important mission to understand better the consequences migration might lead to, both for the societies and individuals affected by it. Migration poses a number of challenges for Europe and Norway, especially regarding integrating the immigrants into the receiving societies. I believe it is important to address these challenges with knowledge, based on science and systematic research instead of assumptions or stereotypes. In order to achieve this knowledge, I consider that it is important to include those who have inside knowledge and experience with it. When the shameless girls entered the public debate, I was inspired and impressed about their way of approaching such a sensitive topic as negative social control. I think it is important that we dare to raise difficult and sensitive questions in public, with the underlying aim of finding solutions that will contribute to maintain rights and freedom for everyone. Therefore, I found it important to systemize their knowledge and experiences and see this in context with relevant theories and research.

Human geography aims to understand “*the difference that place makes and how local and global processes intertwine and produce change around the world.*” (UiO website)

Globalization processes and migration are integral parts of the research in human geography. Events in one place might intertwine with local communities in a different part of the world. Large scale migration often affects the receiving societies, like we have seen in the case of Oslo. My study tackles some of the challenges arising from migration, particularly those related to extensive immigration, segregation in Oslo and cultural clashes. Concerning segregation in Oslo, I find it important for human geographers to pay attention to the consequences this leads to and how to develop solutions and policy that address integration of minority groups.

1.4 Background for the study

In the minority communities in Norway the existence of negative social control and restrictions of freedom of women is a fact (Paulsen et al. 2011; Friberg 2016; Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017; Bråten & Elgvin 2014). According to Elgvin & Bråten (2014: 101) interaction and relationships with the opposite gender, possible future marriage and questions about education and career are topics where situations of control might arise. Forced marriage and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) are examples of social control that can have huge consequences for the girls or women involved (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017). Many studies have highlighted that negative social control of women in minority communities⁴ is related to the culture of honor (Paulsen et al. 2011; Friberg 2016). The culture of honor is often associated with a patriarchal culture and strong collective family bonds (Friberg 2016; Paulsen et al. 2011). Helseth (2015: 65) also stresses that a major problem related to women’s rights in minority communities is “*the extent of patriarchal violence, and attitudes that leads to violence against women.*”⁵ The values dominant in Norway are usually individualistic oriented, while people from more traditional societies often see themselves as members of a collective based society where family bonds are important (Eriksen 2015, in Friberg 2016: 76). According to Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 12) girls are especially vulnerable regarding

⁴ In this study I have chosen to use the term ‘minority community’. I chose this term, as it is the term that has been used in the public debate and among the ‘shameless girls’ as a denomination to what can also be understood as ‘immigrant community/ies’. ‘Minority communities’ is used widely and refers to communities that differs from the majority population in Norway and consist mostly of immigrants and their descendants.

⁵ Author’s translation

honor related violence, *“because their sexual behavior is strongly connected with the family’s honor, and can bring shame to the whole family.”* As a girl, bringing shame to your family is therefore a central topic related to negative social control.

One solution to these issues is, according to Helseth (2015: 65), more public debate and awareness on topics like negative social control. In Norway, during the 2000’s there was an increased participation among Muslim women in the public debate; Muslim and minority women raised their voice on these topics (Predelli 2003: 369). Many of these women have experienced criticism and threats from many sides for raising their voice in public. Some of them had to withdraw from the public debate or even leave the country; some have been rejected and left out by their own community (Predelli 2003: 388; Helseth 2015). Women criticizing the gender regimes and oppression of women in their own community are often accused of being disloyal and in opposition to their own community (Helseth 2015: 74). Speaking up about these issues therefore *“creates both possibilities and costs for those involved”* (Predelli 2003: 369). An interesting question is therefore what kind of costs and possibilities this might create.

A new wave of minority women speaking up about issues within their community has risen in Norway over the past two years. In 2016, a few young women with minority background⁶ went out in public to criticize the existing gender roles and social control of women within their own community (Herz 2016; Bile 2016; Srour 2016). Nancy Herz, Amina Bile and Sofia N. Srour brought these issues into the public debate again and inspired more young women from the minority community to raise their voices on similar issues (Ungdomspodden 2017; Vårt land 2016). The main focus area for these girls has mainly been on the different restrictions and limitations of girls and women, negative social control and the culture of shame and honor in their community (Herz 2016; Bile 2016; Srour 2016). The girls call themselves ‘the shameless girls’ (Herz et al. 2017), and a movement of shameless girls speaking up about negative social control and women’s rights in the minority communities in Norway was born (Ungdomspodden 2017; Vårt land 2017).

⁶ I have chosen to use the term ‘with minority background’. I chose this term, as it is the term that has been used in the public debate and among the ‘shameless girls’ as a denomination to what can also be understood as ‘with immigrant background’. The term is used wide and refers to those who has connection to the minority communities in Norway, and/or are descendants of immigrants. The usage of this term also emphasizes the minority- majority relationship between groups of people in the study.

In the public in Norway there has been a tendency to portray Muslim women as passive victims oppressed by their husbands or male relatives (Predelli 2003). Thus, it is particularly interesting that so many young resourceful women with minority background are speaking up, and at the same time break with the stereotype of being both passive and oppressed. It is therefore interesting to study how the young women are experiencing this and how it affects other women within the communities.

1.5 Structure of the study

The thesis consists of seven chapters, including this introduction chapter where I have presented background and aim of the study. The rest of the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter two presents the chosen methods for this study. I thoroughly explain the process of primary and secondary data collection and the choices I made in this process. I also explain the analytical process and how I have processed my data, and discuss ethical and methodological considerations.

Chapter three provides the theoretical framework of the study. It is divided into three parts. The first presents the two main theories used to guide my study: multiculturalism and feminism, and how they might conflict with each other. The second part provides the empirical background and different aspects of negative social control. Last part presents theories regarding minority's participation in the public debate and the multicultural feminist debate.

Chapter four is the first analysis chapter of this study is dedicated to the public debate on negative social control. I analyze the collected data with the theories presented in chapter three about the multicultural feminist debate, and how it is like being a minority in the debate and raising issues such as women's rights and negative social control. This chapter focuses on answering the two first research questions.

Chapter five is the second analysis chapter and is dedicated to negative social control, and more specifically to the interviewees' perspectives on negative social control within their communities, who are exposed to it and how it is legitimized. In this chapter I answer the third research question.

Chapter six contextualizes the main findings of the study with the two over-arching theories of the study: multiculturalism and feminism. I also discuss the fourth research question about possible solutions my interviewees suggest to deal with negative social control in Oslo.

Chapter seven sums up the discussion from previous chapters and address the main findings and conclusion of the study. I answer the research question and reflects on how these findings can be seen in a greater context, before I reflect on how this study can contribute to outline a future agenda on issues related to negative social control.

2. Methods

In this chapter I address the methodological choices made in the preparation and conduction of this study. In this chapter the considerations on the chosen methods, the data collection, ethics and the analysis process will be introduced.

2.1 Qualitative research

When doing research, the researcher needs to take methodological choices throughout the whole process. According to Tjora (2017) the choice of methods should reflect what you want to discover. Given that my overall research question is *“How to deal with negative social control to ensure women’s right in the minority community in Oslo?”*, I considered that qualitative research is the most suitable way to answer it. Here I explain why.

I opted for qualitative research as it can help us to explore complex phenomenon (negative social control) related to people (young women in the minority communities) and places (Oslo) (Winchester & Rofe 2016: 3). According to Winchester and Rofe (2016: 5) there are two main questions to be tackled by a qualitative study, both are relevant in my research. The first question is: *What are the shapes of societal structures, and by what processes are they constructed, maintained, legitimized, and resisted?*” (Winchester & Rofe 2016: 6) My study aims to understand the social structures behind negative social control and possible violation of women’s rights in the minority communities, and by what processes they are constructed, maintained, legitimized and resisted. This will be discussed throughout my analytical chapters. The second question is: *“What are individuals’ experiences of places and events?”* I have therefore chosen to focus on young women with minority background to understand the structures within their community. Winchester & Rofe (2016: 5) argues that the *“experiences of an individual may be determined not so much by their personal characteristics, but by their position in the social structure.”* I was interested in understanding the experiences of the women themselves, to recognize the structures in the minority community they are part of. I will now explain more in detail why I have chosen to focus on women with minority background and Oslo as the geographical area.

2.1.1 The choice of the shameless girls and young women with minority background

I have chosen to focus on young women with minority background, because these women have raised their voice on issues connected to women's rights and negative social control in the public debate in Norway. This is a case of the relations and/or tensions between multiculturalism and feminism.

Young women with minority background and the shameless girls were chosen because of several reasons: Being young women with a minority background, they form part of the target group often associated with being exposed negative social control, and are likely to be familiar with it. The women have raised their voice and brought increased attention to the topic in the public debate and have become strong voices when it comes to awareness and knowledge on the issues, including possible solutions. The women can give us valuable information from inside the community, not from outside. Some of the girls have taken huge risks by raising these issues; by giving voice to these women we can allow their voices to be heard, which otherwise might have been silenced or excluded from the public decision-making (Winchester & Rofe 2016: 7). Until now their contribution to the public debate is considered as personal stories and experiences, yet there is a need for a systematic gathering of their statements, knowledge and experiences, and find suitable solutions to the issues being raised. By analyzing the interviews carried out and their contributions to the public debate in a systematic way, contextualizing the material with existing empirical data and relevant theories we can give voice and contribute to scientific knowledge. Gathering of the data will give us increased insight and understanding about the topic (Tjora 2017: 28). This knowledge has been asked for both by the women themselves and by the public.

2.1.2 The choice of Oslo as the geographical area

The focus of the research is on Oslo as the geographical area of study, and is a natural choice for different reasons. Oslo is relevant because it is the largest city in Norway, a city with the highest number of immigrants and children of immigrants (SSB 2017). Around 33% of the population in Oslo are immigrants or children of immigrants (SSB 2017). Almost half of the immigrants and children of immigrants in Norway with background from Africa and Asia live in Oslo and Akershus. Both in the media and in different studies, negative social control has often been associated with the immigrant/minority communities in Oslo. Many of the young

women who have raised their voice about negative social control in the minority communities lives in or close to Oslo and/or have grown up in Oslo, and have knowledge and inside information about the situation in Oslo. Therefore, focusing on Oslo specifically would give the most comprehensive information. Living in Oslo and studying at the University of Oslo has made it practically and logistically possible to carry out the study. I also had a wish to increase my own knowledge about the situation in the minority community in Oslo.

2.2 Primary data collection

In this research both secondary and primary data have been used to analyze and answer the research questions. The secondary data will be discussed later. The main source of data is primary data gathered through qualitative interviews among carried young women with minority background, including representatives from the Shameless-movement, who have been raising their voice in public about negative social control and/or women's rights in the minority community in Oslo. I have also carried out interviews among organizations working within this field. In the following I discuss the process of data-collection, sampling and choice of informants.

2.2.1 The sampling process

In this study, I have chosen to do a purposive sampling process, which means it is *“intended to obtain a particular group for study on the basis of a specific characteristic they possess.”* (Hay 2016: 453) This method of sampling aims *“to uncover information-rich phenomena/participants that can shed light on issues of central importance to the study”* (Hay 2016: 453), which is exactly what I aimed to do. Early in the research process, after drafting the research question, the shameless girls and other young women with minority background became a natural choice, as they possess the specific characteristic and can shed light on the issue. I started by contacting the women. During the interviewing stage I realized that contacting actors involved in the field could also be useful. I therefore decided to contact some of the organizations identified by the women as doing quality work within the field.

According to Stratford & Bradshaw (2016: 123): *“Exploratory and/or background work (...) will often give researchers the capacity to begin comprehend the perspectives of participants with whom we think we want to interact.”* Therefore, I spent time studying the public debate and different actors within this field. I started with the largest newspapers and media

channels, such as Aftenposten, NRK, VG and Dagbladet. Especially Aftenposten has published many articles and chronicles from women with minority background. I also looked at relevant TV channels/programs, where some of the women have participated. I have reviewed social media channels, focusing mostly on Facebook. It was important for me to spend time on this, because *“the more focused our research interest becomes and the more comprehensive our background information and understanding, the more confident we are about who we want to involve in our research and why.”* (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016: 123).

To gather appropriate data, I decided to set four criteria for the profile of my interviewees. They should: be a young woman around the age of 18-30; have minority background; have connection to Oslo or the area around Oslo; and have participated in the public debate regarding negative social control and women's rights in the minority communities. Limiting the data collection to these criteria I felt confident that this would provide relevant and useful data for the study. I found around 15- 20 women that fit this profile.

I contacted all of them by Messenger/Facebook/e-mail with a prewritten text that I sent to all of them the first time, which included a presentation of myself and the study, why I wanted to interview them, what I expected from the interview and how their data would be used. I continued researching and contacted 5-10 more women. Some of the women replied, but most of them did not answer my first request and a few declined. With some positive answers I conducted the first four interviews. After feedback from some of the interviews, it became clear that some of my requests ended up in their spam-folders. After some time had passed, I contacted the women I had not heard from with a second request. The interviewees then recommended women to contact, though I had already contacted most of them, but they could provide direct contact and gave me good recommendations. It became easier to establish contact with more people, which gave me more positive answers. In the end I got four interviews more.

All in all, I contacted around 25 women, two declined the request, four said yes, but it was difficult to find the time and I did not hear more from them. Around 10 women did not answer or have not seen my request. I carried out eight interviews with women who were on my intended list of interviewees after the background research. The interviews took place in November- December 2017, and one in January 2018. Regarding the number of young women with minority background in Oslo/Norway that have taken part in the public debate

and the size of the minority community in Oslo I believe this is a satisfying amount of interviews. Considering Stratford & Bradshaw's (2016: 123) statement that "*it is conceivable that conducting in-depth interviews with a small number of the "right" people will provide significant insight into a research issue*", and the outcome of the interviews, I am confident that the gathered data have provided the necessary knowledge and diversity to conclude on the research question.

I realized during the process of interviewing, that I wanted to gather more data from different actors with knowledge and experience, and I therefore decided to contact different organizations working in the field. The organizations were mentioned and recommended by the women during the interviews, and were pointed out as valuable actors doing quality work. I therefore took contact with a few organizations first and a few more later. I contacted them by e-mail with a similar prewritten text as earlier in the process. All together I contacted seven organizations. One organization was not operative yet, three did not reply my request, one declined my request due to time constraints, while two organizations, Røde Kors (Red Cross) and Likestilling, Inkluderende og Nettverk (LIN) agreed to participate in the study. I carried out interviews with both organizations.

2.2.3 Presentations of the interviewees

I will now present the interviewees, starting with the young women with minority background and followed by the organizations.

First of all, all the women agreed to use their full name in the study, considerations around anonymity will be discussed later. The following women were interviewed: Maria Khan, Linn Firdaous Nikkerud, Sarah Zahid, Fatema Al- Musawi, Zuhayr Abdi Hussein, Amina Bile, Mahira Karim and Nancy Herz.

The age range of the women are between 17- 29, but most of the them are around 19- 24 years old. All the women have lived most of their life in Norway, some were born in Norway, while some came to Norway when they were children. All interviewees have immigrant background from five countries: Pakistan (3) Somalia (2), Iraq (1), Lebanon (1) and half Moroccan (1). Around one third of the girls have grown up in Oslo, one third have moved to Oslo recently and one third have grown up and live around Oslo (maximum few hours away). All women

have written articles, chronicles or taken part in the public debate, but to different extents. Some of them have been very visible, within different topics, while a few of them have participated less. Most of the interviewees are currently attending higher education, while two of them are still in high school. Most of the women are Muslims, but not everyone. The women provide different approaches, attitudes and perspectives on how to deal with negative social control and women's rights, they represent different political parties and cultural and religious positions. All this shows a diversity among the women even though they have a lot of similarities. These interviews will be used throughout the analysis, and is the basis for the analysis and discussion in this research.

Moving on to the organizations, the Red Cross is a national organization with office in Oslo, which offers *“information and guidance about how to handle situations when forced marriage, FGM and honor-based violence is present”*⁷ (Røde Kors). They are a front-line service, and can provide both information and guidance, as well as help with contacting police, domestic crisis center etc. when needed. Though the initiative is open for everyone, they report that most of those contacting them are girls/women with minority background (Red Cross officer) I carried out the interview with an officer employed, who are working daily with those contacting them. The interview was insightful and gave me a better understanding to comprehend the complexity of the situation for those exposed to negative social control. I have used the interview actively throughout the analysis.

LIN is an organization based in Furuset, Oslo, and are working with different activities and courses for immigrants and their participation in society and inclusion of minorities (LIN 2018a). They run different projects, with some working specifically with issues connected to the culture of shame and honor (LIN 2018b). The interview with LIN was carried out with one women working there, and a few other women with minority background also joined the interview. I have not used this interview actively in the analysis, but I have used it mostly to provide contextual information on how they work with these issues.

2.2.4 Reflections on sampling

During the process of sampling I encountered a few challenges that, fortunately all of them manageable. My initial goal of carrying out 10-15 interviews proved to be difficult. The

⁷ Author's translation

sampling process also took longer time than expected, especially since many of those I contacted did not answer my request. However, I am satisfied with the amount of interviews I was able to carry out in the end, especially since all of them gave me comprehensive information and lots of valuable data to use in my study. When I started to approach the women, I referred to them as ‘the shameless girls’, however throughout the process I realized that not all the women identified with this, therefore I was a bit unsure if I should continue using this denomination. I decided to use ‘shameless girls and other women with minority background’ instead. This is also the denomination I have used mostly throughout the study. None of the women reacted negatively to being called ‘shameless girls’, but we discussed the term during the interviews.

2.3 Qualitative semi-structured interviews

I chose to do in-depth qualitative interviews since understanding the perspectives of the interviewees *“in complex cultural situations usually requires some form of in-depth interviewing”* (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016: 123). By conducting qualitative interviews we can *“fill the gap in knowledge”*, get increased knowledge about *“complex behaviors and motivations”*, give a *“diversity of meaning, opinion and experiences”* and not least offer the possibility to *“empower the people who give the data”* (Dunn 2016: 150), which is something we want to achieve. I have used semi-structured interviews, as this form of interviewing, which gave me the structure to cover the main topics, and at the same time give necessary space to the interviewees and their suggestions. By conducting semi-structured interviews, I could study meanings, attitudes and experiences among the interviewees (Tjora 2017: 114). Though this method focuses around the subjective experiences and feelings of the interviewee, it can also be used to understand the context beyond the interviewees as individuals (Tjora 2017: 115). Thus, the information from the women can provide knowledge about the topic also beyond their experiences.

A positive outcome of conducting a qualitative interview and face to face interaction is the possibility that my *“opinions and tentative conclusions can be checked, verified and scrutinized”* by my interviewees (Dunn 2016: 151).

2.3.1 Carrying out the interview and the interview questions

In this section I discuss the structure of the interview, the interview questions and some reflections about the interview itself.

I created an interview guide, with a set of prepared interview questions and topics I wanted to cover during the interviews. The interview guide included 18 questions and had five main topics to cover: introduction of the interviewee and their interest in the topic; understanding the main issues (negative social control); what kind of challenges they meet when taking part in the public debate; what kind of opportunities has opened to themselves and others when participating in the public debate; and possible solutions to the mentioned issues. The topics were based on the research questions. The interview guide can be found in the appendix. The guide was helpful during the interview, however most of the time I was talking freely with the interviewees. The interview guide gave flexibility and allowed the interview to follow a natural direction (Dunn 2016: 152). I let them decide the amount of time for each topic/question, but it was important for me to hear them about all the main topics and redirect the discussion when necessary (Dunn 2016: 153). In all the interviews all topics were covered, though to different extents, since the interviewees had different topics they found most important to cover.

I considered carefully the type and ordering of the questions, and used the funnel structure to guide the process as proposed by Dunn (2016: 155). Funnel structure means that the *“topics covered move from general issues to specific or personal matters.”* (Dunn 2017: 444) In the beginning of the interview I asked more open questions, that allowed them to elaborate and open up. I also wanted them to be free to answer how they wanted, and I did not want to lead their answers in any way. I used follow-up questions to make them elaborate and to make sure I understood their opinions or statements fully. This gave the opportunity for them to also explain the reasoning behind their opinions or arguments. The topics to cover in the study are complex, therefore comprehensive understanding of their reasoning and background information is important. Towards the end of the interview I asked more personal or closed questions, which allowed more concrete answers. I usually did this to refer to something stated earlier in the interview, they had shared in the public debate, other interviewees had mentioned or that contradicted or was unclear to me. I tried to wait with asking concrete questions about specific topics until they mentioned it themselves, and if they had not mentioned it towards the end I would ask. Many of the questions were asked in a way that allowed both general and personal answers from the interviewees. Some of the women answered the questions on general basis, while some answered more personally, I let it be up to them what they felt comfortable with sharing.

I also made individual research and preparation about their participation in the debate and the topics they had raised, before each interview, to have as much knowledge as possible about each interviewee. Before the interviews, I therefore added a few individual questions to the guide, that I also wanted to cover. This also gave me the possibility to compare answers between the participants (Dunn 2016: 153). The interviews lasted for between 45 minutes and two hours, most of them a bit more than one hour, which is a suitable timeframe for this type of interviews (Tjora 2017: 113).

2.3.2 Reflections on the interviews: My role as interviewer

During an interview process I needed to be aware of my role as an interviewer, as this might influence the interview and thereby whole research.

As a researcher my ability to interpret situations depends on my characteristics, and what role I have compared to the interviewees: the insider role, being similar to the informants or an outsider role who differs from their informants (Dowling 2017: 40). I am an insider as we have the same gender, are students, are approximately the same age, and most importantly we share the same interest in understanding the topic better and have wish to find solutions. I am also an outsider as I represent the majority population, while they represent the minority. All in all, I believe that my role influenced the outcome of the interview positively, as my insider role allowed in-depth and interactive conversations and discussions, and we shared a mutual interest (and frustration) on the topic. Similarly, Dowling (2016: 40) concludes that for an insider *“the information you collect and your interpretations of it are more valid than those of an outsider.”* Regarding the power relations, I identified a reciprocal relationship, where both the researcher and the interviewee have equal benefit and costs for participating in the research (Dowling 2016: 36).

When conducting a face to face interview it is important to establish a good rapport between the interviewer and the interviewees. Rapport means a productive interpersonal climate between me and the interviewee, where the interviewee feel comfortable and confident to answer the questions comprehensively (Hay 2016: 453). During the interviews, established a good rapport. Considering that I was an insider and that they were ready to share and had an interest in the topic, it was easy for both parts to feel comfortable.

Some of the interviewees asked for my opinions and perspectives during the interview and wanted to engage a discussion. I did not want to influence their opinions and statements. In the beginning of the interview I chose to answer based on my theoretical and empirical knowledge and then asked what was their thoughts about it. Towards the end of the interviews, when I felt they had covered the necessary topics and expressed their opinions, I told more about my personal opinions. This opened the conversation and brought interesting discussions and new perspectives. It was positive for me also to be able to share from my knowledge. They also appreciated me sharing, as they are interested in hearing new perspectives on the topic. For this reason I also feel confident in their honesty and sharing during the interview, and that my contribution and our conversations did not influence their answers during the interview. They have all been taking part in the public debate, are used to expressing their opinions and some of them have participated in public debates. They have strong opinions, and are not afraid to share them, while they at the same time are open for new perspectives and knowledge. Our conversations revealed new information and interesting thoughts that has been useful both during the analysis, but also when framing the whole study.

2.4 Secondary data

The primary data and the interviews compose the main data for the analysis, but I have also used secondary data as the empirical material in this study. I will here present the secondary data in the study and how I have used it.

All interviewees have been writing articles, are present in social media (mainly Facebook and Instagram), and some have participated in podcast, TV and radio programs. The women have also been subject to different articles and news about them or negative social control in general. I used these articles as research to find participants for the study, prepare for the interviews, while some of it has been actively used during the process forming both the theoretical chapter and during the analysis. All the material is published from 2016- 2017 and a few of them in beginning of 2018. I have also been following their public posts on social media (Facebook and Instagram) from 2017 until beginning of 2018. The material that have been used in the analysis can be found in the reference list.

In addition to the mentioned data, the shameless girls have published a book that has been important of the study. The book *Shameless* is written by Bile, Srour and Herz, published in

2017. *Shameless* is a book about negative social control and the culture of shame and honor, with personal stories from the authors and other women that have told their stories about their experiences of negative social control. The book also includes conversations and thoughts from the authors about the topics. I have used the book to understand the context of negative social control, both during the research process and in the analysis of the study. All the above mentioned data have been an essential part of the study, and together with the interviews has provided the necessary information to be able to answer the research question.

2.5 Ethical considerations

In this section I will present the ethical considerations throughout the research process.

Research ethics means to be aware of my responsibilities and obligations to those involved in the research (Dowling 2016: 30). I have considered critical reflexivity, confidentiality and anonymity, and informed consent.

Critical reflexivity refers to being *“theoretically informed, self-critical (...), revolving around awareness of how to identify and resolve ethical dilemmas when they arise”* (Dowling 2016: 34). Which means that I during the whole process of the study have considered ethical dilemmas and possible pitfalls. This *“require constant attention, self-critical awareness of ethical research”* throughout the process, and I feel confident that I have managed to consider possible ethical implications of my activities (Dowling 2016: 34). I have reflected on my role during the whole time of the research and modified where appropriate (Dowling 2016: 37).

The researcher’s role has an influence on the research and it is therefore important to be aware of one’s positionality. Positionality refers to the researcher’s *“social, locational, and ideological placement relative to the research or other participants in it.”* (Hay 2016: 451)

By stating my positionality, both the reader and can become aware of my personal subjectivity and other possible sources of bias in the research (Winchester & Rofe 2016: 19). My background as a researcher is a general interest in the situation and rights for both women and minorities, understanding what is at stake and how to address these issues. Thus I did not enter the research with any assumptions on the outcome or conclusion of the study. Instead, I was inspired and impressed by the shameless girls’ participation in the public debate. I put effort in being aware of my position as a researcher and how it might influence the research through the whole process, and feel confident that no significant bias is present.

When doing qualitative research there are some ethical issues to consider since it “*often involves invading someone’s privacy*” (Dowling 2016: 31). It was crucial that the interviewees felt safe and comfortable with participating in the study. It was important to ensure my informants confidentiality, and they had the possibility of anonymity (Dowling 2016). Some of the interviewees revealed sensitive information about themselves and others, and I had to take this into consideration when deciding what to include in the analysis and not. All women agreed to take part in the study with their full name, however a few of them wanted some of their statements to be anonymous, and I have chosen not to use these statements quotes in the report. The experiences and opinions of my interviewees are still represented in the research without including these specific quotes. The information gave me valuable information about the issue, but has not been crucial for the conclusion of this study.

It is important that the informants know what they are participating in. I informed the interviewees about the outline of the research, what I expected of them, how I will use their data and inform them about their possibility to be anonymous and withdraw from the study if they wished to do so, before they agreed to be take part in the research (Dowling 2016: 32). I also had an agreement-form for both parts to sign, with all this mentioned information. I asked the participants to read, agree and sign before we started the interview. Before we started I also asked them if they had any questions about me or the research. Some of the interviewees were curious to know more about the choice of topic. All informants seemed to be comfortable and in good conditions during the interviews. After the interview, I told participants that if they had additional questions, they wanted to change or regretted anything they said or if they wanted to withdraw their participation, they should let me know.

2.6 Reliability, validity and generalization

When conducting qualitative research one should be extra careful with assuring the quality of the study, this is connected to the representation of the study (Tjora 2017: 231). The quality can be measured according to three criteria: Reliability, validity and generalization. I will now present and reflect on these criteria.

Reliability is about the internal logic and the researcher’s position and knowledge on the topic, and what implications this might have on the study (Tjora 2017: 235). Tjora (2017) argues that an interest and awareness of the research topic is positive, even necessary in some

research. However, it is important that the researcher explains one's position and interest in the topic, and then explain how this might influence the study (Tjora 2017: 235). In my study I have explained my positionality, and reflected on my role throughout the whole process when interviewing and analyzing the findings. I have through the analysis used quotes from the interviewees and clearly explained when it is their statements and when it is my interpretations of their statements (Tjora 2017: 237). I have also explained how the perspectives and theories have guided the design and research question of the study.

The internal logic of the research is ensured by comparing and testing my data, and my interpretations of it, with relevant theories and background knowledge. By taking notes during the interviews and transcribing them I had the opportunity to always go back to my data and double check the context and meaning of statements and quotes made by the interviewees. I also had the opportunity to use the secondary data from the interviewed women in some cases when I felt it was needed. If the meaning behind any statements made by the interviewees was unclear I did not use the data or quote for analysis. I have used many direct quotes in the analysis, so the reader can follow my interpretations of the data.

Validity is about the logic connection between the research design and the findings of the research (Tjora 2017: 231). The validity can be ensured by making sure to use appropriate theories and comparing your research to other relevant research that have used similar methodological approaches (Tjora 2017: 231). In my research I have been conscious and attentive to how the research has been conducted. Throughout this chapter I have reasoned and explained the methodological choices and every step of the process, and given the reader the opportunity to critically evaluate my research. The research has been anchored in answering the research question, and I have been conscious in the way I have used theories and empirical data.

Generalization is whether the findings can be applied to other similar cases. According to Winchester and Rofe (2016: 8): *"Qualitative geographical research tends to emphasize multiple meanings and interpretations rather than seeking to impose any one dominant or correct interpretation."* In this study I have aimed at finding solutions how to deal with negative social control by understanding the different perspectives of the interviewed women to comprehend better the phenomenon, and to hear the different voices and experiences of the

women to understand the complexity of the topic. Winchester & Rofo (2016: 8) further argue that: *“The experiences of individuals and the meaning of events and places cannot necessarily be generalized, but they constitute part of a multifaceted and fluid reality.”* Based on the data gathered in this study we can present *“a multifaceted and fluid reality”* of negative social control and women’s rights in the minority community in Oslo. My study can help to get a better understanding of negative social control as a phenomenon in general, and more specifically negative social control of women in minority communities in Oslo. My study can not provide a universal law about the phenomenon negative social control, but on an analytical level we can conclude on some tendencies, and the study can help to explain similar situations other places.

2.7 Analysis process

It is in the process of analysis that much of the potential for qualitative research lies (Tjora 2017: 195). According to Tjora (2017: 195) *“it is in the phase of the analysis that the researcher really get to use the intellectual capacity and creativity.”*⁸ Also during that phase required careful considerations and choices on how to process the gathered data. This is presented below.

All the interviewees agreed to record the interview, in addition I took some notes for myself during all interviews. The recording was essential as it gave me the possibility to listen to the interviews again and it allowed me to use quotes. It did not seem that the interviewees minded the recorder or that it influenced their answers. I transcribed all interviews myself, this helped me a lot to comprehend and get well acquainted with my own data. The interviews were carried out in Norwegian, while the language used in this study is English. I transcribed the interviews in Norwegian, and then translated the directly cited quotations used in the analysis to English. I have tried to make the translations as accurate and correct as possible. I will ask the reader to bear in mind that minor inaccuracies may be present within the translated quotes, however I feel confident that the intended message is still present and can be fully understood.

The analysis process started already during the first interview, and continued through the whole process of data collection. During the transcription I started discovering some relevant categories. I created a coding system that corresponded to the empirical data and theoretical

⁸ Author’s translation

framework. I coded the data using latent content analysis, which means that I searched the documents for themes and underlying meanings (Dunn 2017: 174). I organized the data according to the research questions, and split them up in three main categories; their participation in the public debate, everything connected to the issue negative social control and possible solutions they proposed to the issue. I used color markers and my personal notes on the transcribed interviews to process the data. When I had organized all the interviews into the three categories I divided the categories into subcategories based partly on the theoretical framework. The subcategories have been used to design the subchapters in the analysis. Dividing into subcategories made it easier to distinguish different aspects and nuances of each category. I then started discovering similarities and differences in the interviews, which allowed to “*unravel the general feeling about an issue.*” (Dunn 2017: 174) When I divided into subcategories the main findings in the collected data started to show.

I then spent some time reviewing the theoretical chapter to start the theoretical analysis of my data. I redrafted some parts of the theory chapter based on the findings in the collected data. I found useful and interesting discoveries when seeing the collected data in light of the theories and the background empirical data. While working on finalizing the theoretical chapter, I started drafting the analytical chapter. This process happened interchangeably, and was a dynamic process moving between my data and the theory, which strengthened the quality of the analysis of my data. The analysis is divided into three parts, each part focusing on one research questions. When designing the analysis, I used a similar structure as the theoretical chapter, which was also based on my research questions and the categories and subcategories. I added some topics that were not covered by the empirical background material or the theories. It has been important for me to be true to my data. This means I have included some additional topics in the analysis that has not been shed light on in the theoretical chapter, but based on my findings in the collected data I considered it important to include.

In this chapter the reader have been explained the methodological choices regarding collection of data, the sampling process and interview situation. I have presented the interviewees, the secondary data, and outlined the ethical consideration and reliability, validity and generalization of the study. In the next chapter I will present the theoretical framework.

3. Theory

The theory chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part I will introduce the two main theoretical framework of the study: multiculturalism and feminism, in the second part I will go more into-depth with negative social as a concept and explore different aspects of it. In the third part the topic is the public debate around women's rights and negative social control.

Multiculturalism and feminism

The first part will focus on multiculturalism, feminism and the tension between these two concepts. I address multiculturalism by focusing on Modood's understanding of multiculturalism as a political tool to deal with post-immigration. Feminism will be addressed by three different theories that all have been influential for feminism today: Simone De Beauvoir's breakthrough of thoughts around the life and situations for women, the theory of patriarchy and the black feminist movements. I will use these theories to discuss the findings in the analysis based in my interviews. I will also address critique of multiculturalism from a feminist perspective, which demonstrates the tensions between the multicultural and the feminist ideas, which will be used in the analysis to understand the shameless girls' and other women with minority background's participation in the public debate.

3.1 Multiculturalism

Norway and especially Oslo has become a society with multiple cultures and ethnicities; it is therefore interesting how this affects our society. Multiculturalism can mean different things, it is both an idea, a concept and a political tool (Okin 1998, 1999; Macey 2009; Modood 2013). Multiculturalism is a contested concept, which has been debated for decades (Modood 2013; Okin 1998, 1999; Macey 2009). There is a large amount of literature on multiculturalism that it is almost impossible to comprehend and understand fully the scope of it fully. I will quote Macey who said: *"Every time I thought I had achieved at least an operational definition of the term, up popped another definition, or policy, or practice or argument for or against the philosophical underpinnings of the term."* (Macey 2009: 25) Macey (2009: 28) sums up some of the definitions and states that multiculturalism *"refers to the policies and practices developed by Western societies to cope with the non- western*

cultural and religious diversity that now exists within their borders.” She also argues that multiculturalism is dynamic, and it will change over time and place (Macey 2009: 28). According to Castles et al. (2014: 272) a multicultural society is based on the principle that immigrants should have the possibility to equally participate in the receiving society, without giving up their own culture, religion and language, and at the same time they are expected to conform to the key values of the society. To Castles (et al. 2016: 19), part of the multicultural approach is that the minorities in the new societies should be granted cultural and political rights. Kymlicka (1995) is one of the most known defenders of classical multiculturalism, who advocates for cultural group rights for minorities to protect minorities’ distinct culture in a majority society. Having special group right will help the individuals and minority groups to maintain their culture that would provide them with meaningful ways of life, not only their language and maintaining history, but also social, educational and religious aspects of life (Kymlicka 1995). Kymlicka received much criticism for his ideas about cultural group rights, for not recognizing issues connected to women’s rights, this will be presented later in this chapter. These definitions show us that there are different ideas and definitions on what multiculturalism is. In this study, I focus on Modood’s idea about multiculturalism as a political tool that I will present now.

3.1.1 Multiculturalism as a political tool

In this study I have chosen to include Modood’s ideas about multiculturalism because it helps us understand how migration influences our societies and how we as a society should tackle the challenges it brings. Modood (2013) offers a different perspective than for example Kymlicka’s classical understanding of multiculturalism. Modood (2013) focuses on a form of multiculturalism that deals with the consequences of migration to a society, and argues that to recognize a multicultural society is to understand that new challenges entered the society, thus a new political agenda is necessary. He understands multiculturalism as the *“political accommodation of minorities formed by immigration to western countries from outside”* Modood (2013: 5). Modood’s (2013) idea about multiculturalism relates to liberal democracies and is rooted in real ongoing policies. Multiculturalism as a political tool can help the minority and majority groups to create an equal society for all.

3.1.2 Multiculturalism as a tool for recognition of differences

A central aspect of political multiculturalism is the recognition of ‘difference’, and migrants have often been seen as different, which in this context means differences in race, ethnicity, cultural heritage or religion. The difference also relates to *“ways of thinking, acting and organizing across many if not all social and institutional contexts”* (Modood 2013: 35). The difference can be a sense of identity and perception of self or other group members, a sense of groupness, a positive difference (Modood 2013). However, it can also be a difference perceived from outside, that often has negative consequences such as stigmatization, stereotyping, exclusion, discrimination and racism (Modood 2013: 34). Modood (2013: 34) calls this a negative difference, when there is a sense of oppression, subordination or marginality to the wider society (Modood 2013). The negative difference can make equal membership in the wider society difficult, and possibly lead to *“an unequal ‘us-them’ relationship”* (Modood 2013: 35). However, it is possible to avoid an ‘us-them’ relationship by turning from a negative difference to a positive difference (Modood 2013: 36).

The difference should not be eliminated but to some extent recognized (Modood 2013). This recognition can happen through a mobilization to make claims about the difference (Modood 2013: 36). In a multicultural society, the policy should then support these claims (Modood 2013: 38). The group perceived as different is often being targeted and labelled collectively, hence the response from the group should be collective to contest and reject these labels (Modood 2013: 37). Through these collective claims, the group can build up a positive group identity together and create new positive labels (Modood 2013). Multiculturalism is a result of the collective claims, struggle and political mobilization of the minority groups, where the outcome creates policy and institutional changes about how we recognize the differences of the minority group (Modood 2013: 36). Recognition of difference is part of the process to realise multiculturalism as a political tool for integration.

3.1.3 Multiculturalism as a tool for integration

Two much used concepts when it comes integration of immigrants in Europe are ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’. Assimilation is usually referred to as a one way process, where the migrants are expected to conform and become as alike as possible to the wider society, in order not to disturb or change the majority (Modood 2013: 44). Assimilation involves a change for the minorities, while it does not require much change from the majority

(Modood 2013). The other concept, integration, is usually referred to as more of a two-way process, a process of societal interaction, where the majority in society and the minority groups are both expected to actively change and do something (Modood 2013). However, Modood (2013) suggest multiculturalism as an alternative to these two approaches.

The ‘multi’ in multiculturalism refers to multiple approaches and multiple ways of integrating newcomers (Modood 2013: 44). Multiculturalism, similarly to ‘integration’ is also a two-way process, but multiculturalism goes further in recognizing minority groups (Modood 2013: 44). Since no minority groups are similar, and can be as different from each other as from the majority, we need to recognize the different needs and vulnerabilities of each groups, thus a different process for each group is necessary (Modood 2013: 44). The multicultural approach is different from integration because it can recognize the different social realities of groups, which can be both imagined, but also rooted in lived experiences (Modood 2013: 45). Modood (2013: 42) argues that *“specific policies, complex policies and institutional arrangements have to be customized to meet diverse (and common) vulnerabilities, needs and priorities.”* According to Modood (2013: 45) essential for succeeding is to allow group-based cultural and religious practices to fit into the public, and it is in this way other actors can also contribute to this process. The multicultural approach works on two levels: Creating a sense of belonging to the new society and helping to maintain the culture of the minority (Modood 2013: 45). To work on two levels Modood (2003: 46) emphasizes the importance that someone stands up for the minorities, like activists, spokespersons and community organizers. They can modify existing perceptions and practices to challenge the public discourse and create political engagement to accommodate and integrate immigrants (Modood 2013: 46).

To sum up Modood (2013) recognizes multiculturalism as a positive contribution for society, which focuses on recognition of differences, that will lead groups to claim their rights and become an increased part of society, and sees multiculturalism as a political tool for accommodating newcomers into the society. Modood’s theory will give us a better understanding of the current situation in the minority communities Oslo and Norway. The second main theoretical approach is feminism, which I will introduce now.

3.2 Feminism

This part of the theory chapter will introduce the reader to theories based on feminist ideas and movements as explained by Valerie Bryson in her book *Feminist Political Theory*: Simone De Beauvoir's breakthrough of thoughts around the life and situations for women in the 40's, the radical feminist movements and Millett's theory of patriarchy from the 70's, and the black feminist movements critique to white feminism. These contributions will provide us with the theoretical framework to understand and analyze the context and structures of feminism in the multicultural Norway today.

3.2.1 Taking responsibility and breaking free

Before de Beauvoir the family life was still set as the normality, the minority of women who wanted to work were free to do so, but *"no significant group was interested in challenging male power within the home, or in questioning the idealized version of family life that was assumed to be the norm"* (Bryson 2003: 127). It is this context we need to understand Simone de Beauvoir's contribution to feminism. De Beauvoir's book *The Second Sex* is one of the most influential theories in feminism and broke the silence around women's life which *"enabled some women to see the world in a different light"* (Bryson 2003: 131).

In the book, published in 1949, de Beauvoir argued that *"the most important obstacles to woman's freedom was not her biology, or the political and legal constraints placed upon her, or even her economic situation; rather it was the whole process by which femininity is manufactured in society"* (Bryson 2003: 129). She stated that society saw women as secondary objects in society which acquired meaning only in relation to men (Bryson 2003: 131). According to De Beauvoir, instead of accepting this, it was important for women to be free from this idea and take responsibility for their own life (Bryson 2003: 131). De Beauvoir emphasized the importance of including women to the labor market and to have economic independence on their way to liberation, even though for working-class women the price for working could be high (Bryson 2003). In contrast to men professional working women also would face problems: *"[A]s the demands of her career clashed with traditional assumptions about her domestic and sexual life, she too would be tempted to abandon her struggle and sacrifice her autonomy for the sake of security"* (Bryson 2003: 136). One of the important discussions for De Beauvoir was *"the ways in which girls are forced into certain paths and denied expression of their full humanity"*, which led to an increased understanding of how

non- political life, such as that of the family and private life were connected to wider power structures (Bryson 2003: 129).

De Beauvoir has demonstrated that women could make their own choices and break with the traditional roles in society (Schwarzer 1984: 3, in Bryson 2003). Understanding De Beauvoir contribution to the feminist debate and some of the issues and thoughts she put forward, as well as how she overcame barriers in understanding the life of women, might give us a better understanding of the struggle of women in within a traditional culture in the minority communities. As I will demonstrate, parallels to De Beauvoir's ideas and the fight for women's rights in the minority communities are visible, and in this study it will provide us with theoretical understanding of the situation of minority women in Norway.

3.2.2 Patriarchy and patriarchal structures in society

To get a better understanding of the structures in our societies and especially the traditional societies this section will focus on the concept of patriarchy, introduced by radical feminism in the 1970's.

The concept of patriarchy refers to men having the power over women, both sexually, within the family and in society (Bryson 2003: 166). Millett (1985: 25 in Bryson 2003: 166) links this to power and power relations between men and women, and argues that *"the patriarchal power of men over women is basic to the functioning of all societies and it extends far beyond formal institutions of power."* The patriarchal principles are maintained throughout an individuals' life from childhood, in education, literature and religion and in the end become internalized the life of both women and men (Bryson 2003: 166). Patriarchy has different forms, depending on the particular historical situations, however, Millett and other radical feminists agree that the patriarchy is always strongly connected to the family life (Bryson 2003). There are different ways in which patriarchal structures are present in the family life by upholding traditional family structures, which in some cases might lead to control of women's reproduction, sexual exploitation and domestic and sexual violence (Bryson 2003). Bryson (2003: 175-176) explains that: *"the family is indeed a central part of society's power structure; as such it both sustains patriarchal power in the 'public' world and is itself a source of women's oppression."* Thus, a patriarchal system in the family transmits to other parts of the society.

The theoretical concept of patriarchy received a lot of criticism from other feminists, who argues among other things that it is misleading theoretical assumptions (Bryson 2003: 167). Bryson (2003: 167) thinks that “*patriarchy can be an illuminating concept, but not a fullyfledged theory*”. Thus, the concept should be used carefully, however, it is important to identify and understand how patriarchy is maintained through structures and institutions, to be able to change it (Bryson 2003: 169). The theoretical assumption will therefore be that patriarchy should be understood as “*a system of male domination and female subordination or oppression*” (Bryson 2003: 169). It is important to distinguish between the system and men as individuals. We need to recognize that men too can be oppressed and that many men support women and take part in their struggle for women’s rights (Bryson 2003: 172). The concept of patriarchy can, if used properly help us to explore how oppression is interconnected, across both gender, race and class (Bryson 2003: 172). The concept will be used in the analysis to understand more about traditional family structures present in the minority communities in Norway. In the next section, we will explore further the interconnectedness of oppression by looking at the black feminism movement.

3.2.3 Black feminism movement: Minority perspectives

The promoters of black feminism brought forward the idea of differences between women (Bryson 2003). They argued this had not been sufficiently acknowledged, and claimed that the earlier ‘common sense’ idea about who women are, only portrayed certain women, the white feminists (Bryson 2003: 226). Black feminism critiqued earlier approaches to feminism for being too ‘white’ and assuming that all women are alike (Bryson 2003). It has now moved beyond this assumption and is today an important theory for all feminists (Bryson 2003).

The main critique offered by black feminists was concerning the assumptions made by white feminists that gender and race where two separate systems of oppression, and thereby neglecting the experience of being both black and woman (Bryson 2003: 227). Most women are not white or live in the west, therefore it is important for the black feminists to bring in their perspective and emphasize the differences between women around the world (Bryson 2003: 227). Black feminists challenge not only the ‘normality’ of white women’s perspective, but also bring in the perspective of differences (Bryson 2003: 228). Patricia Hill Collins (in Bryson 2003: 230) argues that we should see oppression as a larger interconnected whole, and that “*black feminism’s understanding of the multifaceted- and interlocking nature of class,*

‘race’ and gender points the way to awareness of other systems of oppression, such as age, physical ability or sexual orientation”. Collins further argues that black feminism thereby has opened for understanding that there is not only one form of oppression, but that individuals can be both privileged and oppressed in different situations (Bryson 2003: 230). Thus, different forms of resistance are also needed, and the black feminists’ thoughts enable *“different groups of women to support each other without insisting that their situation is identical; it also enables women to form alliances with oppressed groups of men”* (Hooks 1984: Bryson 2003: 230). Solidarity is a keyword, which allows for political solidarity across multiple forms of oppression (Bryson 2003: 231).

The black feminist movement theory will in this study help us to understand the situation of minority women in the Norwegian society, and complexity in the public debate regarding women’s rights, and importance of including multiple voices. The three feminist theories presented here complement and build on each other. All of them are therefore useful to understand the context in which minority women’s struggle for their rights takes place in Norway. Next I will move to a more empirical approach, and discuss some of the tensions that can be found between multiculturalism and feminism, from a feminist perspective.

3.3 Tensions between multiculturalism and feminism

The reader has now been introduced to multiculturalism and feminism, which according to Susan Moller Okin (1998: 661) are *“two political aims that are in conflict with each other.”* She presents critique of multiculturalism based on feminist perspectives. Okin herself, then received critique by other feminists, which led to a discussion concerning multiculturalism, feminism and women right’s. Here I will outline this discussion, which exemplifies the problematic conflict between multiculturalism and feminism. This discussion is relevant for the multicultural feminist debate in Norway, which I will present after.

Okin (1998) finds multiculturalism difficult to define, but rejects Kymlicka’s classical idea about multiculturalism as cultural group rights. Okin (1998) thinks that the focus should not be on the group, but on individuals and especially women, and says that multiculturalism then is less likely to conflict with feminist claims. When Okin (1998: 661) refers to ‘feminism’, she means women should have the same rights and opportunities as men. Okin (1998) argues that women are often discriminated against and do not have the same opportunities as men,

and that this discrimination often has cultural roots. Quite controversial, she argues that the discrimination and control of female freedom is practiced in almost all traditional cultures, and especially cultures that are based on religion or religious texts (Okin 1998: 678). This occurs due to the nature of many traditional cultures which she claims are highly patriarchal and with patriarchal traits (Okin 1998: 665). She further argues that a typical response by male elites to justify restriction of women is: *“but this is our culture”*, and argues that discrimination and control of women is in some cultures a normality based on male control over women (Okin 1998: 665). Okin (1998) claims that cultural practices are more likely to influence the lives of the women and girls than boys and men, which leads to inequality between gender. One consequence of the classical multicultural approach is, according to Okin (1998: 682), social control or restrictions of women in the private or domestic sphere, for example on how they dress, participation in social activities, dating and marriage, and choice of education. As a conclusion Okin (1998: 680) argues that in the case of a patriarchal minority culture within a majority culture, girls might be better off *“if the culture into which they were born were either gradually to become extinct (as its members became integrated into the surrounding culture)”*. This controversial statement became a huge part of the discussion in the aftermath of the article written by Okin.

Modood (2011) also rejects Kymlicka and other classical multiculturalists ideas about cultural group rights, but refers instead to his own idea of multiculturalism as a positive contribution to our society. Though this debate might seem to be outdated and the classical idea of multiculturalism as special rights for cultural groups can not be defended anymore (Helseth 2017: 62; Modood 2012), it is interesting to take a closer look at the debate that followed. The arguments put forward by Okin raised a lot of questions that are still relevant today and for this study regarding women’s rights connected to minority groups in the Norwegian society.

3.3.1 The problematic debate: multiculturalism and feminism

The problematic debate and controversy of feminism and multiculturalism will be the focus of this section. I have presented Okin’s feminist critique of multiculturalism, and the role of culture and patriarchy connected to discrimination of women. Helseth (2017: 62) asks: *“Is it possible to criticize patriarchal structures in the minority community (as Okin does) without amplifying racist or colonial stereotypes (that she is criticized for)?”*⁹ This has become a

⁹ Author’s translation

central issue in the debate around women's right in minority communities (Helseth 2017). I will introduce some of the critique Okin received.

Other feminists criticized Okin for lack of knowledge about the concrete cultural practices she is criticizing and therefore categorizes everything that is different as oppressing (Helseth 2017: 63). Okin is accused for lack of understanding about racism, discrimination and the complex situation minority women experience (Helseth 2017: 64). Honig (1999: 36-37) accuses Okin is accused for describing women without initiative and competences, thus overlooking the actions and resistance among religious feminists or non-white women (Helseth 2017: 64). Honig (1999, in Helseth 2017: 64) argues that Okin's solutions to assimilate or even abolish cultures that are not following the majority standard of women's rights, expresses western imperialism cultural arrogance. This is just some of the critique that Okin received after she published the article, and shows that many feminists were not satisfied with her approach on addressing women's rights.

From this debate Phillips (2007 in Helseth 2017: 65) recognizes two important concerns that she finds important to highlight. The first is that many feminists have become silent when addressing cultural differences because of its complexity. Second, those resistant to migration and immigrants have used feminist rhetoric to promote racism and prejudices (Helseth 2017: 65). As we understand from Okin's critique of multiculturalism and the debate that followed, addressing issues connected to the cultural practices in minority communities is difficult. Okin (1998) mentions that social control of women as one consequence of multiculturalism that needs to be addressed. Next I will introduce negative social control as a concept and explain more in-depth why this practice is problematic and in what ways it is connected to cultural practices.

Negative social control and the culture of honor

Negative social control and the culture of shame and honor will be the focus of this part of the theory chapter. Negative social control has been identified as a cultural practice in a multicultural Norway that is difficult to address. Next I will go more into detail with negative social control and different forms it can take, explore the gender and the cultural aspects of negative social control and outline theory on the culture of shame and honor and its connection to negative social control.

3.4 Negative social control

Social control is part of our society, and social control can be a positive attribute to the society that represents norms about what is desirable and normal behavior and makes cooperation between individuals possible (Store norske leksikon). However, in this research we are focusing on another form of social control, namely negative social control. Negative social control has been recognized as a real issue existing in the Norwegian society that needs to be dealt with (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017; Røde Kors 2017; IMDi 2016). Here I will go into depth with the concept of negative social and present different forms of negative social control. Further, I will explore both the gender and cultural aspects of negative social control, by linking it to the current situation in Norway.

There are different definitions, terms and ways to describe negative social control from a Norwegian perspective. Terms such as ‘serious restriction of young people’s freedom’ (Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2013; Bråten & Elgvin 2014) and ‘extreme control’ or simply just ‘social control’ has been used to describe what today is mostly known as negative social control (Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2013) Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 12) understands negative social control as “*various forms of supervision, pressure, threats and coercion used to ensure that individuals live according to family or group norms.*” The control can be recognized by being systematic, and might break with the individuals’ rights (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 12). Red Cross is working on a daily basis with young people that

are experiencing different forms of violence, and defines negative social control as present if “*you experience that your basic rights to make decision about your own life, is violated regarding your age and maturity. The control can be executed by using psychological pressure, threats, force and violence.*”¹⁰ (Røde Kors 2017: 5). In this research, I have chosen to use the term negative social control, as it is the formal term used by many of the institutions and actors within the field in Norway today (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017; Røde Kors 2017; IMDi 2016). Negative social control (sometimes just social control) is also the informal term mostly used in the public in Norway today.

Reasons for negative social control can be rejected by their community or losing the family’s honor when their children are not acting ‘properly’ or becoming ‘too Norwegian’ (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 14). Røde Kors (2017) also mentions that one reason for negative social control can be a concern for negative gossip and spreading of rumors within the community, which might lead to a loss of honor for the family, if their children does not act, what is regarded as properly. The purpose of control is to make “*individuals live accordingly to the family or the groups norms and values*”¹¹ (Røde Kors 2017: 5). The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 15) reports that being exposed to negative social control can have big consequence, such as psychological health issues, traumas, as well as loss of educational progress, knowledge of language and a need for support. Also, Røde Kors (2017: 5) reports that negative social control can have serious psychological consequences, such as depression and loneliness. As we can see, negative social control can take different forms.

3.4.1 Different forms of control and violence

There are different forms and severity of (negative) social control. I will here present the forms of negative social control that different actors within the field in Norway has recognized and emphasized as important to address.

Forced marriage happens when one or both parties does not want to get married, or if it is carried out by the use of force or pressure (Røde Kors 2017: 10). The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 12) understands forced marriage as “*marriage where one*

¹⁰ Author’s translation

¹¹ Author’s translation

or two of the spouses don't have the possibility to stay unmarried without being exposed to violence, detention or other criminal or unjust behavior or pressure.” Being exposed to forced marriage means that the individual does not have the possibility to choose their own wife or husband across their family’s wish without having to face consequences (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 12). According to Røde Kors (2017: 11) there are different reasons why forced marriage happens: Culture and traditions, a family’s wish to help relatives abroad, pressure from the friends and relatives, poverty and economy and to restore honor that has been broken. Forced marriage is often related to a bigger field of threats, violence and extreme control of young people, and has therefore recently been associated with negative social control and is recognized as an extreme form of negative social control (Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2013: 11; Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 18). Arranged marriage means that the family suggests who a person should marry, and the person is free to reject it (Røde Kors 2017: 10-11). Røde Kors (2017: 10) has identified some examples when forced marriage and arranged marriage have overlapped, for example when a feeling of failing the family is present, if the honor or the family is at stake, there is a risk of bringing shame to your family or if it has consequences for your siblings’ future, which might make it difficult for the person to say no. In some cases, it might be difficult to distinguish between pressure, force and persuasion (Røde Kors 2017: 10). Thus, it might be difficult to distinguish between arranged marriage and forced marriage. Forced marriage in Norway is illegal and a form of domestic violence (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017).

Another form of negative social control is young people’s (fear for) being left behind or sent to the country of origin of their parents. Some young people experience that they are left abroad either together with their parents, sometimes with their mother, who has also been left behind involuntarily (Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet 2017: 17). The main purposes for parents to leave their children behind is to escape the support service in Norway, control the behavior of their children and for them to learn more about language, religion and culture of about the country and a wish for a different than the Norwegian school (Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet 2017: 17; Røde Kors 2017: 12). Røde Kors (2017: 12) suggests that some parents might feel like they have lost the authority and control of their children and believes that a stay abroad might be good for their child.

Female genital mutilation (FGM) has also shown to be an issue in some parts of the minority communities in Norway, and is by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 12) understood as “*an intervention in a woman’s genitalia causing damage or permanent change.*”. Female genital mutilation is a serious violation, which in Norway is illegal, as it might have severe consequences for the health and well-being both physically and psychologically for those exposed to it (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 19). The reports of incidents in Norway are few, but they exist (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 19).

There are also other forms of control, where it can be difficult to determine if they are an expression of strict upbringing or negative control. Examples of such situations might be relationships to the opposite gender and questions about marriage, achievements in schools and choice of education (Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 101) or to limit girls contact with boys their own age (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017). It is difficult to distinguish between strict upbringing of your children when parents place “*unreasonable restrictions*” on their children (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 14). There are different range of upbringing practices, where some restrict more freedom than others (Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 94). Another form of control of women is to conduct a so-called virgin-check, where girls are checked if they are still a virgin, for example if parents suspect that they had sex or if they are getting married (Røde Kors 2017: 8). These kinds of control of young people are not illegal, but can still have serious consequences for the people exposed to it (Røde Kors 2017). The extent of these different practices is difficult to measure and there is no exact data to how widespread it is.

3.4.2 The gender aspect of negative social control

Girls or women are especially vulnerable to negative social control and different forms of violence (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 12). According to Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 11) violence and abuse, control and force is a significant threat to equality between the genders. Furthermore, Bråten & Elgvin (2014: 94) state that forced marriage as a term covers a broad specter of various forms of issues connected to violence and control of young people and especially unmarried girls in certain types of families. Aarset & Sandbæks (2009: 35 in Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 99) argue that parents’ attitude towards upbringing of girls and boys are different, their study shows that

*“there is a difference between sons and daughters, both when it comes to restrictions and to what worries them. Daughters should not get into situations where they can be gossiped about.”*¹² If gossip or rumors are being spread about their daughters it also influences their changes to get married negatively (Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 99). Bredal (2012: 2-3 in Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 94) boys are also affected by it, but in a much less gender-specific forms. Elgvin & Bråten (2014: 15) conclude that any act of violence where the reason for it is based on gender, such as both forced marriage and female genital mutilation, is a type of gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is connected to ‘violence against women’ and ‘domestic violence’ (Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 14). It has been part of the public and public debate in Norway since the 1970’s, when it was regarded as a private matter that the state or the public should not interfere with (Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 14). Women in the 70’s highlighted these issues, and claimed that the private was also politics, as a result private matters and matters within the family became political (Elgvin & Bråten). In 2009 domestic violence against women was established as human rights violations (Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 15).

Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet (2017: 35) states that boys/men are also exposed to issues connected to forced marriage and negative social control. Boys or men can be both a victim of violence from their parents or extended family, or be the one executing violence towards female siblings or relatives (Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet 2017: 36; Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2013: 11). Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet (2017: 36) expresses a wish for more focus on the situation for men and boys through more information and increased competences within this field.

3.4.3 The cultural aspect of negative social control

In this section I will explore the cultural aspect of negative social control. Helseth argues that *“the systematic domestic violence that women (and some men) are exposed to, can’t be explained without stating how patriarchal attitudes are sustained and legitimized.”*¹³ However, it is also important to understand it in a broader cultural sense and this is what we will try to do here. Having a better understanding of this will help us to analyze the cultural aspects of negative social control so we can better know how to deal with it.

¹² Author’s translation

¹³ Author’s translation

Negative social control can be experienced both by young people born and raised in Norway, and immigrants and young people from closed religious communities (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 11). However, young people with non-western immigrant backgrounds experience social control to a higher extent than ethnic Norwegian youth (Friberg 2016: 80). Forced marriage and female genital mutilation are often seen as customs that immigrant from traditional cultures have brought to Norway (Bråten & Elgvin 2014: 16). Friberg's (2016: 86) study shows that there are quite huge cultural and value-related differences between population in Norway and some of the countries many immigrants arrive from. Friberg (2016: 13) argues that differences in religion, language, culture and values, especially when immigrants arrive from countries where patriarchal gender regimes are widespread, become barriers in our society. Some of the immigrants in Norway have arrived from societies with a very strong family orientation and patriarchal societies where the attitudes towards women might be questionable compared to the Norwegian values (Friberg 2016). The values dominant in Norway are usually individual-oriented, while people from more traditional societies often see themselves as members of a collective based society where family bonds are particularly important (Eriksen 2015, in Friberg 2016: 76). Friberg's (2016: 82) study shows that youth with minority background in Norway are maintaining the strong family orientation, in strong contrast to Norwegian youth, who are more individual-oriented. According to Friberg (2016: 81) strong family orientation is closely connected to negative social control of women and young people.

The culture of honor is often associated with a patriarchal culture and strong collective family bonds (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 12; Friberg 2016; Paulsen et al. 2011). Expectations from your family and restoring or maintaining the family's honor are mentioned as reasons for the existence of negative social control (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017; Røde Kors 2017; Paulsen et al. 2011; Friberg 2016; Bråten & Elgvin 2014). According to Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017) girls are more exposed to social control because it might bring shame to their families. The girls' sexual behavior is closely connected to honor and she might bring shame to the family (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 12; Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2013: 11). Thus, the culture of honor is mentioned as a reason for negative social control or violence against women and girls. So, what is honor and the culture of honor?

3.5 Honor: The culture of shame and honor

The culture of honor and shame has become an important topic in the public debate when discussing women's rights in the minority communities in Norway. We will here explore more in-depth what honor the culture of honor is by referring to Unni Wikan. We will briefly also touch upon how shame and the culture of shame is connected to honor.

"Honor is a term that in all societies are associated with something positive. Honor is about value in our own and others' eyes, and about self-respect and social respect. What is needed to achieve such respect, varies culturally and historically. But honor is anyway associated with honorable, noble and heroically deeds"¹⁴ (Wikan 2008: 9).

This is how Unni Wikan starts her book *About honor*. As we can see honor is associated with something positive, however in the Norwegian debate about women's rights, immigration and integration the word has a negative association. Honor is a complicated term, and has been identified as one of the most difficult sociological words to understand (Wikan 2008). Wikan (2008) argues that honor is connected to cultures based in traditional societies. She says that honor are traditions that keeps people trapped in a collective will (Wikan 2008: 19). Wikan (2008) does not see a connection to religion even though families with a Muslim background are often involved in honor related issues. Wikan (2008) says that honor is about culture and not religion, although religion plays a role in these societies and culture and religion influences each other.

Opposite of honor is dishonor, which means there is no honor left, there is nothing in between, only honor or dishonor (Wikan 2008). It is the code of honor that decide the actions and life of the family, a family lives according to the code of honor when honor is the most important thing and it controls your life (Wikan 2008). Honor is a collective thing, it creates unity, solidarity and happiness when the act is admirable and exemplary, however, when an individual act creates dishonor for whole family and relatives, it can have negative consequences (Wikan 2008).

Wikan (2008) especially refers to girls, who might face serious consequences for bringing shame to the family. Honor is a gendered term and has through times been mostly associated with men: men possess the honor, while women are carriers of their man's honor, and thereby

¹⁴ Author's translation

also the shame (Wikan 2008). Rumors and gossip are essential for the honor of a family, it does not matter what happened, it matters what the society and people think happened, therefore being exposed to rumors can be enough to bring shame, or even dishonor to your family (Wikan 2008: 12). In this case women are without shame, they become shameless, because honor is connected to one's sexuality, and especially women's sexuality, the women's chastity and modesty is a carrier of either the shame or the honor of the family or relatives (Wikan 2008: 9-10). Control of women's sexuality is essential to uphold the honor and a consequence when a girl brings dishonor or shame to the family might be a risk of being exposed to honor-based violence, or in worst the case honor killing (Wikan 2008).

Honor-based violence is understood as *"violence triggered by a family's needs to safeguard or restore its honor and reputation"* (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017: 12). The most extreme form for honor-based violence, and a well-known phenomenon, is honor killing, which means *"killings that are rewarded with honor"*¹⁵ (Wikan 2008: 15). According to Wikan (2008: 258) honor killing is an outcome of a duty to protect the honor of the family, where the killer is named a hero by the community. This do not mean that (some) family members does not experience grief and despair or that all family members agree with the act of killing (Wikan 2008: 258). That is why, according to Wikan (2008), there is still hope to find other solutions and prevent honor killing from happening.

Can women, or other people from the community that are speaking up about these issues be the solution to stop this act of violence? From exploring the issues connected to negative social control, patriarchal and honor-based violence towards women in the minority community, which has proved difficult to raise the voice about, -we will move our attention to the public debate and get a better understanding of how these issues has been raised and how a constructive public debate can be part of the solution.

¹⁵ Author's translation

The public debate

In this section I build on the experience of the so called Okin-debate and Helseth's study, which proposed the question *"How can you criticize patriarchal structures in the minority community (...) without amplifying racist or colonial stereotypes?"*¹⁶ Being able to answer this question might help us to find solutions on how to deal with negative social control and women's rights issues in the minority communities. I will start with recognizing the minority groups' participation in the public debate and challenges they meet, before we move on to explore the Norwegian multicultural feminist debate more in-depth.

3.6 Representing a minority in the public debate

The last part of the theory chapter we will get to know more about how it is to represent a minority in the public debate. Helseth has analyzed and discussed this topic with theories from Jürgen Habermas, Nancy Fraser, Hannah Arendt and Chantal Mouffe. I will use Helseth's approach to understand minorities' role in the public debate, what they can bring to the debate, why it is important to include them and what limitations they might face.

The public debate is part of the public space, where collective meanings are being created (Helseth 2017: 48), it is in this context we will try to comprehend how it is to represent a minority group in the public debate. Fraser (Helseth 2017: 47), based on Habermas' writings states that the public debate *"is a place where individuals and organizations can mobilize collective meaning making and thereby form a political force."*¹⁷ This force should be received by the state and authorities that will be responsible for the political demands based on the collective meaning (Helseth 2017: 47). Fraser explains that public space is a communicative place to exchange meanings and opinions, to criticize and to establish what is perceived as 'normative legitimate' (Helseth 2017: 47). Fraser argues that it is more democratic when there are more and competing voices in the public debates (Helseth 2017: 49). A multicultural understanding of the public debate is necessary to understand each other across cultures (Fraser in Helseth 2017: 49). Fraser emphasizes the importance of more voices that should be treated equally regarding participation in the public debate and concludes that it

¹⁶ Author's translation

¹⁷ Author's translation

is “*especially important to give minorities the opportunity to convince others what is public concerns*”¹⁸ (Helseth 2017: 49). However, Fraser argues that different groups have different access to participation in the public debate, where the privileged in society creates barriers for participation, thus it is necessary to challenge these barriers (Helseth 2017: 48- 49).

Arendt defends the individuals’ right to have a voice, and emphasizes that the different minority voices should be able to represent their individual voice, instead of only representing the collective group they are part of (Helseth 2017: 50- 51). Helseth (2017: 51) concludes that “*everyone should have the possibility to participate in a multivoiced public debate with a collective identity but at the same time be treated as an equally important voice.*”¹⁹ Arendt argues that we all have a duty to fight for our groups’ rights, which at the same time should benefit all groups in society and not only the particular group they represent (Helseth 2017: 51). Minority voices should have the opportunity to represent themselves as individuals, and at the same time represent a collective identity, while also being acknowledged for having an opinion in the best interest of all.

Being a minority in the public debate therefore has its challenges, however it is still important to include their voices and individual experiences in the debate. This needs to be understood in a Norwegian context. Helseth has identified some limitations the minorities and women meet when participating in the public debate in Norway that I will present here. This will help us to explain the environment the minority girls meet when entering the public debate in Norway regarding topics connected to women’s rights.

3.6.1 Limitations of representing a minority on the public debate in Norway

Helseth (2017: 19) has identified two main limitations that are distinctive for the women and minorities when entering the public debate in Norway. The first one is to represent a group and not have an individual voice, the second one is the extent of harassment and threats towards those expressing themselves in public.

The first limitation is connected to a frustration among the public actors in the media, who are not able to have an individual voice, but are being forced to represent their minority group

¹⁸ Author’s translation

¹⁹ Author’s translation

(Helseth 2017: 19). The limitation according to Helseth (2017: 19) is which roles are available in the media. The other limitation is that actors in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway often are exposed to threats and harassment (Helseth 2017: 19). Studies (Hagen 2015; Midtbøen & Steen-Johnsen 2015) show that *“if you are women or have minority background there is a higher risk that you will be exposed to threats and harassment based on your identity, than if you are a white male”*²⁰ (Helseth 2017: 19). Women that are criticizing the gender regimes and oppression of other minority women have by some been accused of being disloyal and in opposition to their own community (Helseth 2015: 74). Women with minority background are being met with both attacks from extreme Islamists and racism from ethnic Norwegians (Bangstad 2014, in Helseth 2017: 19).

3.7 The multicultural feminist debate in Norway

In order to answer Helseth’s question we need to have a better understanding of the conditions in the public debate regarding women’s right in the minority communities in Norway. According to Helseth (2015) much of the multicultural feminist debate in Norway is based on limited empirical data, but after investigating the public debate and minority and Muslims contributions to the debate regarding women’s right she can recognize some tendencies that I will present here. Helseth has identified two opposing positions in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway, which has made it difficult to find concrete and suitable solutions, as well as a third approach in the debate which I will present here. This will be the basis for understanding the challenges there are in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway and what kind of solutions Helseth suggests to be able to answer her question.

3.7.1 Two opposing positions: feminism first and post-colonialism

In the debate about what should be the preferred political solution to the issue of oppression of women in the minority communities, Helseth (2015) identifies two opposing positions that she has named feminism first and post-colonial feminism. Both positions have a feminist point of departure, as they *“emphasizes the existence of an unwanted hierarchy between men and women and explicit describes women’s situation.”*²¹ (Helseth 2017: 113) Another similarity between the two positions is the emphasize on the importance of freedom of individuals (Helseth 2017: 147). Except from these similarities there are differences between

²⁰ Author’s translation

²¹ Author’s translation

the two positions, and they are in a constant opposition to each other. The debate has been very personified, with focus on individuals on each side promoting their arguments and views (Helseth 2017). There are especially two women who have been in the front, and that have had conflicting polarizing positions, Shabana Rehman promoting the feminism first position and Marianne Gullestad representing the post-colonial position. According to Helseth (2017) during this period (beginning of the 2000's) there was a decrease in Muslim's women participation in the public debate. One could question if it was the harsh debate climate, focus on individuals and polarization of the debate that made it more difficult for minority women to be public. Within both positions Helseth (2017: 225) argues that it is a constant conflict of recognition about who is correct between the two positions. Both positions have been identified by Helseth as in the feminist multicultural debate in Norway the last decades.

Feminism first focuses on the fact that feminist perspectives should be considered first (Helseth 2017: 113). This position raises the issue that women's rights have been put aside and not addressed properly because a fear of the anti-racist agenda. The feminism first position argues that *"the main issue is the extent of patriarchal violence and attitudes that leads to violence against women in numerous minority communities, and that a misunderstood antiracism prevents from criticizing and combat."*²² (Helseth 2015: 65) There is a fear that any critique of the minority community will be regarded as full of prejudice and even racist, thereby these topics or issues have not had enough attention in the public and been sufficiently discussed (Helseth 2015: 65). (Helseth 2015: 65). The solution according to Helseth (2015: 65) is more public debate about topics like forced marriage, negative social control and a confrontation religious communities connected to the minority communities (Helseth 2015: 65). Opposite this view is the postcolonial feminism.

The position of postcolonial feminism is a *"theoretical and critical perspective on the power structures between earlier colonial powers and the colonized."*²³ (Helseth 2017: 114) This position claims that the issue is that the distinctive forms of violence that minority women are exposed to is dominating the political agenda, which leads to a situation where minority women are portrayed as passive victims not able to act (Helseth 2015: 65). The postcolonial position reasons this with white feminism that has not been able to understand and address

²² Author's translation

²³ Author's translation

that the Norwegian society is full of racial prejudices (Helseth 2015: 65). They claim that racism prevents minority women from opposing the patriarchal attitudes present in the minority communities (Helseth 2015: 65). This position “*is mainly directed to racist attitudes in the majority public and the generalizing terms of all minority women as victims and as all minority men as perpetrators of violence*”²⁴ (Helseth 2015: 65).

As we can see, these two positions represent two different ideas how to address and raise the issue of women’s rights in the minority communities in Norway. The two positions contradict and the main conflict between them is whether suppression of women or racism is the main problem. We can conclude that these two positions are in a conflict of recognition between feminist and anti-racist perspectives as the most correct arguments. Helseth argues that the roles between these two positions are delegated in advance, and though there exist arguments across the positions it seems like it is impossible to acknowledge that they can be combined. In addition to these two positions, Helseth (2017) have also identified a third approach, that reminds of the post-colonial position, but does not have women’s rights and the hierarchy between women and men as their main issue.

3.7.2 A third approach: Women-friendly Islam

Women friendly Islam as a third approach that has been present in the multicultural debate in Norway, which does not specifically address issues connected to women’s right, but is based on the position of Muslims in Norway. The main issue in women-friendly Islam is the existence of “*an anti-Muslim public that does not accept Muslim women’s right to freedom of religion.*”²⁵ (Helseth 2017: 118) According to Helseth (2017: 118) this approach does not see lack of women’s rights as problem, but the problem is a demonizing of Muslims and Islam in the public, either by the media or individuals. In women-friendly Islam their main argument is that oppression of women does not come from Islam as a religion, but is a cultural stigmatized misinterpretation of Islam among some Muslims. Though this approach does not directly focus on women’s rights, it is still relevant for understanding the current debate in Norway regarding negative social control and the situation for women in a Muslim community, and for Muslim’s as a minority. With these two positions and the third approach in mind, we will try to understand why this conflict of recognition is reproduced.

²⁴ Author’s translation

²⁵ Author’s translation

3.7.3 Reasons for the conflict of recognition between the two positions

Helseth concludes that there are four main reasons why the conflict between the two positions is reproduced. First, because of “*a public critique of patriarchal structures in the minority community can lead to stigmatization.*”²⁶ (Helseth 2017: 225). The conflict is between the stigmatization of Muslims as a group and highlighting patriarchal oppression. Second, is that there are political forces on both sides of the conflict that benefit from not unifying the two positions. Both right-wing populists and conservative Muslims are misusing both sides of the conflict to promote their agenda. Third, the conflict is maintained because here is too much focus on “*personal narrative and anecdotes about offenses*” (Helseth 2017: 226). And lastly, the conflict is reproduced because of difficulties with defining Islam: “*if it is the Islamic canonized text, the cultural context of Muslims or is it Muslims themselves who defines Islam.*” (Helseth 2017: 226) The insecurity around what is being criticized leads to an increase in the conflict level (Helseth 2017: 226). What kind of issues does this create in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway?

3.7.4 Identifying issues in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway

Two opposing positions, always in conflict with each other create certain issues in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway that makes it difficult to have a productive discussion about topics like negative social control and women’s situation in the minority communities.

Within all three positions the personal stories are used as the explanation for the situation, which often leads to dramatic stories of individuals that not always show the adequate picture of the situation (Helseth 2015: 66). It seems to be an implicit demand that individual Muslim voices should represent Muslims as a group, and thereby have to legitimize their role and experiences within the topic, which provides guidelines for how to participate in the debate. According to Helseth (2017: 163) Muslims in the public debate are legitimizing their position through highlighting their personal experiences and religious affiliation. Helseth argues that this is problematic because who you are becomes more important than what you say (your arguments) will uphold the conflict between the feminist and antiracist perspectives. When your arguments are based on “*subjective feelings, it might result in a fight about victim status between those who puts forward a racist discrimination and those who out forward*

²⁶ Author’s translation

patriarchal suppression."²⁷ (Helseth 2017: 181) Helseth (2017: 181) argues that the emphasize on a collective representation and personal insult leads to a debate about the person and not the arguments, which does not contribute to find proper solutions.

Some of the main topics of the current debate is violence against women, forced marriage, negative social control, culture, the culture of honor and shame, honor-based violence. The language used in the public important and often those words, especially the word culture, is misused and misunderstood in a way that might lead to overrated generalizations (Helseth 2015: 67). From how the stories are presented we can get the impression that all minority girls are exposed to violence, or all minority men perform violence because of their culture, which leads to a suspicion towards all immigrants as violent (Helseth 2015: 66). Helseth (2015: 67) says that Norwegian public debate tends to portray women as oppressed. At the same time women's right in these communities are important issues to raise, and we need these stories to learn the scope and structure behind how violence against women is upheld (Helseth 2015).

Helseth (2015: 63) argues that when an already stigmatized minority group is being criticized in the public, it might exacerbate the hierarchy between the majority and the minority. Within both positions the Muslim actors in the public debate are in a situation with high risks, both in form of threats and violence, and a risk for wrongly being accused for being racist, extremist or sexist (Helseth 2017). Helseth (2017: 163) argues that by stressing their own risks and attacking other Muslim participants in the debate, as there have been several examples of, this will be visible as a distrust and suspiciousness attached to the public debate. Also white feminists in Norway have been encouraged to get more involved in the situation for minority women, but by doing so they have at the same time received support from unwanted allies that are misinterpreting their arguments to promote anti-immigration attitudes (Helseth 2015: 62). On the other hand, being silent about these cultural practices, is problematic as it might have negative consequences for minority women (Helseth 2015: 63).

Understanding these issues of the multicultural feminist debate in Norway we can better comprehend the environment of the debate regarding issues connected to women's rights, and more specifically negative social control and the culture of shame and honor, which the shameless girls and other minority women have raised their voice about. In the analysis, this

²⁷ Author's translation

knowledge will help us when analyzing their contributions to the debate and the challenges and/or possibilities it might create for them as actors in the public debate

3.8 Another debate is possible

The debate has potential to focus more on finding solutions on how to address cultural practices oppressive to women in a minority community without exacerbating racial stereotypes (Helseth 2017). Another debate is possible Helseth (2017) argues, and brings forward suggestions on how the multicultural feminist debate can be more constructive.

Helseth (2017) argues that the public debate needs more focus on arguments and evidence, and not only the personal stories approach based on subjective feelings. This is not a critique of the individuals' contribution to the debate, but an expression of what discourse and directions is available within the media (Helseth 2017: 181). It is the editors in the media that decide the guidelines for the actors in the public debate, and not the participants of the debate (Helseth 2017: 227- 228). Helseth (2017: 228) argues that there is a need for a more diverse public media, which is open to more actors that are usually perceived as different and thereby get more diverse voices into the debate. Helseth (2017: 227) suggests that the multicultural feminist debate would be more constructive if *“the focus was on institutions and political solutions, and to a less extent was about each individual’s attitudes and intentions.”* There is a need for a collective political awareness of how to describe problems: *“if it is described as part of a system or an individual experience. Experience is not enough, a collective political awareness must be created.”*²⁸ (Uma Narayan 1997, in Helseth 2017: 226). A collective identity creation is essential for a political debate, and public debate is maintaining two conflicting oppositions, feminism first and post-colonial feminism, rather than finding a collective identity to address important issues.

There have been attempts to unify the two positions, but so far Helseth (2017) has not been able to identify this as a success in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway. After Helseth concluded on her study, the shameless girls have entered the public debate. Can the shameless movement represent an example of a unification of these two positions, which enables them to address negative social control and issues with women's right in the minority communities in Oslo/Norway? In the first chapter of the analysis I will explore this more in depth.

²⁸ Author's translation

5. Analysis

The multicultural public debate in Norway

The topic of the first chapter in the analysis is the shameless girls and other women with minority background's participation in the public debate in Norway and specifically the multicultural feminist debate in Norway will. I will address this by exploring more in depth who are the shameless girls and what kind of issues they are raising in the public debate. By examining the interviews and contextualizing them with Helseth's findings about the multicultural feminist debate in Norway, we will understand better what kind of challenges these women face when representing a minority in the debate and what kind of opportunities their participation opens for themselves and others. I will end with discussing the form of the debate and how they have approaches the debate.

4.1 The shameless girls in the public debate

The term 'shameless' and the way it has been used in the public debate in last years, was introduced by Herz in the article "*We are the shameless Arabic girls and our time starts now*"²⁹, about negative social control published in April 2016. It was from this word, that the young women with minority background who entered the public debate after Herz' article, became known as the shameless girls, and have later been titled as the shameless movement. Herz first used the word shameless to describe the negative social control that some Arab or Muslim girls/women experience within their community. Based on the interviews with women with minority background I will go more into detail into the meaning behind the word, who the shameless girls are, how they identify with the movement and what issues they find important to raise to ensure women's rights.

4.1.1 What does shameless mean?

The word shameless has been used in this debate to highlight the control some women are facing. Both Herz and Bile say in the interview that the word shameless is used by some in a negative way towards girls who are not behaving according to the rules and norms expected

²⁹ Author's translation

from them by their community. Bile, Srour and Herz (2017: 6-7) explain in their book *Shameless* how the word is used by some:

*“Shameless is used as a bad word against girls that are not following the existing norms. It is a hard accusation, and both you and your family’s honor are at stake. If you don’t have shame, there is something wrong with your moral compass, something wrong with the way you have been raised, something wrong with you.”*³⁰

Thus, shameless is used towards girls and women who are perceived to have a bad moral or act wrongly. Herz says that *“girls, especially those with minority background, who are different than the norms in the community, will be called shameless”*. Bile calls the rules and norms that girls are expected to follow unreasonable. Therefore, the shameless girls have chosen to use the word ironically about themselves and other girls, as an opposition to those who are calling or perceiving them as shameless. Herz clarifies that being shameless does not mean *“that we don’t have shame, it is about that we don’t have the shame others apply to us.”* The shameless girls Bile, Srour and Herz (2017: 7), also emphasize in their book that they have been using the word ironically to highlight the need for choice and freedom in young girls’ lives: *“when you taste the word, analyze what it actually contains, then it is liberating: Shameless. Without shame. (...) Of course we are shameless if shameless is means to be free.”*³¹ The authors do not want others decide whether they are shameless or not, based on rules and norms they find unreasonable.

4.1.2 Who are the shameless girls?

The term shameless girls has especially been used when speaking about the three women Bile, Srour and Herz. The shameless girls’ main topic when they first entered the public debate in 2016 was negative social control of girls/women within their own communities (Herz 2016; Bile 2016). The movement has been supported by many young women with immigrant/minority background, as well as by other actors and participants in the public debate (See for example: Raja 2017; Skjeggstad 2016; Nasir 2016; Tajik 2017).

Nevertheless, the movement and the individual voices have also been criticized by some (f.eks. Ali & Ahmad 2016). More than half of the women I interviewed feel part of the shameless movement or identify themselves with the movement’s aim and thoughts. Herz and Bile are both part of the shameless trio, while for example Abdi and Al-Musawi don’t call

³⁰ Author’s translation

³¹ Author’s translation

themselves shameless, but have been referred to as part of the shameless movement by the media. However, they both do identify with the movement and have contributed to the same debate as Bile, Srour and Herz. Khan also supports the movement, but some of the other interviewees have consciously taken some distance from the term, as they do not feel that either the word shameless or the movement represents them (such as Karim and Nikkerud).

Karim says that when she first read Herz' article, she was excited and liked it, but that now she is disappointed by the turn the public debate has taken and does not identify herself with the shameless movement. She explains that she feels the pressure *"to be without shame"* in order to be accepted. This includes things that for her would not be acceptable from a Muslim point of view. Nikkerud also does not identify with the movement:

"I have deliberately taken distance from the term. Because I would rather like to nuance being a Muslim, than being a shameless Muslim. That you are not being good enough, because I am so tired of it, that I am not a good enough Muslim, before you are the shameless Muslim."

Nikkerud says she understands why they are using the term, but she does not want to use it herself. Karim and Nikkerud do not find shameless as an appropriate term to describe themselves, and they do not want to be "shameless" in order to take part in the debate. Zahid explains that *"there is no shame in not being shameless"*, with which she means that being shameless is not the only solution, and even though girls are not being shameless, it is okay to identify with the movement.

Herz says that she meets many young people who support them when she is traveling around in Norway:

"there are not that many participants in the debate who identify with the word shameless, but when we travel around, there are many young people and parents who say they are part of this movement, and this is what actually matters. And it is for them that we are doing this."

Herz explains that the movement is not only for those who take part in the public debate, but also for those who do not express themselves publicly. Zahid also emphasizes that this fight is not only for those present in the media:

"I feel like it is a common fight, especially between the shameless girls, and just by putting it in the public spotlight makes it a fight between more. But at the same time, it is important to emphasize that there are many who are fighting for

themselves, but who are not in the spotlight, so we should also give them credit.”

Zahid expresses that the movement does not only consist of the women who are visible in the media, but also many other girls/women and boys/men who are fighting for women's rights and against negative social control on a daily basis.

Most of the women I interviewed identify and/or support the shameless girls and the movement. Not everyone identifies with the name shameless, but everyone identifies with the fight for women's rights. Based on this and different contributions to the public debate, we can assume that this also reflects the reality in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway nowadays. Women support one another and share the same wish to combat negative social control and improve women's rights.

4.1.3 What issues do the shameless girls find important to raise?

By understanding the conditions for the young women with minority background taking part in the public debate, we can understand better what issues regarding negative social control and women's rights should be addressed. Why do the eight women with minority background think it is important to take part in this debate and what kind of issues are they raising?

The analysis of the issues raised by the shameless girls and other women with minority background can be done in different ways. Using Helseth's theory about the two positions in the multicultural feminist debate, feminist first and post-colonial feminism, is one way to do it. Helseth (2017: 62) proposes one relevant question that illustrates the conflict between these two positions: *“Is it possible to criticize patriarchal structures in the minority community (...) without amplifying racist or colonial stereotypes?”* According to Helseth (2017), this is an important question when addressing cultural practices, such as negative social control. Can we recognize any characteristics showing these two positions among the interviewed women and what kind of issues are they bringing to the public debate?

All the women I interviewed connected their interest in combating negative social control to ensure women's rights and improve the conditions for girls/women. Herz, Nikkerud and Zahid express that their fight for women's rights is a continuation of the fights started by earlier generations, and that minority women before them showed a way forward and opened the doors for them to continue fighting, especially for minority women's rights. Abdi,

Nikkerud, Al-Musawi and Karim have all been active in the debate specifically about Muslim women's rights, some with emphasis on women's right to wear hijab or niqab. Karim has also been highlighting issues connected to integration, the situation for asylum seekers, and violence and rape with special focus on the Muslim community. Al-Musawi has been raising issues connected to gay rights, while both Karim and Al-Musawi have emphasized the importance to combat hate-speech, especially towards minorities. Zahid expresses an interest in political processes with special focus on integration and immigration policies. Most of the women also expressed that raising their voice about minority rights and discrimination or racism towards minorities and Muslims is something essential to them (Bile, Nikkerud, Abdi, Karim and Al-Musawi). The interviewed women have therefore been part of the public debate on questions such as women's rights, negative social control, integration, minority rights, religion's role in the society and other relevant topics in the last years, and have contributed with their insights, knowledge and experience as women with minority background in Norway.

This shows that the issues women with minority background in Norway are raising their voice about in the public debate vary and are not only focused on negative social control or women's rights. Based on Helseth's theory about the two positions, I identify two findings from the interviews. The first one shows that the women are taking part in debates and raising issues within both positions, and it does not immediately seem like they have chosen, consciously or unconsciously, one position over the other. The second finding is that all the women I interviewed are taking part in the debate because they have a wish to create a more equal and just society, with special focus on both women and minorities. In addition to women's rights and negative social control, we can see that minority rights and the rights of marginalized groups in general are central to them. My material points in the direction that these issues are interconnected and influence on each other, as I will demonstrate throughout the analysis. I will argue why it is important to address issues connected to women's right from both the feminist first perspective and the post-colonial perspective at the same time. We can assume that being a woman with minority background in Norway involves some challenges, and opportunities, which I will discuss this in the following pages.

4.2 Challenges faced by women with minority background in the public debate

According to Helseth there are two concerns found in the feminist debate. The first one is that it has become difficult to raise issues addressing cultural differences because of its complexity, and therefore many feminists have become silent (Helseth 2017: 65). The second concern is that the feminist rhetoric which is used to address these cultural differences or issues connected to minority or immigrant communities has been misused by those with an anti-immigration agenda (Helseth 2017:65). To what extent are these or other concerns present in the Norwegian multicultural feminist debate?

Bile, Srour & Herz (2017: 7-8) explain how they are facing challenges when taking part in the debate about negative social control: “

[W]e are often accused of overestimating, of being too subjective and of lying about our experiences and lives. Often by individuals in our own communities, who think that we are denigrating the communities by talking about these challenges. On the other hand, racists and right-wing populists are misusing our stories as a proof for their prejudices, and are making us poster girls for a generalizing ideology we could not disagree more with.”

Having an understanding about the challenges these women meet, we can know better how to address negative social control and women’s rights in the minority communities without feeding the racist agenda.

I talked with the young women to hear more about what kind of challenges and opportunities the fact of raising their voice has brought them. The women reveal different aspects that makes it challenging for them to take part in the debate and to express themselves freely regarding topics related to negative social control and women’s rights in their communities. I have identified six main challenges based on the interviews: Receiving negative and hateful response, especially about Islam; statements being misused for an anti-immigration agenda; a possibility of being perceived as dishonest by their community; statements about the minority community being generalized or not taken seriously; not being acknowledged as a legitimate voice in the debate and a skewed or unbalanced focus of the media. These challenges will be presented one by one.

4.2.1 Challenge 1: Receiving negative and hateful response, especially about Islam

Most of the women mention that they have received a lot of positive feedback from the public. However, almost all also express that they have been exposed to unwanted negative feedback, including hate-speech and threats, both from people in their own community and from the general public, including those with anti-immigration attitudes. Bile expresses that this is a negative consequence for taking part in the debate and explains that she has received negative and hateful comments. Nikkerud says she received criticism and was “*called different things*” after being portrayed with other minority women in a big newspaper in Norway. Al-Musawi is concerned about the hate towards participants in the public debate. She says that from all sides in the debate there is hate, especially towards minority groups, and she mentions not only herself, but also other minority groups such as the Sami-people and others in the queer community. Another example is Abdi (2017), who wrote an article where she argued for more inclusion of the Muslims wearing scarf/hijab into the debate. After this, she received negative feedback from the public:

“I received a lot of comments (...), and many of them were negative. Like, you bitch, it was a lot of bad things. That’s why I haven’t been writing for a while. It was in February (10 months ago) and I haven’t written anything since. It was not okay. I had just turned 17 years old, and you know, it was about how they wanted to rape me, and it was so ugly.”

Abdi explains that the feedback was directed to her as a person and as a Muslim girl, rather than the case or the arguments she put forward.

We can conclude that most of the women considers receiving negative and hateful response from the public as a challenge for them when taking part in the public debate, even if to different extents. In many of the cases, as we have seen the hate is linked to them being a minority/Muslim in the debate.

4.2.2 Challenge 2: Statements being misused for an anti-immigration agenda

Most of the women agree that one of the most difficult challenges of taking part in the debate is that they feel exploited by actors with an anti-immigration agenda, who use their cause to confirm their own prejudices about the minority or Muslim community (Al-Musawi, Bile,

Karim, Herz, Abdi, Nikkerud). Bile is afraid that raising the voice about these issues might confirm prejudices and stereotypes about her community:

“What I am most afraid of with this debate is to confirm the understanding of reality, the screwed understanding of reality to those a bit on the outside, maybe a bit too far out on the political scale. (...) If I as a Muslim say that I want to raise this issue within my community and my culture, they are thinking, oh yes, my thought about this culture or religion was right, and my understanding of reality is legitimized and I can continue what I’m doing”.

This is a consequence which Bile takes seriously and which prevents her from fully taking part in the debate. She does not want to marginalize an already marginalized group. Karim, too, feels that when she writes about different issues connected to her own community it can easily be misunderstood. Karim explains that sometimes she gets support from the “wrong” people. She says: *“And I could feel, that when I wrote the rape in Muslim homes text, it became a confirmation that, yes, there is something wrong with Muslim homes.”* Al-Musawi is critical to the way the increased attention to negative social control has been exploited by actors with an anti-immigrant agenda: *“Many people are using the debate about social control and the shameless girls to their win, so that they can speak against it.”* These examples show that it is difficult for them to raise questions connected with negative social control and women’s rights in their own community without confirming prejudices and stereotypes, which feed an anti-immigration agenda the girls do not identify with.

4.2.3 Challenge 3: Possibility of being perceived as disloyal by their community

The third identified challenge is connected with how these women are perceived by their own community. Bile is afraid that addressing issues such as negative social control might create more distance between herself and the community:

“I am very afraid that parents or other people with power positions can look at me and say, don’t become like her. Because that was one of the advices I was told, don’t become like these ladies, to be Deeyah Khan, Amal Aden, Kadra Yousef etc. (...) They are going against Islam, against their culture, they have left their own so serve the white man’s agenda.”

Bile says that this attitude towards women who speak out is present in her community, and therefore she is very careful with how she expresses herself, because she wants to be perceived as a good Muslim role model and not scare young girls because of her involvement in the debate. She has received “advices” from people to not discuss religion in public, and

explains that some people misunderstand her words on purpose. Moreover, Bile expresses that her public actions can also hit back on her family, because they can easily be misunderstood, especially when talking about religion. Abdi also explains that sometimes her friends and family don't understand what she is writing about and therefore might put their own meaning into it or misunderstand it. They are critical and suspicious about her contributions to the debate. Abdi says that this sometimes causes unwanted situations, where she has been contacted by relatives or others with “friendly advices” to stop writing, in order not to harm their community.

None of them want to cause harm either to their family or their community, but by taking part in the public debate about negative social control and women's rights there is a risk that this might happen and they find it challenging. It is difficult for them to know how to address the issues in a “correct” way, while keeping to be perceived as loyal to their community.

4.2.4 Challenge 4: Statements about minority communities being generalized

Another challenge mentioned by some of the women is that their statements are being generalized in a negative way when talking about issues in the minority communities (Khan, Nikkerud, Karim, Herz). For example, Nikkerud mentions that she has to be very careful when taking part in this debate not to generalize:

“it has been important for me to not generalize the minority community. Because it is not correct that it is everyone. It is within certain communities, and then you can be more specific with your message. We should be more specific and say which mosque for example or which community.”

Khan expresses that she often feels that when she mentions issues connected to the Pakistani community in Oslo it can easily be misunderstood, “you don't want to generalize (...) when I talk about the Pakistani community, I don't mean everyone. I mean the opposite.” She feels like her statements are being used to talk about the Pakistani community in general. Also, Karim expresses that she finds it difficult to address women's rights issues connected to the minority community when for example discussing rape in Muslim homes:

“It's just that I'm saying it happens in Muslim homes that are problematic. If I say that rape happens in Norwegian homes, of course it happens. Rape happens, but it suddenly becomes problematic when I say that it happens in Muslim homes. We already have enough problems, not ruin it more.”

Karim says that issues should be raised without having to be generalized. How to address issues connected to their community without being generalized and creating stereotypes and prejudices about their own communities is a challenge for them.

4.2.5 Challenge 5: Being acknowledged as a legitimate voice in the debate

Another challenge faced by many of the women, is that they as young women feel like they are not being taken seriously, they are being discredited or misunderstood on purpose (Bile, Al-Musawi, Herz, Karim). Al-Musawi says that she sometimes has the feeling that she is being seen down on for expressing her opinions, especially when talking about hate-speech against Muslims and Muslims rights. She has also been told that she is too young to have an opinion. Herz also expressed that the biggest challenge for her is the fear of being discredited: *“The attitude that, who are you to say this, or you only talk about your own life and you are not saying anything objective, I think that is worse than being called a bitch.”* She continues with explaining that she experiences discredit from the extreme sides in the debate, *“those who think that negative social control is not a problem and those who says we should talk more about forced marriage and less about anti-racism.”* Herz emphasizes that part of their aim is to be allowed to have ownership of their own fight and their own experiences. For example, she mentions that some women’s experiences are not being taken seriously because they wear the hijab or that she as an ex-Muslim, now atheist, is expected to go against Islam, which she has no wish to do. Karim expresses that it is difficult to represent a minority and at the same time do it in a legitimate way. She explains that she can easily be discredited since others don’t know too much about the things she is talking about. She has then experienced that the issues she is raising has been questioned as *“your own opinions”* rather than facts. The women have mentioned different situations where they have not been taken seriously, been discredited or misunderstood on purpose, and sometimes find it difficult to be seen as a legitimate participant in the debate.

4.2.6 Challenge 6: Skewed or unbalanced focus of the media

Most of the women have mentioned different challenges connected to the focus of media regarding the debate around negative social control, women’s rights in general, as well as the minority communities. Abdi points out that she and other like her are not experts in this debate, but that many are talking only from the perspective of their experience and that some people get more space on the stage than others, which she sees as problematic. Karim sees a

lack of quality in the debate and expresses a wish for more knowledge-based information in the media and public debate in general. Al-Musawi thinks that the public debate is very concentrated on a few issues, which take a lot of place in the media, and thinks that the debate around hijab gets too much attention. Nikkerud also argues that the debate around Islam and a ban of hijab and niqab is stealing the attention from the importance of discussing force, whether it is force in wearing and taking off the hijab. All the same, both Abdi and Karim think that the religious perspectives are being overlooked in the public debate and that religious Muslim girls are not getting enough attention. Nikkerud also thinks that there is too much attention on the debate itself and certain profiles than on what is going on at grassroots level and would like more attention towards solutions and the actual everyday life in the communities. Herz and Nikkerud think that it is important to have *both* men and women in the debate. Herz calls for more boys/men to participate, and says she is sure that they are there, but that it is a question about who the media allow into the debate. As we can see, most of the women express unbalanced and skewed focus of the media. However, some of them express that they have been taken seriously by the media.

4.2.7 Discussing challenges with being a minority in the debate

As we have seen, the women identify many challenges concerning participation in the public debate. The women report that they received an increased amount of hate-speech, especially towards their religion. Their statements and contributions are being misused by actors with an opposite agenda who use them this to promote anti-immigration views; they are afraid to be perceived as disloyal by their communities and families; there is a high chance that their statements about the minority community are being generalized, which might confirm prejudices about their community. This, at the same time, can be misunderstood or misused by those with different views. The focus of the media is also playing a big role when setting the agenda about which actors and topics should be part of the public debate and not. Based on the interviews and the challenges these women are experiencing, many of the points presented in the theory chapter are confirmed. I will discuss this more in depth, and demonstrate how some of the limitations and concerns mentioned by Helseth are reflected in the interviews that I carried out.

The first limitation about representing a group and not being able to represent an individual voice is visible when Bile and Abdi express how they are perceived as representing their

community when taking part in the debate. This limits them from taking part in the debate because they are afraid to harm the community and prevent others from taking part in it. Also, when their statements being generalized might be a sign that when they address issues connected to their community, this is perceived as valid for the whole community. This limitation is connected to what roles are available in the media (Helseth (2017: 19). They expressed that there is a need for more quality in the debate, less focus on topics such as wearing of the hijab or not, and more focus on the everyday life and how to find solutions. They also expressed a need for a more diverse debate which includes boys/men and greater focus on the religious perspectives into the debate.

The other limitation is that minorities are often exposed to threats and harassment, which was also identified by the women as a challenge (Helseth 2017: 19). They receive both threats, hateful and negative feedback, as well as “friendly advices”. Women who criticize gender regimes and oppression in their own communities are accused of being disloyal or in opposition to their community (Helseth (2017: 19), which some of the women also confirmed during the interview. Most of the women confirm that this feedback came from both the minority community and the majority public, and that most of the negative response was directed towards them as a minority or Muslim. Many of the women also confirm that they face racism from some people of the majority public. Most of the women find this problematic, and identify racism and discrimination as one of the main challenges in society in general. Helseth (2017: 157) argues that the limitation of women’s right to express themselves publicly is serious and a threat for our democracy.

Some of the women express that they sometimes need a break from the public, and some of them are considering not to take part in the debate anymore (Al-Musawi, Karim, Bile, Abdi). Bile expresses that she is withdrawing from the debate because *“it is very hard, but also because. I don’t know, I just. I can feel my body says no. I can’t bear it”*. Karim has been less active because she is disappointed by the turn of the public debate around negative social control, while Abdi had a long break after she was subject to hate-speech as a result of her articles. Less participation by feminists in the multicultural feminist debate due to its complexity is one of the concerns mentioned by Phillips (1997 in Helseth 2015), and based on the interviews, many of the women expressed difficulties with taking part in the debate.

The women also mention that they experience social control when taking part in the debate. Khan has met many difficulties with taking part in the debate, and she has even been forced to contact the police for safety reasons: *“When I raise my voice about problems connected to negative social control, I experience more control.”* Herz also explains how minority girls receive negative attention and control from more sides: *“Minority girls, we did not only experience negative social control, we are also experiencing discrimination and racism.”* Furthermore, she emphasizes that *“we are always fighting on different fronts.”* These women with minority or Muslim background are experiencing pressure and control from many sides of the debate. These are examples of the complexity in the debate and how it might limit some of the women from participating in it.

Many of the challenges and the control these women meet as participants in the public debate can be linked to the fact that they are part of a minority or Muslims. By understanding the connection and context of the issues in the multicultural feminist debate, the limitations met by minority participants in the debate identified by Helseth (2017: 19), the concerns presented by Phillips (1997, in Helseth 2015) and how this is confirmed in the interviews, in addition to the control women face in public, we can understand the difficulties these women meet when representing a minority in the debate. However, the women also emphasize that taking part in the public debate has given a lot of opportunities both for themselves and others.

4.3 Taking part in the public debate: opportunities open

Taking part in the public debate does not only pose challenges, but opportunities can also open for the actors involved, to others in the public debate and in the general society. By understanding the opportunities it has brought for the interviewed women, we can better know if the shameless movement could be part of a solution to deal with negative social control.

4.3.1 Finding inspiration on one another and more diverse voices in the debate

More and more minority women are speaking up about issues connected to women's rights and negative social control. Some of the girls also mention that they find inspiration on one another (Zahid, Abdi, Bile, Al-Musawi). Zahid (2016) also starts her first article with praising the shameless Arab girls who raised negative social control as an issue: *“I feel a deep gratitude, relief and freedom through those who have raised their voices. Their public telling*

of personal experiences and opinions is a breakthrough measure against a widespread and destructive control."³² Zahid also explained how she attended an event with the shameless girls and Deeyah Khan, and was inspired by the way they had been able to talk about these issues: *"this is what inspired me, that they put it on the agenda. And what Deeyah Khan says, that we are talked about a lot, as Muslim women, but it is about time that we get to talk about ourselves, that you get to talk about yourself and your experiences."* Zahid says this was the first time she could realize this possibility. Both Bile and Abdi point out that they were inspired by the shameless girls when they first took part in the public debate and wrote their first article. Bile (2016) wrote in her first article *"Hurray, for shameless girls speaking up, now I dare too."*³³ Bile said she could relate to what Herz and Srouer were writing in their first articles, and this was the reason why she found the courage to also write about it. Khan, Herz and Bile also express how people they have met have found inspiration from them, the shameless girls or other participants in the debate. Al-Musawi has been approached by others that would like to participate in the debate and have asked her for advice.

Many of the women express that taking a step into the debate has generated more opportunities to be even more active in it, and they have been invited to take part in different events, asked to write more articles and have been invited to debate programs on TV within different topics, including negative social control and how it is to be a woman with background from minority communities (Abdi, Al-Musawi, Bile, Herz). All the women express a wish to have a diverse debate, where there is space for different experiences, opinions and perspectives, while most of the women agreed that this had been achieved to a much higher extent with the increased participation of women with minority background in the public debate lately. Both Nikkerud and Khan think that it is important to show the different aspect and the diversity of the minority communities. Zahid also expresses that it is positive to have more voices in the public debate about negative social control in the public debate, because it gives a more nuanced discussion. While Karim calls for even more voices to join the debate, she thinks it is still too personalized because there are not enough young people who participate around these issues. Karim emphasizes that those who are already taking part in the debate have the same goal, but different approaches on how to get there.

³² Author's translation

³³ Author's translation

Bile says that disagreements and different approaches are contributing positively to the debate as more options are being included.

4.3.2 Increased attention among those who are exposed to negative social control

Being part of the public debate and frequently appearing in the media also means that more people get the chance to hear you. Some of the women tell that they have been contacted by many young people, because they could relate to their stories and contributions about negative social control. Khan says that many of those she talks to have found support from her, Shabana Rehmann, Iram Haq and the shameless girls. She answers this when asked if she feels like she has given support to others by being public about these issues: *“Yes, absolutely. When I receive messages from different people that I didn’t know before with different background, it becomes clear that they found the support (...), because I have talked about those different topics.”* Khan explains how she has been contacted by many young girls and boys who have experienced negative social control, and are therefore asking her for advice or want to explain about their situation. Herz also explains how she has been approached by people when she has been out travelling: *“What we have seen when we are travelling around, it is that they come to us and tells about their experiences, and you have inspired me to ask questions at home.”* Herz explains how this means much more than what is going on in the public debate. The Red Cross officer also says that some of the young people contacting them have found inspiration among the shameless girls or other participants in the debate.

4.3.3 Putting the issues on the agenda and having political influence

An important part of raising an issue is to have political influence. The women say that this possibility has been opened when taking part in the public debate. Zahid explains how she thinks the increased attention in media has created a domino effect, which has made politicians take them more seriously and apply new measures. Herz talks about different political steps that have been taken regarding dealing with negative social control. When asked if she feels that they have been taken seriously, she answers:

“Yes, it would be wrong to say that we did not. We are often in the media and get questions from politicians all the time. (...) I think that we are being taken seriously and that we are being heard. (...). Action plans and political measures. We get to bring our opinions to this, and we get to take part in the media and in the public debate.”

However, she is aware that some politicians might be doing it for symbolic reasons, but is still satisfied with being included in the decision making when discussing possible measures to deal with negative social control. Khan also expresses that they are being heard to a certain extent and that she has been invited to held presentations and lectures for different institutions working with negative social control. Al-Musawi sees a lack of engagement from politicians regarding other issues such as hate-speech and racism, in which she feels that they are not being taken seriously. Many of the women emphasized during the interviews that discrimination and racism are problems in the society that need to be addressed (Herz, Bile, Karim, Abdi, Nikkerud, Al-Musawi).

4.3.4 Main findings: Opportunities of taking part in the public debate

My interviewees emphasize that taking part in the public debate has opened possibilities for themselves and others regarding finding inspiration on one another and thereby believe that a more diverse debate is possible. They have been able to reach out and get attention among those exposed to negative social control and it has enabled them to put the issues they raise their voice about on the agenda and to have political influence. The opportunities that have been opened for the women show the importance of their contributions to the debate, and we can conclude that their participation has been essential in raising attention towards the issue of negative social control and women's rights in the minority communities, both among one another, among those exposed to it and among politicians and decision makers. It seems like their achievement goes beyond what we have seen earlier regarding minority women's participation in the debate, if we compare to Helseth's findings about the multicultural feminist debate in Norway (Helseth 2017). What contributed to these opportunities for the women despite the challenges they meet when representing a minority in the debate?

Based the solutions Helseth (2017) suggests to establish another debate and the opportunities the interviewees point out, we might find some explanations why the opportunities have been opened for young minority women in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway. Helseth (2017) argues that the public media should be more diverse and open for new actors. This is exactly what happened when the shameless girls entered the debate, they came as new actors, as the minority women. Helseth (2017) says that editors in the media that decide the discourse and the actors in the media should be open for this. When Herz, Srour and Bile wrote their first articles, it was in Si ;D – Aftenposten, who opened the possibility for them publish their

articles. Zahid says that she thinks Amalie Lereng (the editor of Si ;D) should have a lot of credit for bringing the shameless girls into the public. In the interview the women also emphasize to include more voices into the debate as important, they said that the increased attention to shameless movement and other women with minority background have open for even more voices to the public debate. However, some of the interviewees call for more boys/men and parents to be part of the debate.

Helseth (2017) argues for a need to be more focus on arguments and evidence rather than subjective and personal stories. The women have based their participation in the public debate on experiences, but have at the same time managed to raise issues with increased focus on arguments for women and minority rights, and evidence (or lack of evidence) of negative social control. Helseth (2017) says a debate would be more constructive if the focus was on *“institutions and political solutions”*, rather than *“each individuals’ attitude and intentions.”* I would argue that the shameless girls have to some extent managed this with their participation in the debate, and that one of the reasons why they have managed to bring forward arguments and evidence, could be explained by a creation of a collective identity, as suggested by Helseth (2017). One example of this is a common article written by 21 young women, including some of the shameless girls as a response to the “misuse of their agenda”.³⁴ The shameless girls managed to create a collective identity as the shameless movement and as minority women speaking up about similar issues. Helseth (2017) says that before the shameless girls entered the debate two conflicting positions has been maintained instead of creating collective identity to address important issues. I will discuss this more in-depth now.

4.4 Combining two positions: The importance of including anti-racist agenda when discussing women’s rights

The difficulties and control these women meet when taking part in the debate is to a high extent, connected to racism, hate-speech and control from both the minority and majority parts of the society. The interviewed women, therefore, consider it important to address minorities’ rights. The women have highlighted that women’s rights are not only about

³⁴ It was published in Aftenposten 15.06.2017 and signed by 21 young women who had been taking part in the debate (Including the shameless girls and some of the interviewees):
[https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/vqAeV/Vi-finner-oss-ikke-i-a-bli-misbrukt-pa-denne-maten - Luras--Signert-av-21-debattanter](https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/vqAeV/Vi-finner-oss-ikke-i-a-bli-misbrukt-pa-denne-maten-Luras--Signert-av-21-debattanter)

negative social control, but also about women's rights as a minority. Thus, being free from hate, racism and discrimination is an important right for minority women.

Almost all the women said that racism and discrimination of minorities are important topics to include in the debate about negative social control and women's rights (Herz, Bile, Karim, Abdi, Nikkerud, Al-Musawi). Al-Musawi expresses that she thinks racism is an issue in Norway: *"even though they say that racism is not so widespread, I think it is quite widespread."* However, the word racism can be difficult to use, as it has such a strong stigma connected to it, but discrimination is maybe easier to talk about, she says. Al-Musawi also says that she thinks negative social control, hate-speech and racism does not get enough attention when they raise their voice about it. However, as we have concluded, the women have been able to put negative social control and the situation for women in the minority communities on the agenda and have achieved political influence. I will argue that much of the reason why the women have been able to do that is because they have been able to combine the two conflicting positions, feminism first and post-colonial feminism, in a different way than we have seen before in the debate.

We know that the women I interviewed have been able to address the issues raised by both the feminist first side of the debate, as well as the post-colonial feminism side. Almost all the women are specifically highlighting negative social control, women's rights and issues within their own communities, which can be identified as the feminist first approach. At the same time, most of the women are focusing on minority rights, discrimination, racism and hate speech, which reminds very much of the post-colonial approach. None of the women seem to base their argument on only one side of the debate, but address both issues simultaneously because they find them important, since they are all connected to women's rights.

This is how the women themselves explain it: Herz says that *"one should not use our fight as an excuse to hate the community or hate the multicultural."* We already know that both generalizations and misinterpreting or misusing of their fight is a challenge for them. Herz therefore argues that it has been important for them to address issues connected to women's right in the minority community and at the same time include them in anti-racist agenda. Nikkerud similarly believes that the *"anti-racist fight and the women's fight should be united"*. Nikkerud says that it is important to have an anti-racist women's fight, because then

we are including all women and their challenges. Herz explains why it is important to include anti-racism in the debate:

“When we talk about anti-racism, the reason why we point this out so often is because we believe that if we forget this aspect, and use this fight as an excuse to talk badly about other cultures and other communities, and all the time criticize and attack instead of creating a dialogue you achieve nothing. Then you can’t solve any problems. That’s the main reason why we talk about it.”

Both Herz and the shameless girls (Bile, Srouf & Herz: 2017) have emphasized several times the importance of addressing issues connected to the cultural practices in the minority communities and women’s rights, based on an anti-racism agenda and the rights of minority groups. Abdi (2017) has also highlighted the importance of combining the women’s rights and the anti-racist agenda: *“In a world with increasing polarization, hate-speech and ‘us and them’- mentality there is a need for less polarization and more unity, especially interreligious and multicultural unity characterized by equality and fellowship.”* We can conclude that the women have included elements from both positions in the debate, because they think that they are interconnected and have an influence on each other. Both anti-racism and women’s rights issues are important for them to address.

Some of the women show the ability to not only combine the two positions, but also to include the third position about a women-friendly Islam. Abdi is Muslim and points out that Islam and feminism can and should be combined in order for Muslim women to be heard in the debate. Abdi (2017) writes: *“Islam and the fight for women’s rights are not opposites, rather the contrary. (...) We need to reintroduce Islamic feminism and fight this patriarchal and sexist society”* Seen in light with Helseth’s theory about a women-friendly Islam, we can see that Abdi has combined this approach with the feminism and a fight for women’s rights, in a different way than has been seen until now. Karim, Nikkerud and Bile express that Islamic principles can be combined with fighting for women’s rights.

The shameless girls and the other women with minority background that I interviewed are raising their voice not only on issues connected to negative social control and women’s rights, but also minority rights, racism and discrimination. Being a minority in the debate poses both challenges and opportunities. The women I interviewed have been able to address these issues by combining women’s rights and an anti-racist agenda. In the next chapter I will go more into depth with negative social control as a phenomenon.

The shameless girls' perspectives on negative social control

This part of the analysis will be dedicated to discovering the nature of negative social control based mainly on the interviews I conducted. So far the concept of negative social control has been related to young women with a minority background and my interviewees are representative from this particular group. The focus will be on how the women I interviewed actually describe and understand the concept, and how they experience it. In this chapter I will present the shameless girls' definition of negative social control, before we discover different forms it can take. I will uncover who can be subject to negative social control and how it is legitimized within the minority community.

5.1 Negative social control: Defining the concept

Bile, Srour & Herz (2017: 10) describe negative social control as present when *“the norms or the unwritten rules in a certain community controls your life because that is what is accepted in that community, that is what is accepted, while at the same time breaking with people's rights.”* They explain that everyone has the right to self-development *“through taking their own choices, through having the right of self-determination, freedom of choice, freedom of movement, all these freedoms”*, but that negative social control is restricting people's possibilities to achieve this development (Bile, Srour & Herz 2017: 10). Bile Srour & Herz (2017: 10) conclude that negative social control is about restricting an individual's freedom. In the interviews Abdi, Herz, Karim and Bile also identify negative social control as a lack of freedom. This is similar to Røde Kors' (2017: 5) understanding that negative social control is present when *“you experience that your basic rights, are violated regarding your age and maturity”*. Also, the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017:12) identifies that negative social control might interfere with the freedom of individuals. Thus, negative social control hinders individuals' freedom and violates their basic rights.

Karim's understanding of negative social control is:

“that you try to control other people's way of living, meanings and thoughts (...). And then you have the domestic social control when your family tries to

keep you in check. That's my definition of it, that you try to control someone's life. Trying to control their life, opinions and thoughts."

We can understand from Karim's statement that negative social control is not only about physical control of actions and behaviors, but also about psychological control of individuals. Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security definition of negative social control highlights "*supervision, pressure, threats and coercion*" as ways to control. Bile, Al-Musawi, Abdi, Karim and Khan agree, and say in the interviews that control can happen not only through violence, but also through threats or pressure. Negative social control can be both physical and psychological violence or control of individuals at different levels, including control of thoughts and opinions.

The interviewees mention expectations of how to behave or be like as a mean to control. Abdi expresses it this way:

"I feel that, it is not said directly to you that you can't do this and that, but that everyone understands that you shouldn't do it. And it's not directly pressure, but it is not socially acceptable. You are in a box, that you can't get out from."

Similarly, Bile expresses in the interview that the expectations are usually not said directly towards someone, but said as piece of advice or hints of how to behave and act, and is "*often written between the lines*". According to Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017) control is "*used to ensure that individuals live according to family or group norms.*" Also Røde Kors (2017: 5) states that control is used to make "*individuals live accordingly to the family or groups norms and values.*" My interviewees also emphasize that their freedom is restricted because certain rules or expectation from the family, relatives or community of how to live are applied to them. Almost all the women I interviewed explain that they know people, friends or family, who have experienced negative social control. Some of the women mention that they have experienced control from either their community, relatives or family regarding for example how they dress, how they express themselves in public, participation at school and in public life, relationships with the opposite gender or how to practice religion (Bile, Abdi, Al-Musawi, Khan, Nikkerud). The examples mentioned by the interviewees show that certain behaviors or actions are controlled. Thus, according to the interviewed women negative social control can happen through violence, threat, pressure, as well as expectations of actions, behavior, thoughts and how to live the life according to the norms in the community.

To sum up, there are three elements identified by the interviewees concluding on the concept of negative social control; the first one is that negative social control is violating basic rights and a deprivation of freedom of individuals. Second, control of individuals is both a control of physical actions and behavior and psychological control of opinions and thoughts. Third, negative social control is done by violence, pressure and threat, which includes expectations from the individual to live according to the norms in the family or the community. In the following pages I will go more in-depth into how these manifests in practice.

5.1.1 Forms of control: from expectations to negative social control

Negative social control manifests as a continuum going from mild to very extreme forms of control. From the theory chapter we know that the most extreme forms are easier to recognize, while the milder forms of control can be difficult to recognize. Based on the interviews I will present the main features of different forms of control, and discuss how we can recognize milder forms of control.

Bile, Srour & Herz (2017: 11) argue that the nuances of different forms of control are important in the debate, and suggest that bringing examples of negative social control is important in order to understand better what it is and to avoid it being such a vague concept. In their book Bile, Srour & Herz (2017) present eight different examples of negative social control experienced by young people, from being taken out from swimming classes at school as a child to being left in the parents' homeland as a youth. Bile emphasize that many people have contacted her and told about situations of control they experienced:

“They tell about girls and boys that have to a high extent experienced extreme control, like forced marriage, fear of forced marriage, being left behind abroad or fear of being left abroad. And then small things, that make them feel, like they need to wear the hijab, they don’t dare to take the hijab off. This are things some of my closest ones have told me. And then small things, that they did not know was social control.”

Bile brings some examples of different forms of control. Another important point we can take from Bile's statement, is that not everyone is aware that they are experiencing social control. Herz raises a similar concern:

“What is control for some, is maybe not control for others. To some extent it is a subjective feeling. Control as a violation of rights is an objective experience, when you cross the border, when it becomes illegal, when your body or your

freedom is violated. But for example, comments or questions (...) are not illegal. But it is a form of control too."

Herz distinguishes between objective control and a subjective feeling of negative social control. Therefore, how can we recognize when someone is experiencing negative social control?

The reader has already been presented with certain kinds of negative social control: forced marriage, fear of forced marriage, being left in the homecountry of your parents, fear of being left in the homecountry of their parents, FGM, virgin check, as well as milder forms of control (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017; Røde Kors 2017; Bråten & Elgvin 2014; Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet 2017). All these forms of negative social control are confirmed in the interviews as examples of how individuals might be controlled. Abdi and Bile, who both has background from Somalia, explain how FGM and being left in the parent's homeland are issues connected to negative social control in their communities. However, both of them emphasizes that FGM used to be a more widespread problem, but is now less accepted within the Somali community in Norway. In terms of, leaving children or young people in the homeland of their parents, also known as 'culture-rehabilitation' is an issue present among immigrants in Norway with Somali background. Both Abdi and Bile have examples of many people they know that have experienced this. These forms of control are easier to recognize and to know when they occur. Also, forced marriage and FGM are more easily to recognize and know when you are exposed to (Bile, Srour & Herz 2017: 11), even though Røde Kors (2017: 10) argues that forced marriage and arranged marriage can be difficult to distinguish. Al-Musawi tries to clarify between arranged marriage and forced marriage: *"There is a difference between arranged and forced marriage. (...) If a meeting is arranged, and you like each other and then you get married, it is a form of arranged marriage."* When asked whether this is still the case if the person experiences pressure to say yes, Al-Musawi further commented:

"Then I feel that it is not arranged anymore. Then it's forced, because you should have the chance to say no, without hesitating a second. As soon as you feel the pressure to say yes, then I don't think you can call it arranged anymore."

Force or a feeling of force illustrates here the difference between forced and arranged marriage. This corresponds well to how Røde Kors (2017), Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017) and Bråten & Elgvin (2014) understand the difference between forced

marriage and arranged marriage. I think it is important to highlight that for Al-Musawi the “*feeling of force*” is also negative social control. I will argue that this is an example that describes well the troubles between an objective and subjective form of control as mentioned by Herz. Having a “feeling of force” is subjective, and demonstrates how it can be difficult to recognize negative social control.

Milder forms of control can be difficult to recognize, and to identify as instance of negative social control (Bile, Srour & Herz 2017: 11). According to Bile, Srour & Herz (2017: 11) milder forms of control occur when a person is told how to behave and who to be, either directly or when this is expressed as expectations. This is also confirmed in the interviews, when Bile, Herz, Karim and Abdi how to dress, relationships with the opposite gender, sexual behavior, participation in public life and how to practice religion as examples when these expectations can be faced. Based on the interviews and some of the statements presented here I will also argue that a “*feeling of force*” and “*fear*” of consequences (being left abroad or forced marriage), are also kinds of negative social control. I argue that this might start as a milder form of control, but could possibly develop to more extreme forms of control. Based on the findings from the interviews I find that this is connected to some expectations from family, relatives or the community, that can be experienced as negative social control. Milder forms of control can also have serious consequences for those exposed to them (Røde Kors 2017). Bile, Srour & Herz (2017: 11) argue that milder forms of control can be destructive for those exposed to them since the person is not deciding over themselves and one consequence might be that a person can have a feeling that he/she should be someone else.

5.1.2 The difference between strict upbringing and negative social control

It can be difficult to know when negative social control is present, and to distinguish between milder forms of control and strict upbringing can be an issue that my interviewees raised as I will explain.

Many of the women mention in the interview that there is a thin line between upbringing, or strict upbringing, and negative social control (Bile, Karim, Al-Musawi, Herz, Khan, Zahid). Zahid explains:

“There are different forms of social control. There is very strong negative social control, and then there are maybe some milder types. It is a very difficult range. From parents just wanting the best for their children and only raise them in the

way they have been raised themselves. And that's a very natural thing. And that there are cultural norms for them, that you should be wearing hijab, and sending them to the mosque. This can be very natural for them."

Zahid here exemplifies there might be a continuum of social control, ranging from rules for raising your children to negative social control. According to Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017:14) it can be difficult to distinguish because there are different upbringing practices and some are more freedom restrictive than other restricting, and mention "unreasonable restrictions" as a measurement. Røde Kors (2017: 5) suggest that the extent to which upbringing practices extend to negative social control should be measured taking into account the age and the maturity of the person involved. In the interview some of the women mention some personal experiences they had regarding this. Abdi mentions situations where her parents had expectations of her, and that they were trying to decide for her what to do regarding participation in school-related activities; however, she says that she has not experienced negative social control. In contrast Al-Musawi, when asked if she has experienced negative social control, answers: *"Both yes and no. A bit from my dad, regarding hijab and how I dress. Like, everything I wear is wrong, but he has understood that he just needs to give up, because I am so stubborn."* Al-Musawi states that she has partly experienced negative social control, it does not seem to have had serious consequences for either her or Abdi, as both explain how they refused to follow the expectations or advice from their parents. Abdi also expressed that if she is persistent and does not give up, her parents will let go and she are free to choose for herself. Their experience could be a result of upbringing and care from their family. These are examples of upbringing, or strict upbringing that the women experienced. Some of the interviewees emphasize that most parents want the best for their children, and give this as one possible explanation of the strict upbringing, that can overlap with negative social control.

Karim is critical to the way the word social control has been understood and used in public:

"There is no difference between upbringing and social control anymore. Because, for example the fact that a girl or a boy is not allowed to have a boy/girlfriend is part of the upbringing. When politicians say that minority women are experiencing social control, they can't have a boy/girlfriend, they can't wear these clothes. But it's part of the upbringing. It's not like parents want that their 14-years old children to wear really short shorts, and show a lot of skin. It is a part of the upbringing, you can't say that it is social control."

What Karim emphasizes here is the importance of differentiating between (strict) upbringing and social control. These nuances are very important to recognize and acknowledge, in order to better understand when negative social control is present.

Zahid explains when she thinks negative social control occurs:

“But then there are worse types of social control, like force. And when force and violence are present that’s maybe the worst type. And then there are many examples, that your parents or your relatives choose who you should marry, how long you can stay outside, if you should work or not and what to wear. I would say this is the more negative form of social control.”

Zahid mentions different examples of milder forms of control, but if force and violence are present she recognizes it as “*the worse type of control*”, thus negative social control.

Similarly, Karim understands the difference between strict upbringing and negative social control if someone feels pressured to do or not to do something, and that a fail to follow these expectations includes negative consequences for the person involved. An example Karim brings is wearing of headscarf or hijab, if it is expected from you to wear a headscarf and there are negative consequences if you don’t do it, it is negative social control. When asked where she thinks the line between strict upbringing and negative social control is, she answered:

“Violence. Physical violence. Psychological violence. And that you don’t feel like you are a free person. Then I feel it. If you can’t say your opinion, without feeling that you can get hit. Or that you can’t express yourself, have a feeling of oppression.”

Karim’s conclusion is that an absolute difference between strict upbringing and negative social control is violence, both physical and psychological. Also, Herz explains in the interview:

“Sofia usually describes this quite nicely. The line between upbringing and control is, if you do something wrong and you are afraid for the consequences, and know that the consequences are very serious. And you are genuinely afraid and worried, then it’s control. (...) If you are afraid for your life, afraid for your security or your freedom, then it is problematic.”

We might conclude based on the interviews that the difference between upbringing and negative social control is the extent to which it has serious negative consequences for the person involved, including fear for their security and/or actual violence. If we are to relate these findings to the question regarding the boundaries of negative social control, we could

conclude that situations when the person involved has no real option to refuse the rules being imposed to them then the presence of negative social control can be confirmed.

5.1.3 Main finding: Negative social control

To sum up, negative social control can be both objective, when for example rights are violated, however it can also be subjective (e.g. a feeling of being controlled). This also means that what for some is negative social control, might not be negative social control for others. There are different forms of control: forced marriage and fear of it, being sent to the home country of your parents and fear of it, FGM and virgin check are some of them. There are also milder forms of control, when force or a feeling of force and a fear of consequences is present. This can be a result of expectations from your family or the community, and sometimes there might be a fear of harming your parents. Strict upbringing sometimes overlap with negative social control but the latter is characterized by not having the chance to refuse to comply with the rules imposed.

5.2 Who is subjected to negative social control?

When talking about negative social control, the focus is often on women and children, but this does not mean that others are not exposed to it. The focus has been mainly on parents as drivers for the control, and negative social control as a phenomenon connected to minority communities. In this section I explain the situation of who can be subject to negative social control. Next I will look at how women in minority communities are subjected. As I will demonstrate in the next pages, anyone can be exposed to negative social control.

5.2.1 Not only a specific minority community, but different minority communities and the majority community

The fact that negative social control is not only present in the minority communities is one of the things that my interviewees mentioned several times. This is important to highlight when dealing with negative social control in order to get the full picture of how the phenomenon unfolds.

Nikkerud emphasizes that negative social control is a general problem: *“I think it is important to acknowledge that this social control is not only a minority problem alone, but a general problem.”* Similarly, Zahid says that

“social control is not necessarily linked to minority communities, but as it has been now, the debate has been very focused on minorities, but it is important to pinpoint that this is not only applied to one group. (...) It is not wrong to bring it up like that, but it is important to have a nuanced debate.”

Both point out that it is important to specify that negative social control is not only a problem in minority communities, but should be treated as a general problem in society. Bile explains more specifically how other groups can also be exposed to negative social control:

“I’m thinking queer people, like we have still these prejudices against people that are different (...), people that are different than what is accepted. If a queer guy from the countryside feels the same mechanisms as (...) I had as a Muslim woman, then it is the same issue, just that we are from different groups.”

Also Al-Musawi reports that she knows people in the queer community and the Sami people that have also had experiences with negative social control. Herz also emphasizes that this is an issue many people can recognize. The Red Cross officer also confirmed that they are contacted by people with diverse backgrounds, but who have similar problems or issues. Even though negative social control in many cases is related to minority communities, we should acknowledge that other groups are also exposed to it. Then we can explore the general mechanics of it, and address it for everyone exposed to it.

5.2.2 Not only children or young people but also parents

Another aspect of negative social control is that parents can also be exposed to this. The women mention in the interview how their parents are controlled by their community.

For example, Al-Musawi highlights this when asked if the reason why her father is trying to control how she dresses might be that he is experiencing control himself:

“Yes, I definitely think so. Because what I’m always thinking is, that social control is targeting not only kids or girls, it is targeting parents as well. They are experiencing negative social control from their culture, from their friends and from the group they belong to in the society. And that this social relation is difficult to detach from.”

Al-Musawi describes how parents might feel controlled by the community and society around them. Similarly, Khan explains: *“Then some drastic decisions are being made. You can’t be sure that the parents are comfortable with it either, but this happens because of the pressure and the control that people within the community has.”* Al-Musawi explains how parents might experience negative social control from the community based on how their children behave: *“For example, my dad, when I wrote an article about gay marriage, he was banned*

for a period. And very few were talking to my mum.” As we see, parents can also experience control from their community and therefore might feel a need to control their children’s behavior. On the other hand, Abdi explains a lot of parents are also supporting their children: *“I feel that many parents are strong and support their daughters. I have understood that there are many who (...). They face a lot of critique and hate.”* Abdi’s statement illustrates that parents sometimes receive critique or even hate from the community around them. This does not necessarily result in them controlling their children in all the cases, however we can establish that some parents are experiencing negative social control from the community around them. This control can be expressed as expectations and pressure, maybe even hate from the community around them. The actions and behavior of the children can have negative consequences for the whole family, and thereby further control of their children is needed. Another consequence can be that the children feel a responsibility for their parents and thereby choose to protect them. I will come back to this later in the analysis, now I will discuss how boys and men are also exposed to negative social control.

5.2.3 Not only girls or women, but also boys and men

Boys or men can also be exposed to negative social control, even though much of the focus has been on girls and women. I will now explain how boys or men are exposed to negative social control and argue why it is important to take a gender-balanced perspective when looking at the phenomenon.

Most of the women expressed during the interview that it is important to acknowledge that boys and men are also exposed to negative social control. Al-Musawi agrees that boys can also experience control, for example through forced marriage. She says that in a forced marriage there are two parts, so we can assume that boys are also a victim of force in these situations. Bile for example expresses in the interview how boys are also exposed to negative social control: *“It is the same with [boys], and that is very important to highlight. Boys also get the same advices, but maybe not the same consequences, not the same sanctions.”* Bile thinks that the consequences for boys are usually milder than for girls, but says that this is also an individual feeling. This is also discussed by Bile, Srour and Herz (2017) and they conclude that boys are exposed to it, but in different ways than girls. They say that boys and girls are often treated differently: *“It is so typically that there are different rules for boys and girls in the same family”* (Bile, Srour & Herz 2017: 90). Their conclusions seem to be that

boys face less restrictions than girls, but at the same time they risk facing false accusations for taking drugs or being criminals and being exposed to physical violence is higher (Srouf, Bile & Herz 2017: 93). The Red Cross officer says in the interview that boys often face expectations from their family or community, but that they have more freedom than girls. The considerations discussed here are also confirmed by Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet (2017), Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet 2013 and Røde Kors (2017).

Herz agrees that both girls and boys experience negative social control, but that they might experience it differently. She says:

“It is not about their body, sexuality or so called hymen, while for girls there is a lot of focus on that. But I think the boys are experiencing the consequences of social control to the same extent, even though the way it is expressed is different. Men often should be the protector, or the one to look after their sisters or daughters. And make sure that people don’t do anything that is not accepted. And that’s the main difference.”

According to Herz, the way boys experience negative social control is different than the girls, with less focus on their personal life, and more focus on protecting the family and especially the girls or women. Barne-, likestillings-, og inkluderingsdepartementet 2013 also emphasize that boys or men can be both a victim, or the one executing violence towards female siblings or relatives. This could explain why men are often seen as those who are performing control towards girls, because this is something that is expected from them.

From these statements we can reveal different findings. First, that boys, not only girls are exposed to negative social control, but they often have a greater leeway and face fewer restrictions. Second, boys face a higher risk to be exposed to physical violence and to be accused for being criminals or drug addicts. Third, the control is usually expressed in a different way than for girls, they might face fewer restrictions regarding their sexuality and personal life, but are expected to take care of the family and look after the female family members, which might make them execute control towards others.

The Red Cross officer told during the interview that the percentage of those contacting them is around 80% girls/women and 20% boys/men, but says that: *“We would like to see the percentage of boys higher, (...) and believe that are quite high unrecorded numbers. From what they tell us, we know that they could use more guidance.”* Therefore, Barne-, ungdoms- og familiedirektoratet (2017: 36) asks for more focus on the situation for men and boys

through more information and increase the competences within this field. It is important to acknowledge these findings, in order to understand how negative social control affects different groups in society different, including the men and boys.

5.2.4 Main finding: Anyone can be subject to negative social control

To sum up who can be subject to negative social control, the answer would be anyone. Based on my findings from the interviews I conducted we can conclude that negative social control does not only occur for women in minority communities. Negative social control is not only a problem in the minority community of immigrants in Oslo, but also in other minority groups, and it is also a problem among the majority population. Parents can also experience negative social control, usually from the community around them, which can also be an explanation of why parents exert control regarding their children. The action and behavior of the children can have consequences for the family. We can also conclude that men and boys are also subject to negative social control. However, they can experience control differently compared to girls/women. Boys or men might face less restrictions, but can be more exposed to physical violence, and it is sometimes expected from the boys or men to control other female family members. Negative social control can have different consequences for different groups of people, but is a serious issue no matter who are exposed to it. Now I turn to how women in minority communities are subject to negative social control, and how it is legitimized.

5.3 Negative social control of girls/women in the minority communities

Now I turn the focus on young women with minority background, who are often identified as those exposed to negative social control. When this issue was first raised by the shameless girls in the media, the main focus was on negative social control of women in the minority communities in Norway. The Red Cross officer tells me in the interview that around 80% of those who contact them are girls or young women. Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 11) also states that women are especially vulnerable to negative social control and different forms of violence, and identify this as a significant threat for women's rights. Why are girls and women in minority communities more exposed to negative social control and how is it legitimized? I address this by discovering different aspects of negative social control of women: the gender aspect, two cultural aspects, the culture of shame and honor,

and patriarchy and collective family structures, before I end with the religious aspect. I will discuss this drawing on the interviewees' experiences and knowledge about the minority community.

5.3.1 The gender aspect: Control of girls and women's sexuality

We have already established that negative social control is related to expectations from family, parents or the community of how to be and behave, and most of my interviewees point out that this applies especially to girls and women in the minority communities. Zahid says this is connected to the idea about how a woman should be, and says that a woman is expected to be *"obedient and stay at home."* While Abdi says that there is a certain model of how girls should behave, she explains: *"Like an A4 girl, and then everyone should follow that model, if not the family is in trouble."* Abdi continues with explaining that it makes you feel controlled, and you can not do the things that you would like to. Bile says that this control is often expressed as advice, that you are expected to follow. Thereby, the women always know what is expected of them, and this constitutes the norms and rules applied to them based on their gender. Bile explains:

"Yes, just small piece of advices that are given to you, that you should not go out at night, and you are thinking right away that it is because of my gender. Dress like this, talk like this, and it is these small corrections, based on my gender, (...) and it is these norms that I'm talking about."

Srour, Bile & Herz 2017: 17-19 presents different pieces of advice that have been given to them through life, for example, *"don't eat banana in public"*³⁵, *"don't dance with boys in the gym class"*³⁶ and *"stand up when you are cycling over bumps, so you don't hurt yourself (read: your hymen)"*³⁷ The women are giving these examples to show how unreasonable they are. We can see that these pieces of advice, and other similar ones are directed especially to girls/women because of their gender and the expectations of them as women/girls.

The advice and the control are connected to their sexuality, and especially to the idea about a woman's virginity. We also know that the so-called 'virginity-check' of young women is practiced by some, to make sure that they are still virgins before they get married (Røde Kors

³⁵ Author's translation

³⁶ Author's translation

³⁷ Author's translation

2017). Al-Musawi explains that women are controlled because they should not appear sexual, and says that

“girls are actually being threatened to wear the clothes that they maybe don’t want to...and not to be in contact with boys, because it can be interpreted as something sexual. And that they are wearing pants, where the ankle is visible, is also seen as something sexual.”

What Al-Musawi here point out is that women should not appear to be sexual. It is not necessarily linked directly to her sexual behavior, but how she appears. A woman’s sexual appearance and sexual behavior can be a reason for control. Many of the women say that the control is based on *“what a woman has between her legs”*. This is repeated again and again in the interviewees, Bile for example explains that the control is mostly because of girls’ sexuality, that the rules and norms that are applied to girls or women are about *“what we have between our legs.”* Also, Herz explains that she believes *“everything is about this, that you as a woman have the honor of the whole family between your legs.”* Al-Musawi, Bile and Herz all link girls’ sexuality and sexual behavior to the extent of negative social control that girls or women might experience. We can conclude that negative social control to a high extent is based on gender and targets women, because of the expectation that a woman should not appear sexual.

We know that one element of negative social control is physical or psychological violence. Elgvin & Bråten (2014: 15) argues that any acts of violence because of someone’s gender can be identified as gender-based violence. Thus, negative social control based on gender, which is often the case with women in the minority communities, is gender-based violence.

5.3.2 The cultural aspect I: The culture of shame and honor

When Bile is asked what role she thinks honor has in negative social control of women she answers:

“I think much of it is about honor. Honor. What the fuck is honor? What is this fucking honor? It is just an invisible value, but has so much power. So when I got these corrections and advice,, it is because of honor. Because of the picture and ideal that women should live up to, and that is what honor is, and if we don’t keep the honor then we are casting shadow on that ideal”

Thus, Bile, similarly to some of the other interviewees, finds it difficult to understand the concept and culture of honor. In what ways does the culture of honor manifests in the girls and women’s lives and how is this expressed as negative social control? I will answer these

questions making use of the interviews, the experiences reported by the women I discussed with as well as using Wikan's theoretical perspectives.

Khan thinks that the reason why women are so exposed to control and negative social control is the culture of honor. Karim also says she thinks that honor plays a big role. The Red Cross officer confirms in the interview that most of the contact to them is honor related. Almost all the women mention honor as the most pressing factor for negative social control of women in minority communities. Herz says it has also been important for her to bring forward the concept of shame. Herz and the other women in the interviews, connect shame applied to girls and women to the culture of honor. The Red Cross officer also emphasizes during the interview that what is specific for the minority community is that women is carrying of the honor of the whole family. It has been confirmed that expectations to maintain the honor of the family is a reason for negative social control (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security 2017; Røde Kors 2017; Paulsen et al. 2011; Friberg 2016 and Bråten & Elgvin 2014). Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017) also concludes that women are more exposed to social control, because they might bring shame to their families, and that women's sexual behavior is closely connected to honor. We can conclude that the negative social control of women is closely connected to the shame they might bring to the family and how this might affect family's so-called honor. But how does this manifest in practice?

Bile says that honor is connected to the value a family, a group of people or even a city has and how it is perceived by others. According to Wikan (2008) honor is normally perceived as something positive for the family, because it means that the family is honorable. Bile explains how she perceive being honorable: *"With honorable I mean what I have on my head. This is honorable of me, the way I cover myself. I am honorable."* However, others also have expectations towards her, of what it means to be honorable. Bile explain that she feels there are expectations of her as a woman to appear honorable:

"I need to be less me as a woman to be honorable. I need to put myself in a narrow box, how it is to be a Norwegian-Muslim-Somali women in Norway today, and meet my parents' expectations towards my gender. That I should be obedient, and I should be this and this"

Bile explains how she *"needs to be less me as a woman"*, *"put myself in a narrow box"* and *"be obedient"* to appear honorable as a woman. The other interviewees also expressed similar experiences of having the feeling they are being limited. A specific behavior is expected from

women, because they should be perceived as honorable to protect their family's honor. Herz says that the culture of honor is the main reason why it can have serious consequences for the women, because the honor is not only about yourself, but about your family and it can have serious consequences for your family if you as a woman are not perceived as honorable. This is where negative social control becomes relevant.

Women as the carrier of shame

Wikan (2008) argues that the opposite of honor is dishonor, which means that the family has no honor. Because of the fear of being dishonored the family might control the girls or women (Wikan 2008). Karim explains that the honor of the family is represented by the man, and he should protect the honor of the family, while the women on the other hand, symbolizes the shame that can be brought to the family. Similarly, Wikan (2012: 9) argues that honor is gender-specific term, where the man represents the honor and the woman are carriers of the man's honor. Many of the women mention exactly this, that the family's honor depends on the behavior of the girls and women. If they are not acting according to what is expected to them, it might have consequences for the family. The fear of a woman ascribing shame to the family might lead to control. Karim bring as example: *"The women (...) she can't do anything. She maybe can't go out, because it can bring shame to the family, she can't do this and this, because it is shameful"* Herz also explains how shame is used to control girls and young women's sexuality: *"It should be protected, because if it disappears, the purity and virginity then..."* She continues explaining that women are carrying the honor of the family based on their sexuality and virginity. Related to this Wikan (2008) says that honor is connected sexuality, and a woman's chastity and modesty, therefore the women is the carrier of shame or honor to the family. Bile also explains the difference between men and women in a family, where honor is important:

"The family is not offended if the boy has sex with a girl, but it is such a huge offense if a woman has sex outside the marriage. And that's why it has such big consequences, because of that fucking honor, which is not the same for boys."

According to Wikan (2008) if this happens the woman is perceived as shameless. Being shameless means you are bringing shame to the family. Only by appearing as sexual or based on the behavior perceived sexual there is a possibility to be perceived as shameless.

Spreading of rumors and gossiping

According to Wikan (2008) what people think about a woman can be enough to be perceived as shameless, gossips and rumors about the women can therefore lead to loss of honor. The women in the interviews highlight that spreading of rumors is one of the reasons why negative social of women in this culture occurs (Khan, Bile, Zahid, Al-Musawi). Khan says that spreading of rumors is an important factor why some women are being controlled. Bile agrees that this is a problem, and calls it “*talking behind someone’s back*” and says that this is a way for some parents to look after their children. The Red Cross officer also identifies “*looking after each other*” as a trigger for negative social control:

“...that you are looking after each other. Taxi-drivers that are reporting. It’s easy. It’s a small city. It is easy to be seen. And then, rumors and gossip are spreading, and this is a real trigger for negative social control. That you don’t want others to see your son or daughter doing something they are not supposed to do.”

Zahid writes in one of her articles about the “moral-police” and explains in the interview that moral police is those who are trying to force their own moral on others. She also mentions taxi-drivers, but also says it can be anyone:

“first and foremost it is the older conservative parents, but it could be anyone, I think I also mentioned taxi-drivers or imams. (...) Moral police can be anyone, but it can also be people your age, (...) it is about staring ugly and talking behind the back and spread rumors, and in a way controlling. So if you see this person, you might not act as liberal or Norwegian, because you are afraid to get a bad reputation for example in the mosque. (...) It is about people keeping an eye on you.”

This shows how rumors and gossiping can also influence the freedom of the women. Some of the girls also highlight that it is often women who are gossiping and spreading rumors about each other’s children, and thereby maintaining this culture.

Honor-based violence

Honor-based violence is another aspect of the culture of honor, that was not mentioned much in the interviews, but I still think it is relevant to mention it. The Red Cross officer emphasized that one way the control in minority community distinguishes from the majority community is the presence of honor-based violence. Both Wikan (2008) and The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017) confirm the presence of honor-based violence in Norway. The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2017: 12) understands honor-based violence as “*violence triggered by a family’s need to safeguard or restore honor and reputation*”. We concluded that negative social control is a measure to safeguard and

restore the family's honor. According to Red Cross (2017: 11) a reason for forced marriage could be to restore honor that has been broken. The Red Cross officer told during the interviews that consequences of negative social control can be punishment and threats, but in worst case it might lead to honor-killing. The control that some women experience based on the culture of honor can be identified as honor-based violence.

Consequences of the culture of shame and honor

Wikan (2008) argues that bringing shame to the family can have serious consequences for the family, and thereby also for the women. Karim mentions an example of consequences negative social control based on honor can have for women, she explains how some women do not when they are exposed to violence or rape, because it can influence the honor of the family. Karim says:

“Often when women don’t say anything related to them being raped, it is because of honor. And then it is about shame, and then I get a feeling that I am not good enough for others, or that it affects my family. I know families where girls experience for example violence, or where the family is controlling their lives and they can’t come out and say anything about being raped or something, and they can’t say that they experience the social control in such a strong way, because if they go out, if they go to the family crisis center, if they go to the media, this is going to bring shame to the family.”

Karim emphasizes how women are afraid to report. If maintaining the honor of the family or protecting the family is hindering women to report violence it is a serious issue that needs to be addressed.

Some of the women I interviewed expressed that they found the attitudes and values of the community around them, even those of their family difficult to accept. Many of the women show a great deal of frustration when talking about shame and honor. The culture of honor is obviously present in the minority communities in Norway that these women belong to. We don't know the extent of its existence in Norway, but based on the findings from the interview negative social control based on honor is a pressing issue in Norway today.

We know that negative social control can have many forms, from expectations to physical/psychological violence. Based on the stories and experiences of the women, I identify negative social control based on honor as honor-based violence. Negative social control of women is legitimized by the culture of shame and honor, and a family or the

community's need to protect its honor. All the women mentioned the culture of honor as a reason for negative social control of women in minority communities, however, it is not the only explanation. Now I will move to another cultural aspect of negative social control: patriarchy and collective family structures.

5.3.3 The cultural aspect II: Patriarchy and collective family structures

Most of my interviewees relates negative social control of some women in the minority communities to patriarchal and collectivistic family structures. I will now explain how.

Zahid argues that negative social control of women is connected to the *“old fashion ways of thinking that men should be superior to women.”* She adds that she thinks oppression of women is a central part of the problem. Bile also says that she thinks the gender roles refer back to old traditions and women's role back in the days:

“when it was implicit that women should stay at home, in the house, and be a mom and be a housewife. And these traditions existed for so long that it has become a ‘negative subculture’, even though we do not openly accept it in the Western world.”

Bile explains here that this “old fashion” culture is present in Norway today, and she calls it a ‘ukultur’³⁸ (negative subculture).

According to Khan this difference in treatment of women and men is connected to a patriarchal family structure. Karim agrees that negative social control and violence towards women in the minority communities are linked to the idea of patriarchal family structures: *“I believe it is structural violence, it is something that women, men and families and everyone accepts that happens, and I believe that it happens much more in minority homes that come from a patriarchal society”* Bile also links these traditions to patriarchy and norms about gender roles:

“We already have norms in society that are tied to our gender. Because you are woman, you should be like this and this, and because you are man, you should be this and this. This is what we call patriarchy. And this is a system, which gives superiority to the male gender, which is the ideal and women then become the second gender”.

³⁸ This expression, ‘ukultur’ in Norwegian, has been used by many to explain about a negative “subculture” within some particular cultures, usually connected to the minority communities in Norway that are practicing some of these issues we touch upon here. Throughout this study I will refer to ‘ukultur’ as ‘negative subculture’

According to Karim, patriarchy is a social phenomenon where *“there is a structure on how a society works or how a household works (...) It is kind of a system, a family system.”* Karim continues explaining what she thinks patriarchy is:

“It is not only about the man as superior, but it also about the fact that the woman lets it happen. (...) The woman has a role, and she has accepted this role. (...) And that’s why I often mention minority-women, because they come to Norway and then they accept this kind of society and phenomenon happens to them. And they don’t know that it is wrong, and they think that it is normal, because it is normal in their home.”

And she concludes that this is a traditional way of structuring the family. Khan, Bile and Karim link the norms and traditional gender roles to a patriarchal family system, and say that this is present in many homes in the minority communities in Norway today.

Karim and Herz connect negative social control and patriarchal culture with a collectivistic family structure. Herz points out that the collectivistic culture does not necessarily *“come from a bad place. I think it comes from a place where you feel like you need to take care of each other.”* Herz argues that there are differences for young people growing up in a community based on collectivistic family structures, and those growing up in a more individualistic based community. Eriksen (2015, in Friberg 2016: 76) also states that the dominant value in Norway is more individualistic oriented, while among many immigrants coming from more traditional societies There is a more collectivistic-based view in which family bonds are more important. Herz says that this difference becomes visible when they become older:

“Then it is about that you get more and more freedom when you grow up, that’s how it is when you are growing up in a society that is not collectivistic, and it is about that you get more and more rights, and choices. And the opposite when it is collectivistic. (...) In a collectivistic then it gets just tighter and tighter.”

Further, Friberg’s (2016) study also shows that youth with minority background are maintaining a strong family orientation, compared to Norwegian youth who are more individualistic oriented.

Herz argues that the collectivistic family structures and the expectations about how a woman should behave become a problem when it clashes with the freedom of individuals. Further, Herz sees this in connection to the Norwegian society where the individuals’ freedom is important, and says that even in countries where the collective is the center, it might clash

with the freedom of individuals. Herz says that *“it becomes a problem, because it clashes with the concept of freedom. It clashes with the individuals’ rights to be who they are. Then it becomes a problem.”* Karim explains that she and the community around her are from a collectivistic society, which makes people within the community concerned about what others are doing. Friberg (2016: 81) concludes that a strong family orientation is closely connected to negative social control of women and young people. Based on the findings in the interview we can confirm that patriarchal and collectivistic family structures are one of the main reason to negative social control of women in the minority communities in Norway.

Friberg’s (2016) study also shows that some of the immigrants have arrived to Norway from societies with a very strong family orientation and patriarchal structures, where the values might be different, and questionable, compared to those dominant in Norway. Friberg (2016) also points out that there are quite huge cultural and value-related differences between the majority population in Norway and those coming from a more patriarchal family structure become barriers in our societies. Khan says that the culture present in parts of the minority community in Norway is still the same as in Pakistan in the 1970’s when immigrants came to Norway, and she says that the community has not moved since that time, while many places in Pakistan have become more modern than these parts of minority communities in Norway. Abdi has also considered the difference between the majority and the minority communities, and says:

“I feel that Norway, the majority community has left these ‘negative subcultures’, if you go back in time you will find examples of this, that the sexuality of women is limited. That they have left it, and become more modern. While the immigrant community is still in the same place.”

And she continues by saying there needs to be a reformation in the immigrant communities, considering how they perceive the women’s role and women’s rights.

5.3.4 The religious aspect: Religion used as an excuse to control

The interviewed women highlighted a third essential aspect of why negative social control is present in minority communities and that involves religion. I found this aspect important to include and in the next pages I will explain this more.

Most of the women I interviewed mention to different extents the role that religion, and more specifically Islam, plays in negative social control of women in minority communities in

Norway. They emphasized that it is important to realize the difference between culture and religion. Abdi says: *“Norwegians can have a perception that it is only religion. And I feel this is not right.”* Many of the women mention that Islam as a religion does not accept negative social control of women. Abdi says that *“Islam is not in favor of social control”*. Wikan also emphasized about the culture of which we know has a strong influence on negative social control of women, that *“honor is a question about culture, and not primarily religion, but religion and culture play a role together in all societies and influence each other.”* On the other hand, Bile questions the importance of the role Islam plays, and says about negative social control and religion: *“Many have used the argument that this is not okay with Islam, and if it is not okay with Islam then it is natural that you don’t do it. But is this the case?”* Herz says that she thinks the interaction between religion and culture plays a role in the story. In the following paragraphs I will explore these considerations more in-depth.

Khan says that some people are *“using religion as a shield. To highlight their message. This is actually very important.”* She continues with one example from her own experience: *“I have heard girls, and have personal experience with it, where things are said, that you have to dress this and this, if not God will be angry...”*. She continues to explain that it was *“a pathetic attempt (...) to use religion as a shield, and I think it is very sad.”* Abdi also has similar perceptions and says she knows situations where parents have used religion as an excuse toward their children. Bile further tells that religion plays a very important role in the lives of many parents and adults in the minority community. Bile also says that for many parents, religion and Islam play a very important role in the upbringing of their children, because they want their children to become good Muslims, and therefore expect from them for example to wear the hijab or marry a Muslim. This shows that religion plays a role, but that it is used as an excuse by some parents to control their children.

Karim says that some people are using religion to legitimize for example violence against women. However, Karim herself questions how some people interpret their religion:

“In Muslim homes, I feel that often these things are confirmed by Islam, that it says in the religion that you can hit a woman, or it says in the Quran for example. But you can’t do it. This is not right. When it says that you can beat a woman, and then that’s it. Without reading back and forth, and this might give Muslim men a reason to beat women. And then it is accepted in the society around them makes them continue doing it.”

Karim here explains, how it some people based on the religion might perform violence and that it might become accepted in the society around. However, Karim continues:

“Religion does not say it the way they perceive it, in my opinion. And women are like, they are thinking that my husband have the right to beat me. My husband provides me and my children, and if he beats me he is doing it for the best, maybe it was my mistake. That women just have accepted that they are weak. This means that they accept that they are beaten but this is not okay either.”

Karim links this directly to the execution of power, that the man feels he has the power over women, and religion is used to legitimize it. Khan emphasizes that she thinks there is nothing wrong with the religion, for example with Islam, but there is something wrong with some of the people that believe in this religion, she says: *“Put the blame on Muslims, and not Islam. Because Islam does not say that you should uphold social control, it is the Muslims who are doing it, and then they use Islam as a shield.”* These are examples of how religion is used by some people to legitimize negative social control and restriction of women. Most of the interviewees also expressed similar opinions. Herz emphasizes how some people interpret religion very literally in the way that it suits them. She also says that it is the misuse of religion that is wrong, and she beliefs it is important to acknowledge people’s religion and take their religious believes seriously. However, she says that she does not find the fact that people are religious the main issue, and continues *“the problems with social control will not disappear if people stopped being religious.”* Herz continues to emphasize that *“religion can also be used as an argument against social control.”*

Even though Bile argues that religion plays a very important role for many immigrants in the minority communities, she says that it should not be a problem to unite religion and women’s rights. Bile says:

“I have deliberately rejected the parts of what you would think in Islam, that says that women can’t move away from home, she needs a male companion when being out of the house. I have deliberately let it not define my faith. And this is personal between me and God.”

While at the same time she says that she thinks it might be difficult for many, and especially parents, to make this choice and actively reject those sides of Islam, because they might be afraid not to be a good Muslim or to lose their identity.

However, most of the women relate negative social control mostly to the culture, and not to the religion. They call this a ‘negative subculture’ Khan emphasizes about negative social

control that “people relate it to religion, but it is the culture, the ‘negative subculture’.” Abdi also says that this is not about religion or Islam, but about culture, a ‘negative subculture’:

“I feel like it is more about the ‘negative subculture’ than it is the religion itself, even though you can find some misogynist traits in many religions, of course, but it is a ‘negative subculture’ and old traditions that are the root to social control.”

Both Khan and Abdi argue that negative social control is often related to religion, but it is about a ‘negative subculture’ within the communities.

5.4 Lack of interaction between minority and majority groups

What role does integration or lack of integration play in negative social control of women?

From my interview material, it became clear that the lack of integration and contact between the minority and the majority groups was underlying issues regarding negative social control. I discuss this below.

Almost all the women I talked with expressed that the differences between the minority community culture and the Norwegian culture influence how the role of women is perceived, and that negative social control happens as a result of this. Zahid says about negative social control:

“I think it is about cultural differences. (...) It is very easy to see it clearer when there are people from strong conservative Muslim countries that brings this to Norway. Then it is suddenly much more obvious because there is a huge contrast, which distinguishes the democratic and liberal society and the conservative. It will be a cultural clash, simply.”

Similarly, Khan says that: “For many young people with immigrant background it is about a huge clash between the Norwegian liberal culture and the patriarchal culture, where boys have a totally different freedom than girls.” Both say that culture clash between the democratic and liberal Norwegian culture and the more conservative culture present in parts of the minority community is one of the reasons why negative social control is a result of the culture of shame and honor and the patriarchal culture is present.

Karim and Abdi also mention that for many people in the minority communities, the ‘Western’ or Norwegian culture is seen as alien and frightening. They argue that many parents have a certain resistance towards the ‘Western’ culture. Abdi explains how some

people perceive 'Western culture': *"It's sad to say it, but there is a hate for the western culture. Even if there are many good things in the Western culture, it is not good because it is Western, kinda."* Meanwhile, Karim says that *"So either you are Western or you are non-Western, (...), I don't want my child to become too Western. It's used for someone being slutty, but that's not what it is."* Karim thinks that many immigrants have misunderstood the term 'Western', having given it the worst meaning, and associated it with bad things, that they are afraid will have a negative influence on their children. Karim gives some examples:

"Now I'm generalizing, but that they will have a girl/boyfriend, that they will become too Norwegian, too free, too liberal, that they will lack the family values, that they will be too focused on money, too secular. And less concerned with cultural values and the family, and stuff."

Both Abdi and Karim illustrates some very interesting perspectives about how many immigrants perceive the Norwegian culture and how they are afraid that their children will be too exposed to the negative traits of this culture. I would argue that this might indicate that some immigrants have prejudices about the Norwegian culture, and that a lack of interaction between the two cultures is present. A closed minority community is mentioned as one of the main factors for this phenomenon.

5.4.1 Closed communities and the extended family

In the political debate and in the media, the term 'closed communities' has been mentioned as an issue connected to integration, women's rights and negative social control. Almost all the interviewees also highlight this as a factor that influences the lack of interaction between parts of the minority communities and the majority society. Bile explains how she experiences the 'closed community':

"It's so difficult to define a closed community. You can feel on your body that this is closed. Because when I go out, I feel like this is a more open community, but when I come home to my street (...), then it is kind of closed, because it is different than the majority community. And those people usually interact only with those around them. (...) And this way I think it is closed, because they only interact with people around them"

Bile relates a closed community to a *feeling* that the community is closed, and that they are only interacting with each other. Bile continues explaining that she thinks it is difficult for outsiders to recognize when a community is closed.

Khan and Zahid relates a closed community to the “*extended family*”. Khan says that: “*since they were born there is a joint family system, (...), because you live with your family, the extended family.*” While, Zahid explains it this way:

“It is difficult to say, but the thing is that in an extended family, there can be strong rules and specific... that has been inherited for generations, that you need to relate to, and it might not get out, outside the family, and this way it can be quite closed. Then you maybe don’t know when [someone] has been forced into a marriage, because no one is talking about it outside the family. It is closed outside the family.”

Both explain how the extended family is at the core of a closed community and especially Zahid emphasizes how some things, she mentioning marriage as one example, are closed and should be held inside the family. To keep things within the community is an aspect of closed communities that most of the women mentioned. Bile says: “*There are some things that should not get outside. Things that you should report to the police, but that is kept, and everyone in the community knows about it, but it does not get out.*” Karim explains how things should be fixed at home and be kept secret. The closed communities can be linked to different countries and cultures. Khan, Bile and Al-Musawi says that the closed communities are often kept within the countries of origin, where people know each other and look after each other.

However, it is important to add that some of the interviewees also emphasize that a closed community does not necessarily mean within the minority community, but can also take place in other communities. For example Al-Musawi explains:

“When I think about closed communities, you find it in Egersund in Christian communities; in Oslo East among minority communities; you find it in Norther parts of Norway among the Sami people. You find it anywhere in Norway, if it is foreign or not, and if it Christians or Arabs, it is quite widespread and it exists in different forms.”

Similarly, Abdi says she thinks there are different kind of closed communities present in other parts of Oslo, and not only the minority communities. in, and that most people stay with people they are similar to.

It appears that there is a clash between the cultures of some people in the minority community, and in the majority society. Lack of integration and interaction between minority and majority groups seems to be an explanation. Whether closed is an explanation or a result of this is difficult to conclude. Closed community means that things should not get out, and

one should act according to the norms and rules set, often by the extended family. Herz explains that it is *“easier to seek towards your own community, and thereby it is easier to execute social control. Because you don’t meet the life outside.”* Bile thinks that negative social control in closed minority communities is stronger because of the culture around how women's role should be? Many of the women I talked with directly link closed communities within some minority communities to negative social control of women.

5.5 Main finding: Negative social control of women in minority communities

Based on the interviews with the women with minority background, I have identified some main features of negative social control of women in minority communities. Negative social control can be legitimized by the culture of shame and honor, patriarchal and collective family structures and religion used as an excuse. From my findings I conclude that women in minority communities are more exposed to negative social control than other groups in the Norwegian society. Women are especially vulnerable to negative social control, because of their sexuality, and therefore face expectations on how to behave, which is connected to the culture of shame and honor. Women can be perceived as shameless and bring shame to the family if these expectations are not followed, and rumors and gossiping can be enough for women to be perceived as shameless. When negative social control is a result of, or legitimized by the culture of honor it is honor-based violence. Negative social control can also be a result of a traditional culture, with patriarchal and collective family structures. These traditional ways of structuring the family is used by some to legitimize negative social control. It is important to realize the difference between culture and religion, although they tend to be interconnected. I argue that the main problem is not religion itself, but how some people interpret religion, and some people are using religion as an excuse to legitimize negative social control. These are all examples of a ‘negative subculture’ in some parts of the minority communities, which legitimize negative social control of women. Lack of integration can explain why this ‘negative subculture’ exists. In some parts of the minority community so-called closed communities is present and these communities are often connected to the extended family. Negative social control, gender-based violence and honor-based violence are all serious issues existing in parts of the minority communities in Norway nowadays. How to deal with these issues and what are possible solutions to this is discussed in the next chapter.

6. Discussion: Finding solutions

In the previous chapters I have presented the empirical data collected for this research. In this chapter, I discuss first some of my main findings in light of the two main theoretical approaches guiding my research, multiculturalism and feminism, in order to address my research questions. In the second part, I turn to the key issue motivating my research: how to address negative social control? Based on my interviewees own ideas and inputs regarding this question, I consider those options from the perspectives of multiculturalism and feminism.

6.1 A multicultural approach to the shameless girls

The women I interviewed participated in the public debate driven by a wish to create a more equal society for all, particularly for women and minorities. According to Modood, to create an equal society for all includes anti-discrimination and civil rights for everyone, as well as an understanding of each other's differences and respect (Modood 2013). A starting point to achieve this is by (i) turning negative difference to a positive difference and (ii) making collective claims (Modood 2013). To what extent can we see these trends among the shameless girls?

It can be argued that the shameless girls and the other women from the minority community have managed to create a collective identity among each other and among many others who have supported them, and formed the shameless movement. I refer here to movement in a wide sense and based on the term that has been used by the women themselves and the media. Negative social control and women's rights within their community are both issues that have been raised, while at the same time they have addressed their rights as minorities. The shameless movement have voiced the right to be free from hate and racism based on their culture and religion; it does not only advocate for women, but also for the culture women are part of. The shameless movement have, similarly to what Modood (2013) mentions, recognized that society is facing new challenges, such as for example negative social control and the rights of minorities, and thus ask for a new political agenda. This new political agenda addresses both women and minority's rights simultaneously.

The shameless movement have recognized the difference, and address the negative difference, which Modood argues can lead to stigmatization, stereotyping, exclusion, discrimination or racism. The women express that they have experienced both stereotyping, discrimination and racism. One might argue that the women speaking up have felt a sense of oppression, subordination or marginality (Modood 2013) because their voices as minority women have not been heard, until now. Did the women manage to turn the negative difference to a positive difference? I would argue that they have managed to break with the stereotype of minority women as passive victims (Predelli 2003; Helseth 2015), and showed that they are independent women and a significant voice in the public debate. Through their participation the women have also challenged the stereotype that women with hijab or a scarf are oppressed, and instead brought this issue to the public, claiming their rights to wear the hijab or scarf, at the same time as their right to take it off. According to Modood (2013: 37), the group perceived as different is often being targeted and labelled collectively, hence the response from the group should be collective in order to contest and reject these labels. Raising their voice the women focused in this study have managed to reject the label as oppressed and passive victims, building up a positive group identity and creating a new positive label: the shameless girls.

Through their movement the shameless girls have made a number of collective claims: actions need to be taken, not only to combat negative social control, but also to overcome hate, discrimination and racism from the wider society. The shameless girls argue that women's rights mean not only being free from negative social control, but also being recognized as a minority. The question now is whether we will see policy and institutional changes in that direction. Modood (2013) argues the outcome of successful multiculturalism includes policy and institutional changes. In the interviews the women express that they have been taken seriously and have seen changes in policy regarding tackling negative social control, for example the 'Action Plan to Combat Negative Social Control, Forced Marriage and Female Genital Mutilation, 2017-2020' by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security and granting money to the new foundation Født Fri (Dagsavisen 2017), both with the potential to create institutional changes. However, they express more dissatisfaction on how their claims connected to hate and discrimination towards minority groups have been responded. For example some of the women express that the Action Plan does not mention issues such as discrimination and racism, and they emphasize that these considerations should be included in the plan.

According to Modood (2013) multiculturalism can be used as a tool for integration. The women identify the lack of integration and interaction between the minority communities and the majority population, especially in Oslo, as one of the main reasons why a culture that legitimizes negative social control can continue to exist. Modood (2013) suggest multiple approaches and ways to integrate different groups of immigrants; he considers necessary to recognize the needs and vulnerabilities of each group. While the women from the interviews have been able to communicate their needs, now it is important to know what the needs of other groups, such as parents or boys/men are. Men in minority communities are often seen as those who oppress women (Helseth 2015). Could going through the same process as the shameless girls, to turn the negative difference into a positive difference, be a way for men to express their needs and claim their rights? Recently we have seen some examples of men and parents in the public debate, with the book 'Kjære Bror' (Dear Brother), where Nikkerud is the editor, about honor, shame and negative social control from the men's perspective, (Frekk Forlag 2018), and Azra Gilani (2016) who has been a voice from the parents' side, and recently published the book 'A Muslim mother's fight' (En muslimsk mors kamp) (Gabrielsen 2018). Could these contributions help this process? The shameless girls have been supported by activists and spokespersons, something that Modood emphasize (2013) as important. So far we have not seen much support from the public to minority men who speak up. Men also need someone speaking up for them, and I would argue that it is important that media also open up for involving men more into the public debate and allow them to express their claims to the wider public. Men claiming their rights and getting support could be measures to be taken to contribute to better integration.

The shameless girls and the other women I interviewed have managed to create a positive label and made collective claims to have their rights as minorities recognized, it remains to see if there will be some policy and institutional changes. The women have been able to express their needs, it will be interesting to see if other groups will also follow their example.

6.2 Breaking out of patriarchal structures

Can the feminist theories presented in the theory chapter help us explain the situation of women in the minority communities as described by my interviewees? And could these theories help us to move forward in the fight for the rights of minority women?

De Beauvoir's theory explain how women are perceived as the 'second sex', that only acquire meaning in relations to men, and they are "*forced in to certain paths and denied expression of their full humanity*" (Bryson 2003). Although de Beauvoir's theory dealt with society and women's role in general during the 40's, based on the findings from the interviews I would argue that we can see some of the same patterns in the minority community in Oslo. These patterns are visible in the way my interviewees describe the culture of shame and honor in parts of the minority communities in Oslo. The women's experiences and stories from the interviews brings many examples of this, ways in which many women are 'forced into certain paths and denied access of their full humanity'.

When explaining negative social control of women in minority communities, my interviewees highlight the culture of shame and honor and patriarchal and collective family structures. Based on the interviews and the empirical data I argue that maintaining these cultures are the main contributor to negative social control of women in the minority communities. Bryson (2003) argues that patriarchy and patriarchal structures uphold traditional family structures which might lead to control of, and violence against, women. This corresponds well to the findings from the interview material, where women's experience of patriarchal family structures is highlighted as a reason for negative social control of women.

Another interesting aspect is how women respond to this culture. I wish to highlight here some statements by Karim concerning patriarchy and the women's role. She explains how some women have accepted the role as inferior to men. According to Millett these traditional gender roles within the family life become internalized among both the men and the women (Bryson 2002). This might be an explanation why some women have accepted their role as being less than the man, the 'second sex'. Bryson (2003) argues that this is then transmitted to other parts of the society, and it could be argued that this helps explain why patriarchal family structures and the cultures reinforcing it can be maintained. De Beauvoir's theory suggests that women instead of accepting this, should rather take responsibility for their own life, in order to be free (Bryson 2003). There are women and girls from the minority community who are doing this in Norway today, not only the shameless girls and the women I have talked with. During the interviews they told different stories of how they were being contacted by young women who did not accept negative social control and took responsibility. However, there are still many young women (and men) who are not able to break free from traditional family structures, either because they have accepted their role, or because they do not dare to.

According to de Beauvoir, the most important thing women can do to take this responsibility for their own lives is to become economically independent and enter work life. Can more women in the minority communities entering the labor market be one of the solutions to challenge these “*old fashion gender roles*”, to quote one of the interviewees, and thereby change a culture where women are being controlled and oppressed?

6.3 Acknowledging different perspectives

How can the public debate be part of the solution to challenge the patriarchal structures and culture of shame and honor in the minority communities? I will discuss this question with the help of the black feminism theory and some of the main findings from my interviews.

The main focus of the black feminism movement is to acknowledge different perspectives and different realities among both women, and other groups in society (Bryson 2003). The black feminism perspective brought increased attention to the experience of being both black and women (Bryson 2003). In light of my findings from the interviews I see many similarities between that experience and the fight of young minority women in Norway today. The women have highlighted issues connected to being both a woman and a minority in our society, and have demanded increased attention to negative social control of women in minority communities. To see this in a women's rights perspective, we know that minority women face different challenges than most women from the majority population. The black feminists argue that we should see oppression as interconnected (Bryson 2003), something which the shameless girls and the other women raising their voice have also highlighted. They have emphasized the importance of addressing both the feminist and the anti-racist agenda simultaneously. Some of the women I interviewed also mention, for example the rights of the queer community as important to them. The women have recognized not only the fight for their rights as minority women, but also for other oppressed groups. They have acknowledged that there are different forms of oppression, as Bryson (2003) proposes. Bryson (2003) further explains that individuals can be both privileged and oppressed in different situations, thus I would argue that it is important to recognize that for example minority men can also be oppressed. Black feminism highlights the importance of bringing the perspective of difference as one of the main features to address oppression of different groups (Bryson 2003). The women I interviewed also emphasize that more voices, more experiences and more

perspectives are needed in the public debate, only then we can know and understand these differences.

Recognizing that different groups may face similar problems allows to approach the general structures leading to oppression, without focusing only on a specific culture or community. Following Bryson (2003), who argues for political solidarity across multiple forms of oppression, I would argue for the need to form alliances with minority men to combat these structures that oppress minorities, and at the same time address women's rights issues and negative social control, affecting also life of men.

6.4 Combining multicultural and feminist ideas

One of the most intriguing questions motivating my research was the one formulated by Helseth (2017: 62): *Is it possible to criticize patriarchal structures in the minority community (...) without amplifying racist or colonial stereotypes?* ” My analysis has shown that it is difficult, but possible to criticize patriarchal structures in the minority community without amplifying racist stereotypes. The minority women that have raised their voice have shown us examples that this is possible. This does not, of course, mean that some people are using the critique of women's rights in minority communities to feed their racist agenda or stereotypical ideas about the minority community. But their contribution to the debate has certainly has certainly enriched the public debate about women's rights and minority rights together. It is still much needed to bring more actors to support the claims made by the shameless girls and other women with minority background to address negative social control without looking down on or discriminating the culture they belong to.

6.5 Identifying solutions: How to deal with negative social control of women in the minority community in Oslo?

During the interviews I asked the women to suggest possible solutions to combat negative social control and to ensure women's rights in the minority communities. They had different thoughts about what could and should be done to deal with negative social control of women in minority communities, leading to many interesting discussions which I reflect upon here.

6.5.1 Challenging the structures of society

Many of the women emphasizes that it is important to see negative social control as part of a structural problem, both regarding women's rights, but also regarding minority's rights and the socioeconomic conditions. For example, Nikkerud says about the fight for women's rights:

“You will find structural discrimination in the society in general, and against women, and when you start seeing this from a structural perspective then you start realizing that it is the structures you need to challenge. (...) And when you start realizing this as the point of departure, then we can have the anti-racist fight and the women fight side by side.”

Nikkerud also links the fight for women's rights to a question about economy and economic independence for women, and that the structures that's leads to this should be challenged. She says: *“It is a problem of our society, and it is a structural issue.”* Both Zahid and Al- Musawi mention segregation in Oslo and poor living condition for many immigrants as a reason for the lack of integration. Khan expresses a need for change on attitudes among the adults in the minority communities and that focusing on integration therefore is an important measure. Most of the women mention lack of integration and opportunities for immigrants, as a reason why the culture of shame and honor and the collective and patriarchal structures within these communities persist. Also my analysis identifies integration as important to change the structures that are present in parts of the minority communities.

Structures in society, such as integration, segregation, poverty and socioeconomic conditions are all comprehensive issues that have been, and are currently heavily debated. As this research shows there is still a way to go before basic rights for women with minority background are ensured. In this regard information and understanding about negative social control and women's rights and change of attitudes through preventive work within the minority communities are the two main aspects to focus on.

6.5.2 Create dialogue and meetings within community

Creating dialogue and meeting arenas within the minority community is suggested by the interviewees as a way to increase the knowledge and understanding of women's rights issues, and to change the attitudes within the community.

Karim says a change of attitude within the minority community is needed: *“Attitudes. We need to change the attitudes and actions.”* Karim emphasizes the importance of interaction and talking together as a mean to address the oppression of girls and women:

“A mother does not really want to oppress their daughters. The daughter does not want to be oppressed. It’s not like we want to do that. But they feel like they should. That they should defend something, that they need to defend their honor. Why do they need to defend it? Because of people. But do people actually care? So, if only people started talking with each other.”

Karim therefore suggest women groups, that can for example facilitate meetings between mothers within the community, where they can also meet mothers from the majority population and they can talk together, discuss and ask questions as a solution to increase the knowledge and understanding on these issues. Karim says it is important to create dialogue between the people in order to change the attitudes. Also, Khan expresses that meetings between parents could be an opportunity to create more exchange of thoughts and knowledge. Zahid also says she has emphasized mutual understanding as an important measure: *“I have emphasized mutual understanding (...) between parents and children.”* Abdi suggested information evenings or seminars about for example child protection services. Most of the women believe that facilitating dialogue and meetings within the community is essential to change the attitudes and create a more open community. They also suggest the organizations, schools, mosques and similar arenas are appropriate arenas for exchanging knowledge and ask questions. Nikkerud says it is important to meet the women where they are to be able to reach out to them. So how can we reach people where they are?

6.5.3 Use the resource people within the community

Some of the women I interviewed think that it is very important to find a way to enter the minority community and those communities that are closed. They suggest using the existing resource people within these communities is a way to go (Khan, Nikkerud, Abdi and Herz). Such people will have access to, and knowledge about, the communities. The interviewed women say that this implies different people, like for example the imams or religious leaders, or it could be leaders of organizations, volunteers or those helping children with homework like students. However, for this to work, Abdi argues that they need to have credibility within the minority community. She points out that she thinks it is better to involve *“normal people”* rather than controversial spokespersons, whom she is afraid will not get much support from parts of the community. She says:

“Because they have said something controversial so they would not be liked, because people in the immigrant community believe you are against them. They want someone that sees their problems, but at the same time don’t want to say it as problem. Then people would say yes.”

It is very important that the people working with sensitive issues within these communities are trusted by the people they are working for. Karim agrees that it is important that people feel like they are being represented and that they can identify with the people working with sensitive issues, and that they can trust that they do not want to harm the community. Similarly, Herz says that *“key persons or role models are important, and that you can associate with them. That people are not thinking, but this is not about me.”* Herz then suggests involving both parents and boys/men more into this work. Al- Musawi and Nikkerud agree, and emphasize that it is important to include boys and men in the daily work for women’s rights.

Many of the women also mention different organizations and events as an arena that could be incorporated in the work to inform about negative social control and women’s rights, and create a change of attitude within the community. They mention for example Red Cross, LIN, Født Fri and Minotenk, as organizations that are doing valuable work within the community already, and that this work should get support and be strengthened.

Creating dialogue and shared experiences through meetings with each other could be one solution to work preventively for women’s rights in the minority communities. Using the already existing knowledge and resource persons is important. Two specific arenas have been highlighted as important to achieve this; schools and religious arenas, such as the mosque.

6.5.4 The schools as arenas for sharing information and knowledge

According to my interviewees the school has the potential to be a very important actor for spreading information and knowledge, uncover negative social control and violation of rights and to educate young people, thereby also their parents about these issues.

Focusing on the younger generation has many advantages, for example Khan explains:

“I’m thinking that if you are focusing on the young people, then maybe you can make change among the adults as well. Because there are many adults that learn from their children.” Al-

Musawi also highlights the importance of reaching the young people and thereby you can change attitudes within the minority community for the future. She says:

“I think it’s about reaching the younger generation, and make sure that it will not be same with them as with the older generation. Because if you don’t do anything about it, it will just continue. And with the older generation it is difficult to change the opinions, therefore it is important to do it while people are still young.”

For similar reasons, almost all the interviewees say that the schools, especially primary schools and the employees there, play a crucial role.

Many of the women highlight the importance of the school’s role to both spread knowledge on the topic and to alert and take action when someone is exposed to negative social control. Khan expresses that she feels too many actors are afraid of asking questions and bringing up these issues at the schools. Khan explains:

“It starts with the schools, not only bringing information, but when you see that a child is not present, or can’t sit with a boy at school, or can’t join swimming classes, or can’t join birthdays or a school trip, it needs to ring a bell. This anxiety of touching the issue... Don’t be afraid, but start a conversation and ask what the reason might be. It might not be social control, it can be different reasons, (...). But someone should ask, what the challenge is. Someone needs to do it.”

And she continues: *“Make that extra call, start a conversation to find out what the problem is.”* Al- Musawi also highlights that there has been a tendency to be afraid to bring up these topics in schools, because one might be afraid to be perceived as ‘racist’ when asking these questions. However, she says it is important that they do. Bile agrees and says it is very important that the employees at schools dare to ask questions and provide information about negative social control and rights. Bile highlights that it is important for the children to have safe zones at school and people they can trust and be open with, such as teachers, school nurses, advisors, minority advisors. She says that adults have a big responsibility to be there for the children when needed, and it is important that they have competences to deal with these issues. Herz emphasizes they need better intercultural competences, and to have a better understanding about the challenges for young people, both regarding negative social control, but also racism or exclusion. Al- Musawi says she thinks it is important that teachers and the school nurses have intercultural competences and knowledge about the situation of minorities.

6.5.5 The mosques have an important role to play

The mosques are, according to the interviewees, an important arena where issues such as women's rights and negative social control should be raised; they identify religious leaders and imams as having an influential and important role.

Khan finds religion a good way to fight for women's rights. Karim suggests using religion as a mean to reach out to those that might otherwise be difficult to reach. She explains:

"...the point is to make them free. And how can you make them free, yes, by using a language they understand. By using terms they understand. By emphasizes things they find important in their life. For many, human rights does not mean a shit, (...) but actually human rights is the right to your own life, and this is what the Quran says as well. That's why we are referring to the Quran and say that you have the right to a free life."

By using the Quran and religion to highlight these issues you can connect with them in a different way. Karim continues:

"You will amplify the women's self-awareness and make them understand, that now I know what is in the Quran, and I know I have the right not to experience violence from my husband and I can dress how I want. It says in the Quran and I can choose and it is a free choice. Either I can choose to wear a scarf or I don't want to. And if I choose not to wear it, it is a question between me and God."

In my view, Karim considerations as suggested here are very important and should be taken into account when dealing with these issues.

Karim argues that mosques and imams have a great power. Bile also thinks that imams play an *"unimaginable crucial role"* and emphasize the importance that imams and other people preaching in the mosque speaking Norwegian, relating to the Norwegian reality and to young people. Herz says that theologies have an important role both religiously and culturally, and that they have a great influence. Abdi and Karim also point out to the importance of involving the mosques in distinguishing between religion and culture. We have already discussed how some people use religion as an excuse to execute control. Abdi suggests that they should start working more within the community to change attitudes and inform people; small changes are important she says. Bile also says that the mosques should be involved in creating meetings with space for asking questions and share experiences. For example, mosques are a good place for parents to meet and *"talk together about the feelings and problems they have, because I'm sure that they have questions they do not dare to ask the imam."* Bile then

emphasize that it is important that the mosques and the imams are working actively to prevent negative social control and ‘negative subculture’ within the community. Al- Musawi highlight the importance of constructive critique of religion with space to ask questions.

When I started this research project, one of my strongest motivations was to be able ‘to find a solution’, an effective way to address and combat negative social control. Based on the information I collected from my interviewees, I realize that it is them, the actors themselves who make insightful suggestions about how to move in the right direction in dealing with negative social control: creating more knowledge and understanding about the issue, engaging into preventive work and including key actors in the community can/will contribute in ensuring women’s rights in minority communities.

6.6 Creating space for positive change

The suggested solutions that my interviewees brought can be seen in light with the theoretical framework of this study: multiculturalism and feminism. These theories, together with the data I collected can help us understand how we can take measures to ensure women’s rights in the minority communities I will explain this more in detail.

The solutions the women brought to combat negative social control, by increasing the knowledge and understanding about the issue, engaging in preventive work and including key actors within the community are measures that can/should be taken to tackle negative social control in the minority communities. However, these suggested solutions also have the potential to address the underlying issue I have identified: lack of integration and interaction between the minority and the majority society. The theory of Modood (2013) suggests how minority groups, by expressing their needs and vulnerabilities through collective claims, have the possibility to be more integrated to the wider society. I would suggest that the solutions the women proposed could create the necessary space the minority communities need use to create a sense of groupness and find common needs. Creating dialogue meetings among the women and involving the schools and mosques could facilitate the possibilities for them to do so.

The dialogue meetings between the women also has the potential to offer women the necessary space for them to realize that they have the opportunity to challenge the existing

gender roles. Based on de Beauvoir's theory (Bryson 2003), we have concluded that women should take responsibility for their own life in order to break with patriarchal structures they might experience. Could these meeting, with sharing of knowledge and information, be a place for the women to realize their potential and not only be a place to address negative social control, but also women's role in the minority community as a whole? I would say yes, it can. The schools also play a crucial role here, to spread the awareness about these issues and highlight women's (and men's) potential to take responsibility for their own life.

7. Conclusion and next steps

In this last chapter I take a broad look at the over-arching question of this study: *How to deal with negative social control in order to ensure women's right in the minority community in Oslo*. I start by summing up and reflecting upon the main findings of my study, I conclude with some suggestions for future research.

7.1 Conclusion on the study

The main motivation for this study was to find solutions to the issue of negative social control and I wanted to hear from those who have raised their voice about this issue. It proved that I would also encounter other interesting findings in the process of the research.

The shameless girls have been raising their voice on different topics, including negative social control, women's rights, minority's rights, discrimination and racism. This have been both challenging, and opened up for opportunities to have a more diverse debate, increase the attention of social control among those exposed to it and having political influence. The women have been able to combine addressing women's rights *and* to include an anti-racist agenda, which has led to a more constructive debate around the topics they raise.

Negative social control is a serious violation of basic rights and freedom of individuals. The control can be both physical and psychological, and is performed through pressure, threats and expectations to follow certain norms. There are different forms of control. The milder forms of control are more difficult to recognize, and I would argue that it is therefore important to pay attention to this. Anyone can be subject to negative social control, although women in minority communities are particularly vulnerable. Negative social control is legitimized through; the culture of shame and honor, where women are being controlled to protect the honor of the family, which relies on the women's sexuality and sexual behavior; through patriarchal and collective family structures and by using religion as an excuse. Lack of integration and the existence of 'closed communities' is identified as one explanation for why the cultures legitimizing negative social control are still present in Oslo and Norway

Possible solutions to deal with negative social control have been identified as more knowledge and understanding about the issue, engaging in preventive work by including key

actors in the community, and arenas as the schools and the mosques. These arenas also have the potential to be a positive contributor for integration into the Norwegian society.

Facilitating meetings between minority women, and other people in the community can also contribute to an increase awareness among the women on their responsibility they have to challenge negative social control.

The shameless girls and other minority women participating in the multicultural feminist debate in Norway have managed to put negative social control on the agenda. Before these women entered the public debate, debating these issues was characterized by polarization and conflicting views. Even though the women raising their voice do not necessarily agree with each other, they support each other and have managed to create a common debate platform with diverse voices without public confrontation (see for example: Herz 2018). I would argue this has been an essential contributor to the success in putting these issues on the agenda. They appear as a common movement, that in different ways, not only address negative social control and women's rights, but also issues such as hate-speech, discrimination and racism. These women have showed us that women's right in minority communities are not only about being free from control, but also about their rights as minorities. A new debate that includes both the feminist and anti-racist agenda has emerged; this has been an important contribution to addressing both women and minority rights. These women have broken some barriers, and I would emphasize it is important to invite minorities into the debate. The next steps now, could be for men and parents also to take part in the public debate regarding these issues.

Thanks to the debate, we can now see more political engagement and willingness to find solutions to combat negative social control. However, the women I interviewed express that words are not enough, and that action on a grass-root and local level also need to be taken. The solutions suggested by the women are a step in the right direction: knowledge and understanding about the issue, engaging in preventive work and including key actors within the community. Actors such as the schools and mosques play a crucial role in in this regard. These arenas might also provide the space and opportunity for women (and men) to realize their potential and break free from control and oppression. These arenas could also be a positive contributor to work with integration and inclusion of the minority groups into the Norwegian society. Implementing these measures in the minority communities in Oslo would be a significant step towards integration.

7.2 The next steps: More research is needed

This study has contributed with knowledge on the topic of negative social control and women's right minority communities. However, there is still a wide gap in knowledge on these issues. I identify some issues for further research.

First of all, it is important to know more about negative social control, both within the minority communities and outside these communities in a more systematic way. There are no statistics or research on how widespread negative social control and who are exposed to it. I think it is important to conduct qualitative research with women who have experiences negative social control, to know more about the issue from their perspective and based on their experiences. This research has contributed with increased knowledge about how minority women experience and understand negative social control, but more knowledge is needed from those who are experiencing control and are not able to speak freely about it. This issue still needs more perspectives, knowledge and attention. Doing similar research to the one done here with parents and boys/men would also be relevant. Only then can we get the full picture on the issue. We also need to know more about the culture of shame and honor, and patriarchal family structures and how they affect different people in these communities. In this regard I think it is especially important to pay attention to the 'closed communities', and conduct an in-depth investigation on why these communities occur and more thoroughly what consequences it might have for the people in them. I would suggest to do research on the design and implementation of policies and specific measures and programs that have already been made regarding negative social control in the minority communities, in order to get a better overview of what has been and should be done, and to what effect. One could also explore how the suggestion presented here could be implemented in practice. It would also have been interesting to take my study a step further and investigate the findings in comparison with existing policies and programs on negative social control in Oslo. This study could also have been more comprehensive by including interviews with men and parents who have raised their voice in these issues.

During the process of working with this thesis, I have learned that negative social control is a complex issue, with no easy and straight forward solutions, however, I have also learned that small steps and small measures can have a great impact for individuals, as the women who have raised their voice on this issue have exemplified.

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Appendix I: Example of request of participation

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet:

Analyzing multiculturalism, feminism, women's rights and negative social control in the minority community in Oslo.

The shameless girls and other women with minority background

Bakgrunn og formål

Formålet med denne mastergradsstudien av studenten Marit Moberg, student på Institutt for Sosiologi og Samfunnsgeografi ved Universitetet i Oslo, er å undersøke nærmere de utfordringer og spenninger som oppstår omkring kvinners rettigheter i et flerkulturelt miljø, spesifikt å forstå forholdet mellom multikulturalisme, kvinners rettigheter og negativ sosial kontroll i innvandrer miljøet i Oslo.

Forskningsspørsmålet for oppgaven er som følger:

How to deal with negative social control in order to ensure women's rights in the minority community in Oslo?

Med denne studien ønsker vi å finne gode løsninger på hvordan man kan håndtere negativ sosial kontroll, for å sikre kvinners rettigheter i innvandrer miljøet i Oslo, gjennom å forstå livssituasjonen og erfaringene til unge kvinner i minoritetsmiljøene. Case for studien vil være 'de skamløse jentene' og andre jenter med minoritetsbakgrunn som på ulike måter er aktive og har vært synlige i den offentlige debatt rundt disse problemstillingene.

Utvalget er derfor trukket på grunnlag av medieinnlegg og/eller at informanten på andre måter har vært aktive i den offentlige debatt i forbindelse med den nevnte problemstilling. Kvinner som har identifisert seg med bevegelsen 'de skamløse jentene' vil bli forespurt om å delta.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Deltagelsen i studien innebærer at informanten stiller opp til et kvalitativt personlig intervju av ca. 1-2 timers varighet. (Evt. oppfølgingsintervju hvis ønskelig og nødvendig).

Deltagelsen innebærer også gjennomgang av informantens offentlige uttalelser og medieinnlegg, som i analysen vil kobles opp mot informantens intervju, hvis informanten gir tillatelse til dette. Ettersom de fleste av informantene er offentlige personer vil det være naturlig at studien gjennomføres med navn. Navn og sitater fra informanten vil da bli brukt i forskningsrapporten. Det vil være mulig for informanten å være anonym hvis ønskelig.

Rapporten fra studien vil bli publisert på Engelsk. I utgangspunktet vil intervjuene bli gjennomført på norsk, men kan også gjennomføres på engelsk hvis informanten ønsker dette.

Spørsmålene vil omhandle informantens opplevelser av å være kvinne i minoritetsmiljøet, hvilke mulige utfordringer det gir og hva de mener kan gjøres for å sikre kvinners rettigheter i innvandrermiljøet. Spørsmålene vil også omhandle informantens offentlige uttalelser og innlegg (f.eks.: utfordringer rundt temaet sosial kontroll). Informanten velger selv hvilke opplysninger de vil dele og informanten står også fritt til selv å inkludere ulike temaer de mener er viktige for å kunne besvare forskningsspørsmålet. Alle intervjuene vil bli registrert i form av notater, og lydopptak hvis informanten gir tillatelse til dette. Informanten kan når som helst trekke seg fra studien hvis de ønsker dette, også etter at intervjuene er gjennomført.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det er kun studenten og studentens veileder som vil ha adgang til lydopptak og innsyn i notater og andre innsamlede data av sensitiv karakter. Hvis informanten ønsker å være anonym, vil ingen andre enn student og veileder ha adgang til den innsamlede data, og navn/hendelser vil forandres slik at informanten ikke vil kunne gjenkjennes. Ønsker informanten å delta med navn vil dette komme fram av rapporten, og kobles til informantens uttalelser.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes i Mai 2018, og rapporten vil publiseres offentlig i DUO (Universitetet i Oslo's vitenarkiv). Personopplysninger og opptak vil ikke være tilgjengelig for noen og eventuell lagring av data etter studiens avslutning vil avtales med hver enkelt informant. Hvis dataen fra intervjuene skal beholdes etter endt studie vil dette bli oppbevart passordbeskyttet og uten innsyn for andre enn studenten.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil ikke opplysninger om deg bli brukt i studien.

Dersom du ønsker å delta eller har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med student: Marit Moberg, eller veileder: Jemima Garcia- Godos.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD-Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS.

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

Navn: _____
(Sted/ dato. Signert av prosjektdeltaker/informant)

Jeg bekrefter hermed at overstående informasjon er korrekt.

(Sted/ dato. Signert av student, Marit Moberg)

Appendix II: Interview guide

Intervjuguide – temaer:

Presentere meg selv og oppgaven.

1. Personlige opplysninger
2. Fortell litt om deg selv og hvorfor du er interessert i dette.

Du har jo tatt del i den offentlige debatt og belyst noen **utfordringer** med det å være kvinne i innvandrer miljøet i Oslo. Jeg kan forstå det slik at sosial kontroll er en utfordring.

3. Hva er det du har gått ut i det offentlige og snakket om/belyst?
4. Hvorfor mener du dette er viktig?
5. Hvilke utfordringer mener du finnes i innvandrer miljøet/minoritetsmiljøet i Oslo?
Hva tror du dette skyldes?
6. Hvordan påvirker disse utfordringene unge kvinner i miljøet?
7. Hvordan ble de håndtert?
8. Hvordan er det for deg som minoritetskvinne å delta i den offentlige debatt?
9. Hvilke **utfordringer** møter du som ung kvinne når du tar del i debatten?
10. Hvorfor tror du at du møter disse utfordringene?
11. Hva synes du at (du) dere har oppnådd?
12. Hvilke **muligheter** ser du at åpner seg for deg når du belyser disse utfordringene?
13. Hvilke muligheter tror du dette åpner for andre unge kvinner (og menn) i innvandrer miljøet i Oslo?
14. Hvilke **løsninger** mener du er de riktige for å håndtere sosial kontroll i innvandrer miljøet i Oslo?
15. Hvilke **tiltak** som har blitt gjort mener du att fungerer eller ikke fungerer? (evt. komme med konkrete eksempler).
16. Hva mener du att andre **aktører** kan gjøre.
17. Er det andre ting du har lyst til å legge til eller mener er viktige å belyse?