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Oppressed Pride

*Exploring the professionals recognition towards LGBTQ persons vulnerabilities
under collective patriarchal violence and oppression*

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ABSTRACT

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Honour related violence and oppression is a relatively new phenomenon in Sweden that received political and medial attention in the 1990's. A lot of research has been made since then in order to understand the phenomenon and to improve the interventions against it. Most of the focus have been on women under HRVO, which stands for the majority who falls victim for this crime. This study aims to bring forth more shades of this phenomenon by exploring how professionals identify and give recognition to the needs, vulnerabilities and obstacles for sexual minorities who seeks aid from public services, as they've become targets for patriarchal violence and oppression. This is done by presenting three different vignettes of LGBTQ persons who are exposed to different forms of HRVO during semi-structured interviews. Twelve respondents from three different professional categories were interviewed: social welfare officers, counsellors and housing personnel. The participants in the interviews varied from one up to four simultaneously. The gathered results tells of several important aspects in the work with HRVO cases, among them are: refreshing and enhancing the professional's knowledge, being able to adapt to the client's needs and to grant a safe environment for the client during the ongoing assessment. The results also show difficulties for the professionals, such as facing conflicting legislation, whether HRVO is seen as a patriarchal phenomenon or a cultural relativistic phenomenon and high workload.

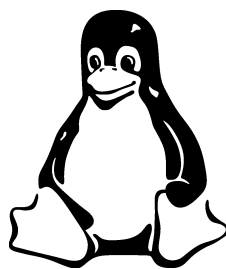
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PREFACE

I'd like to **thank** all the respondents who participated in the interviews, all who participated in constructive and enlightening discussions in the subject with me, my supervisor for the guidance and pushing me forward with the right words, my partner who were constantly considerate and supportive towards me and lastly, all who helped and supported me in various ways to make this master's thesis **possible**.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Area of interest

Honour related violence and oppression, hereby referred to as HRVO, is a phenomenon which purpose is to forcibly control the individuals sexuality and gender roles towards the norm of the group the individual belongs to. This is done by various suppressive techniques, such as threats, forced marriages, social control and deadly violence. Usually the victims are of female gender, but men can also be affected if they stray from the norms in the collective, the will of their parents or other authoritarian figures. The perpetrators behind this violence are in turn held in high regard by their peers and are regarded “as heroes”(UN Document E/CN.4/2002/83, p.12). This phenomenon received major political and media attention since the murder of Sara, Pela and Fadime in the late 1990's (Hellgren & Hobson 2008, p.390). There has been various efforts to combat HRVO in Sweden, in the preventive field we can find projects which aim to change the attitude in teenagers and through questioning traditional gender roles and the myth revolving the hymen (Rexvid & Schlytter 2012)¹. In some units, there is also mediation and other types of interventions to reunite the family or the person that is being target for the oppression with the perpetrators. When the violence and oppression is aimed towards a LGBTQ person, the help they ask for is often lacking by their situation not being taken seriously and/or ignoring their requests for help (Darj et al. 2011, pp.148–174). No matter the gender, when the violence and oppression is aimed towards a LGBTQ person, the sanctions in form of exercising oppression and violence are of a much harsher magnitude. This is sometimes done as a way to "cure" them from their “abnormal” sexuality (ibid., p.99). These violations to the very fundamental human rights, combined with the unknown state of the phenomenon, sparked my interest and has driven me to participate towards collecting, spreading and participate in developing the current state of knowledge.

Earlier research

The international reported number of deaths due to HRV are far from representative to the reality as there are many cases that are incorrectly reported or aren't reported at all. The deaths are usually classified as accidents, suicide or refer to the person in question as simply missing (UN Document E/CN.4/2002/83, p.12; Ouis 2009, p.457). Sweden is no exception, as proper registration by the authorities has been lacking as well according to Johnsson-Latham (2005, p.30). The reported numbers can also be seen as an indication of the public awareness of the phenomenon, an increase in reported cases doesn't necessary equal an increase in HRVO being more widespread (Håkansson 2006, p.9). The United Nations estimate that 5000 persons are murdered each year due to HRVO internationally (UN document EGM/GPLHP/2009/EP.03, p.6). Even those who escape the immediate threat of death and violence face other HRVO related problems:

Women who escape honour killings are often in a terrible situation, living in constant fear of their lives. [...] These are women who are being kept in jail in protective custody because their families have either vowed to kill them or have tried and failed to kill them. [...] Some families sign a pledge not to harm the woman, but they kill her nevertheless (UN document E/CN.4/2002/83, p.14).

1 For further reading on preventive work against HRVO in European countries, see Håkansson (2006, pp.13–16).

Most of the earlier research have focused on women as victims for HRVO and males as perpetrators. While this is the most common occurrence in the known HRVO cases, at least if we believe the quantitative results from Schlytter's study (2009), this has also given a one-sided piece in the reality of the sexual based and gender based violence and oppression.

Pernilla Ouis, lector in social work at Malmö university, made a study on behalf of Save the children [Rädda barnen] on the different types of gender-based violence. HRVO is one of the types and in her study and she concludes that honour-based values are the foundation for the gender-based violence. Pernilla Ouis (2009) argues that honour ideology is a better label than honour culture to be the driving structure behind this violence, since the word ideology encompasses the mental constructions and puts them into a power context. She offers explanations on the function of honour-ideology in weak welfare states and how it functions as a social capital where the economic capital is missing.

Schlytter and Linell did a study in 2010 where the experiences and problems of girls that were about taken into care in 2006 that has been subjected to HRVO were compared with girls taken into care but who had other social problems. Their findings show that the mothers have a two-fold role towards the girls; they are the ones who the girls have closest relationship in their family, yet the mothers are the ones who usually exercise mental violence towards the victim in the HRVO group (Schlytter & Linell 2010, p.158). The punishment from the males in the family, the father or brothers, is usually more severe but it is carried out for a specific offence while the mothers violence and oppression is constant, for "educational" purposes. Since HRV problems often leads to a strong control of the girls' everyday lives and leads to their isolation in many cases, the girls must rely on themselves if there is a third party that may be helpful. The outsiders who aid these girls have a significant role in their breaking away process.

Rexvid and Schlytter (2012) published a retrospective study of participants in an attitude-changing project. The authors analyses the concepts of honour and its symbolic value and social function and how they, along with the female purity, impacts the family name and the males within the family, who will eventually inherit the family name. The respondents included in the study are those who have completed their participation in the projects attitude changing seminars. The participants show an ambivalent and unsure relation to honour after completing their participation. They see the negative aspect in controlling female sexuality as problematic, but they still want their future partner to be a virgin and had a life in chastity, which still implies that the female sexuality should be regulated. The authors suggest that attitude changing work should be done in two parallel processes, one is to actively equate women with men by illustrating how the honour norm forces women into an inhuman life, and the other is to illustrate to men themselves are oppressed by the honour norms as they are uphold those expectations and to deal out punishment and oppress their female relatives and family members for "inappropriate behaviour".

Schlytter et al. (2009) carried out a quantitative survey that was filled out by 2 356 high school students in Stockholm municipality regarding the perception of chastity norms, socializing with the opposite sex and choice of future partners. The results shows that among the sample, twice as many girls compared to boys have restrictions on who they can spend their free time with socially and they also have restrictions regarding sexual chastity. The gender differences are not as noticeable regarding the selection of future partners. The study shows there is a connection between restrictions in school and chastity norms. Another

interesting find in the study is that only a few have indicated that they've been subjected to degrading and controlling treatment by a close family member, which may be an expression of fear to show the problems within the family known to the outside world. Approximately ten percent of both boys and girls may not participate in certain aspects of schooling, such as swimming and school trips with overnight sleep over. Seven percent of all girls and three percent of all boys in the sample live under the honour related norms and restrictions, and have been subject to control, degrading treatment, threats and / or violence.

Åsa Eldén's dissertation, *Heder på liv och död* [Life-and-death honour] revolved around Kurdish and Arabic girls and how rumours, the perception of virginity and honour impact their lives. She offers an analysis on different views on the perspectives used to understand domestic violence and HRVO by other researchers, and criticizes perspectives that view HRVO is a result of an alien culture, non-western culture. She views the phenomenon from a feminist perspective in its constructed cultural context in Sweden, where she highlights the power and controlling functions in HRVO that reinforces male dominance and female submission by drawing connections between male honour and restricting female sexual behaviour. This brings the phenomenon "closer" to us instead of portraying it as something exotic and alien that couldn't happen in "our" culture and context.

Mehrdad Darvishpour, Ph.D. in sociology at Stockholm university, has made several studies in the theme gender and ethnicity. His dissertation *Invandrarkvinnor som bryter mönstret* [Immigrant women who break established patterns] studies divorces among Persian couples in Sweden and analysed honour, patriarchal perceptions and their roots. He argues that virginity symbolizes moral purity and stems from religious conceptions (Darvishpour 2004, p.90). Losing the virginity means shame for the girl and in particular the father and brothers, as it is the males who inherit the family honour and it is their task and in their interest to protect it by supervising the women. According to Darvishpour, HRVO have strong roots in the middle east but is not bound to a certain religion and have existed longer than Islam.

Although the following dissertation was not available for my reading despite several attempts to acquire it, I'd still like to mention it as it is a recent and notable contribution to this field: Siv-Britt Björktomta's dissertation *Om patriarkat, motstånd och uppbrott – tjejers rörelser i sociala rum* [Patriarchy, resistance and breaking up – young girls movement in social spaces]. The dissertation was published 2012 and, according to its abstract, brings forth the narratives of girls of foreign origins that live under HRVO in Sweden between the ages 16 and 20. The focus is on the girls strategies to manage and resist the oppression and the study also looks into how norms are transferred from the older to the younger generation, through a theoretical understanding on patriarchy, habitus and symbolic violence. The variations of patriarchy exercised within the various family formations are seen in context and in relation to the "transnational social spaces in a late modern society". The study concluded that the family relations were dynamic and they were in constant reconsideration of their values and norms.

Håkansson (2006) claim that the term "honour related violence" is mainly used in Sweden and the Netherlands, while the UK, Denmark and Norway use the label *domestic violence among ethnic minorities* and *forced marriages*. While the latter is referring to one field of the HRVO phenomenon, the term "domestic violence among ethnic minorities" is in many ways problematic. Besides that "ethnic minorities" is a loose term, many of the characteristics of HRVO are lost when its described as domestic violence and as something than can only be

exercised by “the others”. The lack of a unified definition and the fact that the different definitions cover only certain aspects of the HRVO phenomenon, makes it challenging to map out the international research comprehensively.

Nahla Abdo, Professor in Carleton university, argues that the perspective "culture-as-religion" plays a small role and focus should rather be on "culture-as-politics" perspective. The Juridical, legislative, economic, educational and political structures should be examined thoroughly. This does not free the family, the cabals and local groups from responsibility, they are after all the tools that executes the various forms of violence and oppression. The societal structures are however capable of making the unwritten codes within customs and traditions that reinforce patriarchy into laws and other societal structures that will establish the female role to remain inferior to the male role. Although HRVO might be found more commonly in certain demographics, the phenomenon is not unique to groups with a certain education level, a certain strata or a certain culture / religion. It is a phenomenon, "it is as old as patriarchy and private property" (Mojab & Abdo-Zubi 2004, p.58). She also points out that a group may resort to HRV when it has become marginalized, isolated or placed in a hostile environment for a longer period (ibid., p. 64), something common during armed conflicts and occupations.

Nebahat Akkoc, founder of KA-MER, (*Kadin Merkezi*, which translates to *women centre*, an NGO working against the discrimination and violence against women) tells from experience that breaking against the chastity and having extramarital sexual intercourse is only a fraction of the reasons behind HRVO killings in Turkey. Some of the reasons behind honour related murders are rejecting a marriage candidate, disobeying their husband, wanting a divorce, falling in love with a man openly, entering a marriage without permission and lastly, for have becoming raped. (Mojab & Abdo-Zubi 2004, pp. 113–125). The role of the honour system is not only about maintaining the female chastity by her virginity, "*honour means to obey, to come to heel*" and ultimately as the author puts it: "*to maintain the secondary status of women*". (Mojab & Abdo-Zubi 2004, pp. 121–122).

Darj et al. made an interview study in 2011, focusing on LGBTQ persons who have been subject to HRVO because of their sexual orientation. The study is recent and is the first in its kind in Sweden to cover this specific area. There were 20 participants in interviews that covered their experiences of living in an honour oriented culture as LGBTQ persons, and their experiences of seeking aid when being exposed to harm. While there was good examples that handled the situation for the best outcome for the client, they were few as the vast majority of those who sought aid had their situation made worse by the professional instance: their ongoing oppression were ignored, they wasn't taken seriously, the social welfare officer were making harsh demands in order to grant aid, they was insulted in various degrees or the professionals were not acting in accordance with what's best for the client. The authors connects the professionals actions of downplaying the seriousness and ignoring the requests for help with the violence being normalized towards the group and, to some extent, the help seeker losing confidence and faith in society.

This leads to my text with an ambition to complement some perspectives to the study of of Darj et. al. The subject remains to study LGBTQ persons being exposed to HRVO, but from the professionals perspective.

Purpose, problem statement and research questions

The previous study of Darj et al. have shown that LGBTQ persons faces several obstacles when seeking aid while being exposed to HRVO. The study will explore the attitudes of the service providers that the clients can come in contact with when they are situated in a HRVO context and are requesting aid from the social welfare office².

1. What misrecognitions does the interviewed service providers identify towards the main characters in the vignettes?
2. What needs of the main characters in the vignettes do the interviewed service providers give recognition to?

When *recognition* and *misrecognition* is mentioned, I refer to the theoretical concept within theory of recognition, that have been mainly established by Honneth. The theoretical framework and its concepts will explained more thoroughly in chapter 3.

Definitions

In order to understand the honour related violence, it is feasible to get an understanding for the context that the HRVO is exercised in, the driving forces behind it and how it is being expressed.

Honour and shame as a symbolic capital

According to Knutagård & Nidsjö (2009) honour can be seen as a form of social capital among the groups and families who exercise HRVO, that is as a capital bound to a collective such as a family, kinship or a group of people rather than isolated to a specific person. The amount of honour an individual possess is dependent on the honour of their closest peers. The more honourable they seem, the more trustworthy and respect-worthy the individual is too, and vice versa. Shame operates in a similar way, if a single individual does a shameful act, it will spread to their closest ones too.

Shame and honour is set according to the current cultural- and collective norms that the individual belongs to. Behaviour encompassing sexuality and gender identity are considered to be particularly sensitive, and shameful, if diverged from the norms of the collective. How shame and honour is gained, lost and distributed among the members of the group is gender dependant. In general, honour is seen as something men has to defend and shame is a consequence of an incorrect female behaviour (Sirman 2004, cited in Ouis 2009, p.453). To portray this more concretely, it can be applied to one of the most valuable items of honour: the mythical hymen. If the female fail to maintain her innocence, her closest family members, usually the males, must take action in order to “cleanse” the shame. The practice where shame must be “cleansed” is most common in societal structures that are based on patrimony according to Baroja (1974, p.91).

Rexvid and Schlytter (2012) make a interpretation of two authors (Tillion, Di Bella) whose work will further the understanding of honour. According to them, honour consists of of two parts: the woman's innocence and family name reputation. Honour, which they translate from the Arabic word *sharaf*, is used as a base for the family's social and economic existence. Honour is inherited by men and boys in the family and they are expected to defend and uphold

2 The Swedish social welfare office is usually the nave connecting various help services, thus the focus on them.

it.

I would like to argue that besides upholding the female innocence, honour also dictate that men must behave according to the “traditional” male role. Deriving from that could be seen as shameful and make them targets to HRVO.

Distinctions of Honour Related Violence and Oppression

Darvishpour (2004, p.90) claims that the phenomenon have roots in the middle east, but the phenomenon exists globally. Despite it being internationally spread, there is still many unexplored areas we have little knowledge of. One possible cause to the knowledge gap is the nature of the problem as it is strongly associated with shame, a force that makes the affected groups try to cover up the occurrence. This is done by both secrecy and feeding false information to the authorities. A person who've been murdered could be reported as have performed suicide, been in an accident or is simply missing (Coomoraswamy 2002, p. 12; Ouis 2009, p. 457). This clouds the actual numbers and makes it harder to map out and study the problem. Another cause to the knowledge gap is how the authorities view the phenomenon. HRVO is seen as a crime of passion in some states (UN document E/CN.4/2002/83, p.14; Ouis 2009, p.457), which makes the crime appear far more lenient than what it actually is.

In a concrete comparison to other violent phenomena, HRVO distinguishes itself by the way it's carried out: there are several perpetrators who can be of either gender, the violence is usually planned and it is supported by the surrounding group/society (Kurkiala 2005, pp.179–186). Intimate partner violence on the other hand has one oppressor, the perpetrator is usually a man and the victim a woman, the violence is unplanned and it is condemned by the surrounding group/society (Ouis 2009, p.457).

When the collective takes action towards the individual, it is to regulate his/her shameful social behaviour or to restore one's honour. Brandon and Hafez (2008, pp.9–26) lists the variety of sanctions and punishment used against the “shameful” individual that has been encountered in the UK: physical abuse, emotional abuse, manipulation, house arrest, isolation, kidnapping out of the country, forced marriage (and being raped in that marriage in order to bear a child), being forced to exile and lastly, murder. Ouis (2009) mentions there are occasions when the shameful behaviour can be tolerated, only if it's kept from the public.

In my attempt to abstract HRVO, I see it as a form of dominance being exercised in a systematic manner by a collective, who in their turn are in a social structure that legitimize the oppression and violence towards the individual, or individuals. The dominance is often about controlling and changing the sexuality and gender identity of the individual towards the current norms in the collective in order to protect the collective from being “shamed”.

HRVO and hate crimes against LGBTQ

Another relevant comparison can be made between HRVO and hate crimes against LGBTQ persons. Hate crime as concept varies between nations, it was introduced in Sweden by Eva Tibby's doctoral thesis in 1999, *Hatbrott? homosexuella kvinnors och mäns berättelser om utsatthet för brott* [Hate crimes? gays and lesbians narratives on victimization] (Aspling 2012, p.14). Though there is no specific legal classification of hate crimes in Sweden, there is a

regulation in chapter 29, section 2 of the Swedish penal code [Brottsbalken kap. 29 §2] (SFS³ 1962:700) that dictates an enhancement to the penalty if the crime's motive is:

"...to aggrieve a person, ethnic group or some other similar group of people by reason of race, colour, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, or other similar circumstance" (Ds departementsserien 1999:36).

Hate crimes towards LGBTQ persons are performed usually on the grounds of bi- and homophobia, the perpetrator perception of the targets sexual orientation the victim is the driving force behind the crime (Aspling 2012, p.52). I would like to argue that HRVO have a different driving force, as it is grounded on the notion that action must be taken on the target victim in order to "restore" the perpetrators honour. If they don't both own personal and their family's social standing among their peers suffers. Therefore, there is a different driving force between the two phenomena.

LGBTQ Definitions

For the sake of clarity, I will define different words and concepts used in the study regarding sexual orientations, gender identity and heteronormative structures. This list is a translation by me where relevant words has been taken from RFSL's [The Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights] own list of definitions which can be found on their website (RFSL 2013).

Bisexual

A person who is emotionally, physically, and/or sexually attracted to persons no matter their gender.

Cis-person

A person whose biological gender, juridical gender and gender identity are in accordance with the normative gender expressions.

Gay

Persons who identify themselves as males and are attracted romantically, sexually, and/or emotionally to other persons who identify themselves as males.

Heteronormativity

According to heteronormativity, people are expected to be monogamous, heterosexual and follow the gender roles of being either male or female. These two roles are seen as each others opposites and are expected to be followed within their normative limits. To breach their limits will have economic, political and/or social implications to the norm breaching person.

Homosexual

A person who is emotionally, physically, and/or sexually attracted to persons of the same gender.

3 SFS stands for *Svensk författningssamling*, which is translated to Swedish code of statutes. It is the official publication of laws enacted by the *Riksdag* [which is roughly translated to the parliament] and ordinances issued by the government (explanation courtesy of www.government.se).

Lesbian

Persons who identify themselves as females and are attracted romantically, sexually, and/or emotionally to other persons who identify themselves as females.

LGBTQ

An abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer.

Transgender

An umbrella term for persons who express their identity in a way that goes against the normative gender expression. Persons who identify themselves as transgender can identify themselves as male, female, both or neither, no matter of their biological or juridical gender. Being transgender is not a definition of a sexual orientation, it is a definition of the persons gender identity and expression and how these are related to the said persons gender.

Transphobia

An ideology, perception or values that express a negative view on transgenders or persons whose gender expressions diverge from the current norm.

Queer

A term which basically refers to questioning of the heteronormativity. Defining one's gender or sexuality as queer is a statement to unrestrict oneself to a certain sexual orientation, gender identity or a relational habit.

Presentation of the author

My awareness to the ideas of feminism, patriarchy and its oppression were relatively unknown to me until I started my BA in social work. It gave me the possibility to see the current norms and my former experiences with new eyes, much thanks to a more liberal environment and an education that sparked and honed my critical thinking. My origins are from the middle east which gives me a pre-understanding for the implications of living in one (of many) honour oriented society and its meaning of honour and shame. My professional background consists of a two year long position as a welfare officer and two years as an employee as housing personnel. These positions has given me a certain insight into the different roles and obligations within the field of social work. Considering that LGBTQ persons are usually subjected for harsher and more brutal HRVO (Darj et al. 2011, p.94), I felt an intense interest to contribute to this knowledge field as little research has been done in the subject. I have no personal ties with any organisations or any personal interest that can affect this study and its results, besides my ambition to undermine social oppression towards individuals based on their sexual orientation, and contribute to upholding the universal and fundamental human rights. My ambition is to keep my former experiences and pre-understanding from affecting the respondents narrative and be transparent when it might affect the collected data. I've done my best to keep the meaning of the respondents narrative in its genuine condition, in the way the respondent intended it to be.

2. METHOD

The method is qualitative in nature and will consist of a methodological triangulation by using semi-structured interviews and vignettes simultaneously; during the interview the respondent will be presented with a vignette, followed by a series of questions from the interview guide. There are three vignettes in total and each describe a different case where LGBTQ persons are subjected to different forms of HRVO. As presented in the earlier research, this phenomenon is unexplored and is riddled with unknown cases and dark figures, that alone makes it hard to find a sample large enough for a quantitative study. A coherent understanding must be gained in order to construct well founded surveys, in order to know what causality that might be expected and what relevant variables to use (May 2001, p.144). A deeper understanding through the respondents perceptions, narratives and how they ascribe meanings to this phenomenon within its wholesome context is necessary before exploring the possibilities to evolve this study into a quantitative one. These characteristics are found in qualitative methods and are seen by me as the most suitable way to attack the research problem of this study (Brewer 2003, pp.239–242).

Abduction

Abduction is explained by Harman (1965) to be “reasoning to the best explanation”. Phenomenons and unknown events are explained with the most plausible explanation or theory. A more practical explanation of the logic behind abduction goes as following:

1. A surprising event is observed.
2. If an explanation could describe the event, then it would no longer be surprising.
3. Therefore, the explanation creates a plausible understanding to the event (Shank 2008).

While deductive reasoning are certain as long their premises are true, and inductive reasoning are probable, abductive reasoning are the weakest of the three by being plausible. The strengths of abductive reasoning is in being grounded in empirical data first and then try to explain them through a theory, this gives the researcher opportunity to explore an unknown phenomenon and find a theoretical framework that offers the best explanation (ibid.).

Abductive reasoning allows a combination of both induction and deduction. In my way of applying abductive reasoning, I started by researching the knowledge field on HRVO before establishing the goal to explore the relation between professionals and LGBTQ persons seeking aid due of HRVO. As I collected more empiric data and the research process went on, I reformulated my research questions to be more theoretical, and tested different theories before settling for the most fitting one, which has been slightly adapted and developed to fit this study better. The interplay between empiric data and theory, and their ability to influence each other is distinguishing for abductive research (Larsson et al. 2005, p.23).

Vignettes

Vignettes are stories that has been constructed by the researcher in order to describe a realistic and believable situation to the respondents. Vignettes can be used both in qualitative and quantitative studies and is a suitable technique to use when exploring sensitive topics as it distances the respondent from the subject being studied, thus making it possible talk about it

in a more casual manner, which have been proved by several other studies (Wilks 2004). The main strength of this technique is that all who participate in a study will be subjected to the same situations and have a common frame of reference. According to Jergeby (1999), a vignette should fulfil four criteria to be useful:

- It should be easy to follow and understand.
- It should be consistent.
- It should be credible.
- It should not be too complex.

I tried to construct varied situations that LGBTQ persons face when seeking aid, and adhere to the above criteria in designing the vignettes. One measure to create variety was through the age of the vignette characters, the spreading of age (16, 18 and 21 years) could catch the respondents attention to different aspects in the legal procedure and lift forth how they deem the vignette character's eligibility to aid and indirectly explore if their age would affect the respondents view on their vulnerability. The vignettes have been mainly inspired by personal stories given in the study conducted by Darj et al. (2011) and they were constructed to spark discussions revolving the phenomenon. Each vignette was given in written form to be read at the respondent's own pace with exception for one interview where two persons participated by phone, which is described further in the sub chapter "Conducting the interviews". After the vignette has been read, the respondent will be asked a series of open questions revolving the case before moving on to the next vignette.

Limitations in vignettes

Vignettes falls under the category of projective techniques and can be used to bring forth certain types of answers. To address this issue, the respondents are given open questions and they are not put in a situation where they personally have to take decision to the characters continued well being. Instead they're put in the position of a third person and encouraged to reflect on their general view on the situations in the vignette, what the in vignette characters should do and what the offered aid should consist of, if they find them eligible to aid. Despite the realism in each vignette, the respondent is still in a constructed and fictional situation that cannot be compared to a real life situation (Jergeby 1999, p.9).

Another important issue of using vignettes in this way is the *carryover effect*. When presenting a case in a form of text, the respondent's perception of that case will be carried over to the next vignette to aid him/her to interpret the new vignette (Hughes 2008). They should therefore be ordered strategically to minimize any carryover effect or to avoid to bring out a certain type of answers. I found it challenging to find an sequence that would remove any bias and carryover effects and this raised the question of whether I should randomize the vignettes for every new interview, but that could impact the answers with unknown effects. I chose to remain with the same ordering throughout all interviews as it would allow me to see limitations, carryover effects and other patterns of that particular ordering more easily. The ordering started with Isak, a 16 year old transgender whose identity is not being accepted by the family, thereafter was Linnea, a 21 year old homosexual girl in secret relationship with another girl whose father has been enraged when he found out about it, and lastly Kareem, an 18 year old boy who's being forced into a marriage.

One noticeable carryover effect I identified was the focus on age throughout the interviews

since the youngest case was presented first. Though the situation in the second vignette had a more distinct risk for violence, I couldn't notice a distinct effect carried over from the second into the third vignette. Some respondents thought about how the situation would have been perceived if a female were in Kareem's situation and a male in Linnea's situation, which shows that carryover effects are not only carried from an old vignette into the next, new vignette; in some cases the situation in the old vignette is explained in relation to the current vignette.

Since the vignettes were supposed to be presented in text, the number of cases has been held down to a total of three and the information given in the vignettes was kept to only cover the most vital events. The limited amount of wording and the low number of cases made it hard to cover the wide spectrum of obstacles a LGBTQ person faces when seeking aid due to HRVO, they only cover a fraction of actual situations the group experiences. The respondents also thought the information on the situations were scarce. This was inevitable as too long texts or too many vignettes would result in losing the respondents interest and make the interviews long-winded. Keeping the vignettes relatively short had the upside to open up the discussion and stimulate the respondents imagination in reasoning around different outcomes.

Although the stories are based on real individual stories, I realized afterwards that they all share a common theme. The characters in the vignettes all ask actively for aid which may not be generalizable. Some of the respondents commented that victims of HRVO usually show more ambivalence before deciding to ask for help and that these cases would be easier to work with from the perspective of the professional.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview finds itself between focused interviews and structured interviews. It is organized yet without being stiff and it's flexible without being disorderly. This allows the flexibility to temporarily be detached from the structure of the interview guide to follow up interesting statements from the respondent to gain more depth from their narrative. The questions are prepared to the respondents beforehand and are open in nature to encourage broad answers. This method is highly qualitative in nature and values the context, contents and the perspective of the respondent in the interviews, therefore it is preferable if the researcher conducts the interviews in person (May 2001, p.151).

In order to meet a good interviewing standard, I followed Claus Moser & Graham Kalton's (cited in May 2001, p.156) three criteria of what makes a successful interview:

1. Availability of information. If the respondents do not have access to the needed information sought by the interviewer, either because of forgetfulness or they feel emotional stress, the interview will not fulfil its purpose. The information sought for this particular study revolves around attitudes within the respondents and identifying respectful or disrespectful aspects in situations that are expressed towards the main character in the vignettes. This "information" can be stimulated forth by creating a safe interviewing climate during the interview and by having the respondents trust and confidence. Explaining the purpose of the interview and giving the respondents ability to fully control their participation are two factors to build the required trust with the respondents.

2. Cognition. The respondents understanding of what is expected from him/her during the interview affects how and what information that is given by them. I tried to accomplish this by having simple, easily understood questions and by clearly informing about the structure and the arrangements of the interview in their beginning.
3. Motivation. Unmotivated respondents will be unfocused or give shallow answers. It is the interviewers task to show why their answers matter and why are important, but also to have a sensitivity of when to move on when the subject is satiated in order to keep the respondents from enduring a long-winded interview. Another aspect that would contribute to the motivation of the clients is by having open ended questions and using techniques that encourage the client to develop their narrative further.

May (ibid., p.155) reasons further on the two poles of subjectivity and objectivity within the interviewing situation. Being focused on being as objective as possible will generate more reliable data at the cost of their depth and the “flow” of the interview. Being too engaged subjectively will result in unreliable data and risking bias in the study. The interviewer need to strike balance between these two poles by establishing trust and being empathic, yet keep an appropriate distance to preserve an unbiased perspective. The characteristics of the interviewer could also be a subjectivity factor that affects the interview. According to May (ibid., p.156), attributes such as age, gender, background and lingo affects the respondent, and in turn the data generated unless they're handled in a suitable manner, e.g. by having a broad mix of interviewers.

Limitations of semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview is an instrumental dialogue with a purpose to collect data. There is an asymmetric power relation between the interviewer and the respondent as the former is in an exclusive position to ask questions towards the respondent which creates a relationship where the interviewer has the initiative that the respondent only reacts and adapts to. This is less prominent in a semi-structured interview compared to a structured interview, nevertheless there should be an awareness of the power inequality. Adding further to the inequality, the interviewer is in the sole position to interpret the data and statements of the respondents (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 49). In order to level out the power differences, the respondents were informed that they had access to their statements at any time and could change, retract or abort their participation at any time they wish. They were also encouraged to screen the transcription of their statements and to give feedback on it.

The results of semi-structured interviews are hard to compare due to the nature of data generated by open questions. While this study never had the intention of creating comparable data, the limitation of the method should nonetheless be stated.

Methodological triangulation and reflections

The study makes use of a methodological triangulation by combining vignettes and semi-structured interviews for data collection. Both methods complements each other well, vignettes as a method allows the exploration of specific and sensitive topics without making the respondents feel personally questioned and semi-structured interviews allows the interviewer to follow a certain structure for conducting the interview while allowing to dig deeper in relevant and interesting statements. Mixing methods should be done between

methods that are theoretically and epistemologically compatible, as outlined in Robson (2002, p.370), which I argue these methods to be. The combination of both methods allows the respondents to feel more comfortable and more engaged in talking about the subject while having a certain structure to the interview and give the interviewer flexibility to follow up interesting topics that might arise. I argue that their combination stimulates the generation of data more so than by using each method separately. The methods individual weaknesses aren't enhanced by the combination, they do however increase the researcher's power in directing the interview in a certain direction discreetly.

Over the course of the study, different amounts of participants attended the interviews (an overview of the interviews and participants can be found in table 1 further ahead in this chapter). This was done due to time restrictions and to oblige to the respondents wishes. I also saw it as an opportunity to explore if interviews with more than one participant would generate more nuanced and richer data. My experience from this study is that the quality of the data hasn't necessary been affected by the amount of simultaneous participants, but it could have affected the quantity of data. The four individual interviews with the welfare officers generated a total of 20 214 words in the transcriptions, while the housing personnel who had five participants over two interviews generated 17 664 transcribed words. Possible explanations would be that the four individual interviews had less time restrictions and was more flexible to extend the time if needed, but also that the singular participants were more free to explore subjects without adapting or taking care to other, present participants in the interview.

There are several consideration to take regarding the dynamics of the interviews as there are differences between interviewing one and several respondents. The most prevalent is how the narrative is constructed, with one respondent the story is their own, the values and feelings they project is their own and they have complete control over their own reasoning process. When there are more participants, the narrative is constructed collaboratively and will represent them as a group rather than representing a cluster of individuals. The thought process also becomes more external as reasoning and arguments are exchanged and developed in a dialogue. This leads to the respondents being able to sharing their own individual knowledge and collaboratively complement any holes in them (Arksey 1996).

Potential risks and disadvantages of having up to three participants in the interview is if it would be dominated by one party or if a clash of opinions becomes prominent and takes focus from the purpose of the interview. The answers will also be affected by who else is present in the room, this includes both who other participants are and who the interviewer is and his/her role throughout the interview (ibid.; May 2001).

Method of analysis

The purpose of the analysis has been to lift forth the narratives of the professional category as a whole and how the professional judgement and assessment is applied to the situations in the vignettes. The groups will not be compared to each other as their professional purpose differs in how their relation with the client is and how much power and influence the professional have over the aid and the case. More concretely, the welfare officer usually have power over granting, denying and cancelling the aid and the frequency of meeting the client varies depending on the case and their workload. The counsellors usually have no concrete aid or direct influence over the client's case, the client initiates the contact and are able to cancel it

without consequences to any ongoing granted aid. Finally, the housing personnel have no power to grant aid, but in some cases have the power to cancel the ongoing aid to stay in the housing unit, if the client has a violent behaviour or gravely breaks the rules of the housing unit.

After attempting different types of analysis on the material generated from the vignettes and interviews, I settled on thematic analysis. The choice was motivated as it enabled me to make an empirically grounded analysis and create an overview over the large data material (Lapadat 2010). The analysis have been oriented around the vignettes, with each vignette treated as an individual case containing the parts revolving the vignette were brought together from the eight interviews. The transcription of the interviews were done verbatim and the total word count was 46 851. Due to the amount of data, the last two interviews were transcribed externally. In order to be able to create an overview and in order to be able to analyse the material, I used *sentence concentration*, as outlined in Kvale & Brinkmann (2009, p. 221). The concentrated sentences carried an identification number in order to be tracked back to their original statements in case their meaning would be too de-contextualized. After the concentration of sentences, I split and reorganized the interviews in four segments, three segments for each case that was presented through a vignette, where all the relevant parts from the eight interviews were brought together, and the fourth segment contained interesting statements from the interview but didn't belong to a certain vignette, e.g. if the respondent saw a common theme across the vignettes. I started with data driven open coding as described by Gibbs (2007, pp.44–50), which is putting tags and keywords on the raw data, by using an open mind without applying pre-understanding from the theory.

Two types of categories were created initially from the material, one that was created inductively where codes with a common theme where categorized, and the other was made by using central concepts from the theoretical framework. Neither of these models were very fitting and resulted in a heavy de-contextualization; I tried creating categories oriented on the vignettes and the question the respondents were answering, which was the most structured, effective and coherent way to perform the analysis on the pre-condensed data.

Analysis weakness and limitations

The obvious drawbacks of open coding and thematic analysis is that the data is de-contextualized and makes it harder to create a coherence (Benaquisto 2008). This was particularly evident as I started writing the presentation of the material. This was countered by going back to the original quotes and read through the material again in order to read them within their context. It can be argued that this analysis is too shallow, compared to grounded theory which would consist of many more steps after the categorization of the open coding. Since this study is not a purely inductive and it connects the analysis with a theoretical framework, I would like to argue that the analytic depth is adequate for this study.

Criticism towards including both welfare officers and the chief welfare officer in the same category would be well founded. Although their job descriptions are similar in many ways, they have different amount of power, different positions in relation to giving aid and different expectations on client contact frequency. Keeping them in the same category was deemed needful in order to even out the amount of individuals in each professional category and to avoid risking having too little data in that category.

Validity, reliability and generalizability

It is required to clarify the concepts of validity, reliability and generalizability in a way relevant to social sciences. This is necessary as studying humans, self-conscious subjects and their interaction as individuals and groups differs from studies of physical objects and phenomena whose patterns is vastly different compared to patterns in intersubjective behaviour.

Reliability

The reliability is strengthened by the combination of vignettes and semi-structured interviews, each participant of the study was presented with the same vignette and received the same basic questions from the interview guide. To ensure that the combination of methods were usable, they were used in two individual test interviews outside of the study to estimate their length, believability and potential limitations. Besides the limitation with each individual technique that has been stated earlier in this chapter, one of the aspects that limits the reliability is the flexibility under the interviews. I made room to try out new questions that were not stated in the interview guide, the reason behind that was to probe for new and interesting aspects of the phenomenon that was unknown to me. While this might have weakened the reliability of the study, it increased the general knowledge mass and strengthened the validity. I tried to find a balance in my ambition to strive for reliability, as too much focus on it has the side effect of counteracting the interviewer's creativity and variation of techniques in the interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p.264). In order to contribute to the transparency of the study and its reliability, I have the original vignettes and the quotes of the respondents attached in the appendix untranslated. I have also tried to clearly mark my interpretation of the respondents quotes in the analysis.

The method for data collection relies heavily on many abilities in the researcher but the researcher need to be able to “melt in” with the respondents in order to establish trust and a safe relationship (May 2001, p.155). My background as a practitioner gives me insight to the daily work, challenges and central concepts in the field as a professional. This could've contributed to the feeling of trust and mutual understanding that allows for an open dialogue between me and the respondents. While my obvious middle-eastern appearance could have led to various associations with this phenomenon, I didn't perceive this to have any effect during my work with the study.

Validity

The question of validity have existed in the whole process of the study, which resulted in reformulating my research questions to be more sharp and theoretical. This was a result for trying to achieve stringency and consistency between all parts of the study: the research questions, the respondent sample, the data collection techniques, the chosen theory and the analytic form.

My ambition to uphold validity has been to create objective knowledge as in *free from bias*, as outlined in Kvale & Brinkmann (2009, p.260). It is of importance that I am aware of my views, my own values and other former experiences that could affect the interpretation of the data (Robson 2002, p.171). Rather than denying these facts, I try to be as insightful and transparent on when I apply my views and interpretations of the respondent's quotes and other factors that affects my reflexivity in the research process and the validity of the study.

Objectivity is also about bringing unusual and extreme cases into light to gain a wider and a more wholesome understanding of the studied phenomenon, and empowering the subject to influence the research process. Latour put it eloquently in this sentence: “Objectivity [...] refer to the presence of objects which have been rendered 'able' to object to what is told about them” (Latour 2000, p.115). In practice, this give the respondents ability to participate and change or retract their statements, and gives them the ability to shift the aim of the study. The respondents in this study had full insight to their statements throughout the whole study, this is explained further in the chapter *ethical considerations*.

I consider the participating respondents as trustworthy, but it is hard to know how truthful they would hold to their statements if the hypothetical situations would be real. This is not something that has to do with the participants, this is something that rather has to do with that the data-collecting situation is far more sterile compared to a real life situation (Jergeby 1999, p.34). This could be reduced through data triangulation, by cross-checking the respondents statements with another data source, e.g. files of their former clients and compare them to their statements. This does have two obstacles: this would only apply to welfare officers in this study and it would be unlikely to find earlier decisions in similar cases as this phenomenon is unusual. I have tried to use a critical sense toward statements that promotes self-interest or organizational-interest, this can be necessary as some housing organizations and public sheltered housing have to compete with others in a “free” market spirit, and need to struggle more to legitimize their existence and services. Questioning the motives of the participants in this study without them able to respond is an ethically questionable practice, but I will combine my critical sense along with my belief that the respondents gave truthful responses; I have not seen a powerful indication to think otherwise on their credibility. In the parts where statements are found to be questionable, they will be outlined to form a more valid and more reliable knowledge. Since this study have not lasted long enough to raise issues of prolonged involvement affecting the validity (Robson 2002, p.172), I will not pursue that issue further other than showing my awareness of that risk.

Generalizability

“Social life contains elements which are generalizable across settings (thus providing for the possibility of the social sciences) and other elements that are particular to given settings (thus forever limiting the predictive power of the social sciences)” (Bloor 1997, cited in Robson 2002, p.168).

The above quote eloquently points out what to be aware of regarding generalizability in social sciences. The data generated by vignettes are not generalizable outside of the interviewing context, unless they're combined with other data sources according to Hughes (2008). The combination of vignettes and a more structured method, such as structured interviews, would be able to produce data that's more generalizable but at the cost of pre-categorizing the respondents answers (May 2001, p.131). Since semi-structured interviews use open questions and encourages the respondents to answer in their own terms, neither of the methods produce a result that would be highly generalizable. This was never the purpose of this study, the purpose has been to capture and show different forms of nuances of this relatively unknown phenomenon. My ambition has been to achieve *analytic generalizability* (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p.282). This means applying the results from one situation to another depending on how the similarities and differences between both situations, which depends on me as a researcher

to provide detailed and rich explanations of the interviewed situations in order to allow the reader to judge if the results are generalizable.

Ethical considerations

The ethical approach towards the respondents of this study rests on the four concepts of secrecy, professional secrecy, anonymity and confidentiality as outlined in the report *Good research practice*, by Swedish Research Council (2011). The respondents was informed about these principles and about the purpose of the study, that their participation was completely voluntary, they had full insight in their given narratives and could retract or change them at any time.

Secrecy

Any information related to an individual who have participated in this study will be treated with care and remain undisclosed throughout the study and destroyed afterwards unless an extraordinary situation requires me to disclose it, such as a control by the examiner, or in order to be reused in future research projects by me. In such case, I will presume the respondents disapproval for their data to be disclosed or reused unless their explicit consent is given. Individuals who participate in research projects are protected by the 24th chapter in the *Swedish public access to information and secrecy act* [Offentlighets- och sekretesslagen] (SFS 2009:400) which prohibits disclosure of personal information. When the information has been stored digitally, it has been done so on a storage with strong encryption consisting of a combination of 2048 bit RSA and 256 bit AES.

Professional secrecy

All information that is covered by *Swedish public access to information and secrecy act* is also covered by professional secrecy. Professional secrecy is covered by ethical rules for social workers in many fields and rests on the principle to respect the personal integrity of individuals and not disclose details regarding their situations with others. However, if the researcher or professional would learn of something that must be legally reported, such as child abuse or paedophilia, s/he is obliged to do so as the law that oblige the researcher to report such occurrences outweighs the principle of professional secrecy.

Anonymity & confidentiality

Many precautions have been taken to ensure the anonymity of the participants, both by concealing information that could directly identify them but also by concealing opinions and wording that could be traced to a single individual. Considering that the professionals who work in this field are few and most likely know or have been in touch with each other, much effort has been put in order to preserve their anonymity. One measure to ensure the anonymity for the participants has been to present the interviews as a professional categories instead of narratives from individual professionals, since the study would not reap any considerable benefits from the latter. I will therefore present the interviews in their context and where the individuals can be told apart in the segments from the interviews, but not with an identifier in order to follow their individual statements throughout the whole interview representation. Since the counsellors who participated in were two in one interview, and one in another, their category is the only one where their quotes could be associated to their respective interview.

In contemplating between removing the indication of each individual's statement in the analysis and obfuscate their background, I chose the latter as the dynamics in the dialogue would be lost with little gain to keep their anonymity.

The respondents was informed about these principles and about the purpose of the study before the interviews were conducted. Their participation was completely voluntary, they had full insight in their given narratives and was offered to read the transcriptions. Although no one retracted or changed their given narratives, the respondents was informed that they had the possibility at any time.

The study tried to fulfil other principles besides those outlines above. The principle to be of beneficence to others [nyttokravet] is deemed to be satisfied, as it explores an area that is unknown in many respects and hopefully will shed some light on it and benefit in combating the phenomenon. The final thesis will be published freely and its availability on the internet will be unrestricted and in formats following open standards.

The respondents in the last two interviews were asked for their permission to use an external transcriber for their interviews with the assurance that the recordings will not contain sensitive information that can identify a person, location or situation. The transcriber were instructed beforehand to treat the recording securely, confidentially, and to safety delete them afterwards.

Respondents sample and presentation

The search for respondents was done through several channels in order to reach out to as many as possible. I sent a letter with information about the study and how to reach me to six managers with an overarching responsibility for social services within municipality of Gothenburg [områdeschefer] and encouraged them to forward it to their employees. The email addresses to the managers were not always listed on the web page for Gothenburg and limited my ability to include them all. I also tried to reach out to find respondents through both offline and online social networks. Three of the respondents came from acquaintances of mine who were asked to spread a leaflet at their workplace. One respondent came from the letter sent to the managers within the municipality. The last eight respondents worked in organisations that were directly contacted by me since they was within the interest of the study, of which two were located in Stockholm and the interviews were conducted there. The response to participate in the study varied as some signalled their interest to participate in interviews significantly later than the other participants, but where included still as their narratives would contribute to the study.

A short presentation of the respondents

The motivation of categorizing the professionals in three groups is grounded in how the clients are able to contact them, what tasks and obligations are associated to the profession and what influence they have over the aid that the client seeks. The respondents were divided in three professional categories: social welfare officers, counsellors and housing personnel. I will present what these professions entail and how the client can come in contact with them, as they vary greatly between professions.

The first category of respondents is the social welfare officers. Of the four included in the study two of them work as regular welfare officers [socialsekreterare] in the municipal social

services office with a certain authority to grant or deny public interventions, such as housing, family counselling, economic aid etc. The other two have a middle management position in the welfare office, their purpose is to oversee the daily work, develop the methodology in the local unit and offer guidance to the welfare officers on how to proceed in certain cases. The middle managers [i.e. socialsekreterare / gruppchefer] has a broader authority on what interventions to grant and is able to affect the work flow on the local unit, within certain limitations⁴. The contact with the social welfare officers requires an active action from the person in need or by someone else on their behalf, usually it comes as a request for aid. It is possible to contact a welfare officer directly at any hour of the day if the client has an urgent need, otherwise most of the welfare officers are available through office hours. This line of group is always employed by the local municipal social welfare office.

The second category are counsellors. There were three respondents in this category, one counsellor worked at a municipal guidance centre for teenagers and the other two worked as counsellors at an NGO. The former counsellor were interviewed individually the latter two were interviewed jointly. The category counsellors include professionals whose purpose is to offer guidance to the client regarding an issue of the client, without any direct power over their sought aid and without conditions or tasks that the client must fulfil to remain in contact with them. Counsellors can be contacted by the clients directly during office hours, depending on the organization the counsellor works in, they sometimes have other resources at their disposal and are able to aid with more practical things as well.

The last category of respondents are housing personnel. There were two different groups of staffs from two different sheltered housings, both are funded with public means but they are managed differently. One is managed by the municipality and the other is managed as a company. There were totalling five respondents, two were interviewed jointly and the other three were interviewed as a group of which one was present in person and the other two participated through mobile phones with their speakers switched on to allow a dialogue among all participants. Housing personnel can rarely be directly contacted by the client, the contact with this profession is usually established after the welfare officer grants the client housing aid. The housing personnels availability varies between housing units, but sheltered housings usually have personnel present at all times.

Conducting the interviews

Eight interviews were conducted with twelve respondents over different constellations. Four interviews were held with four social welfare officers individually, two interviews were held with counsellors; one individually and another with the other two. Two interviews were held with housing personnel with two participating in one interview and three participating in the second interview, of which two were participating by phone calls. Even though there were more participants in the housing personnel category, there were much more data generated by the social welfare officers which might make the analysis dominated by them. This can be explained partially because of the nature of the interview styles (singular versus multiple participants) but also because of time constraints. Even though the time frame was aimed at one to one and a half hour, there was a flexibility to extend the time if needed with the social welfare officers while the interviews with the other professional categories had more rigid

4 Their ability to affect the local unit is however still constrained by the unit manager, local policies and political decisions.

time constraints.

They interviews could be conducted undisturbed and privately. Five of the interviews were done in the workplace of the respondents, of which two were located in Stockholm, and three were conducted in bookable rooms in Gothenburg University. The respondents were interviewed in different constellations, all social welfare officers and one counsellor were interviewed individually, the other two counsellors were interviewed jointly and the housing personnel were interviewed with two and three participants. Those who were interviewed in pairs or more were interviewed with their colleagues from their own workplace. Most of the social welfare officers do their daily work individually and they usually have the authority to grant or deny the sought aid from the client on their own, this motivated for interviewing them individually. There were also practical reasons that prevented me from conducting individual interviews with the other respondents, such as time restraints from the respondents workplace.

Interview number	Profession category	Participants	Notes
1	Welfare officer	1	
2	Counsellor	1	
3	Welfare officer	1	
4	Welfare officer	1	
5	Housing personnel	2	Was conducted in Stockholm.
6	Counsellor	2	Had to be aborted after one hour, was resumed one week later with one of the respondents. Was conducted in Stockholm.
7	Welfare officer	1	
8	Housing personnel	3	One participated in person, two participated by phone

The reader should be aware of other methodological issues that arose during the interviews. As I continued to interview the respondents, I found new and interesting questions that was inserted during the interviews. Those were if the respondent can see a common theme between the cases, and how they would order the vignettes out of who most vulnerability. These questions was thought up after the first three interviews were conducted and I asked those respondents to add their questions by email. Two did not want to participate further and the third sent an elaborate email with his/her views. Another interview had to be aborted with the counsellors and was continued over the phone circa one week later to complement it. In this interview, the vignettes were sent out to refresh the respondents memory on the cases. These answers have been taken into the study and are given equal value as the other respondents narratives, but we should be aware that answers given in written form give more time for thoughtful reflection and correction compared to vocal answers in the interviewing situation. Another aspect that affects both this and the complementary interview done later by phone is that they were done out of context, which most likely affects how the respondent sees the situations. In one of the interviews with housing personnel, there were three participants but only one was present in person, while the other two participated by phone. In that interview, two of three respondents had access to the vignettes in a written form, the third respondent had the vignettes read aloud by me over the phone. All the respondents were able to discuss with each other as the phones loudspeakers were turned on and were audible enough to be heard.

The reoccurring questions that have been given to the respondents after each vignette were open in nature, they were as follows:

1. What the respondents general view is on the situation?
2. What should have been done in order to be eligible to the aid from the social welfare office?
3. What type of help should the vignette character receive by the public services? And how does the respondent motivate their vision?

There were other questions who had a purpose of warming up and questions that have been exploitative to some statements that have occurred in only some interviews. The interview guide can be found in the appendix.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK – RECOGNITION

Recognition was a concept first developed by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, the concept was developed further by Axel Honneth in his work *The Struggle for Recognition* (1996) by incorporating George Herbert Mead's theory of *role takeover* and *the generalized other* (Juul 2009, p.405). The theory of recognition is normative in nature that dictates the well-being of humans lies in being loved, being respected and held in esteem by others. With these statements at its base, I consider this theory suits the purpose of the study by stating the clients having needs in these three fields, and how the professionals consider these needs. While Juul (2009) argues that social work can only reasonably satisfy the client's needs of being *respected* by acknowledging their juridical rights and show care to their *self-esteem* by meeting and treating them well, I argue that it's also possible to contribute to the client's well-being in *love* by having their romantic or intimate relationships in consideration, e.g. when granting the client a placement within a sheltered housing that allows the client and their partner to see each other.

Recognition is given, or withheld, among individuals and this exchange is essential to develop the ones *personal identity* and eventually ones *self-realization* in order to become an autonomous individual. A prerequisite to that is that one must have a *positive relation-to-self* in three dimensions, which is achieved by the recognition given by other individuals. Being misrecognised [Mißachtung] will in turn deny a positive development of a personal identity (Honneth 1996, pp.92–131). The three dimensions of recognition are:

1. Love and friendship, which refers to the need of emotional and physical intimacy given by close friends, family members and sexual partners. These relationships are referred to as primary relationships by Honneth and recognition in this area leads to *self-confidence*. The opposite would be physical abuse and breach an individual's integrity to their body, which concretely manifests itself as assault, sexual abuse or torture.
2. Rights, which refers to recognition and respect to each individuals universal rights by being legally protected from arbitrary infringements and allowing them to participate in the political discussions and deliberations on the same conditions as any other member in society. Becoming a full member of society with the same rights and will lead to a sense of *self-respect*. Denying the rights to an individual on the basis that they're member of a certain group or on physical attributes will have the opposite effect. This can be done by upholding discriminatory structures, apartheid being one

obvious example. Do note that being unable to participate in political discussions due to oppressive structures means that the individual is still capable to develop self-respect, but that participation is required for self-respect to develop fully.

3. Social appreciation refers to the recognition of ones individuality through the unique qualities, traits or past performances by other members of society. This type of recognition is about what makes one particular as an individual and will lead to *self-esteem*, which is a prerequisite for *solidarity* as the members of society will recognise each others capabilities towards their common and shared goal(s). Societal solidarity is a pluralistic and inclusive approach to the individuals will receive recognition for their traits also outside of their “subcultures”. Humiliation and denigration is the opposite of recognition in this area, where the individual features will be degraded or de-valued instead of appreciated. This dimension will also be referred to as *individuality* in the text.

Giving and denying recognition is not restricted to be played out on one dimension only, it can also be played out on two or three dimensions simultaneously.

Mode of recognition	emotional support	cognitive respect	social esteem
Dimension of personality	needs and emotions	moral responsibility	traits and abilities
Forms of recognition	primary relationships (love, friendship)	legal relations (rights)	community of value (solidarity)
Developmental potential	—	generalization, de-formalization	individualization, equalization
Practical relation-to-self	basic self-confidence	self-respect	self-esteem
Forms of disrespect	Bodily abuse, rape	denial of rights, exclusion	denigration, insult
Threatened component of personality	physical integrity	social integrity	“honour”, dignity

In order for recognition to be have effect, there must be mutual recognition between the recogniser and the receiver of recognition (the recognisee), the recognisee's interpretation of the cognitive act is also of importance. Recognition is more than just objectively identifying someone by the cognitive senses and by associating their form to a certain name. It is about which *way of being* one subject adopt towards another, and how it is manifested to the other subject by intentional actions, conscious gesture and subconscious gestures. This requires the ability to see the other person as they are, or as Ikäheimo and Laitinen put it: “*taking someone as a person, the content of which is understood and which is accepted by the other person*” (Ikäheimo & Laitinen 2007, pp.33–56). They stress the importance of how recognition must be understood as it was intended, by the involved parties to count as genuine recognition. Recognition given as sarcasm or given due to fear or an exercise of power is not genuine, and will not develop the personal identity. Heidegren (2009, p.91) lists five different types of recognition:

1. Too much recognition resulting in an unintentional misrecognition, i.e. by acting, often with good intentions, on behalf of someone without asking for their wish or permission.
2. An appropriate level of recognition, as explained above.
3. Too little recognition resulting in an unintentional disrespect, e.g. by not realizing the needs of the recognisee due to an inability to see the needs, expectations and wishes.
4. No recognition as intentional and unintentional form of disrespect, by ignoring or not seeing someone or not taking them seriously.
5. Denied recognition as a form of intentional disrespect, by actively insulting or discriminating someone, e.g. by outright discriminate someone or do them harm.

The personal identity is a result on how the persons self-image and the image of the said person is projected by the surrounding subjects, giving the appropriate amount of recognition allows both the recogniser and recognisee to strengthen the image of themselves, without the said image be dominated by another person's projection (ibid., p.98). I'd like to take the opportunity introduce two new concepts to theoretical approach and clarify the theoretical connections in the analysis: *misrecognition* and *disrecognition*. By *misrecognition* I refer to the unintentional form disrespect by giving too little and giving no recognition to the subject, by *disrecognition* I refer to the intentional form of disrespect by giving too little recognition or denying recognition to the subject. This is done to bring more focus on how the respondents view the intentions of the vignette characters and less focus on “weighting” the amount of recognition.

I have so far explained recognition in general terms and on a micro level, and what implications the different amounts of recognition have during the intersubjective interaction. This is where the most of the focus of the study is, but to give a more complete view of the theoretical framework I will also explain how the theory of recognition is applied on a macro level in Fraser & Honneth (2003, pp.135–150) for the sake of completeness.

The macro level contains three *spheres of recognition*. These spheres creates normative ideals on what a subject could legitimately be able to expect in order to receive recognition in interaction with other subjects. These spheres are:

1. *Love* which encompass intimate relationships and the care in those relationships whose subjects have mutual affection towards each other. This recognition is expressed in a romantic or erotic relationship, but also when giving care towards children or other close persons in a vulnerable state.
2. The *equality principle* which stems from legal relations that allows one to be judged on the same grounds as any common person, through *rights*.
3. The *achievement principle* where recognition is given and based on a meritocratic principle of ones abilities and past work and does affect ones position in the societal hierarchy.

Before treating each vignette and the empirical data, it might be in order to apply the concepts of recognition, misrecognition and disrecognition towards sexual minorities to create an overview and demonstrate how I intent to apply the theory.

Recognition towards sexual minorities

Starting with the first dimension of love, the source of recognition in this field can be found in the primary relations such as family, friends and intimate partners, no matter of the sexual orientation, gender identity or forms of relationship(s). A more interesting discussion is how recognition in the dimension of legal rights affects the dimensions of love and social appreciation for sexual minorities. I argue that universal rights are necessary for sexual minorities to receive additional recognition in the other two dimensions, of love and social appreciation, since the absence of universal rights allows for discrimination against the group. With the denial of universal rights, the individuals will need to use secretive strategies to find partners of their choice. Even if an individual under such oppression can use strategies to receive intimate recognition, it is not done without risking to become target of various sanctions such as violence and physical abuse, a disrecognition in the dimension of love. Denying universal rights will also affects the social appreciation s/he receives. What could be a unique, outstanding feature associated to ones individuality, can be turned against the individual and used in a negative and insulting manner. The unique feature could even be associated with the sexual minority as a whole, if the interacting partner wants to actively discriminate against sexual minorities. Even though if individuals of sexual minorities can be appreciated by other members of society and be mobilized collectively to change an oppressive legislation, I believe that a ruling legislative power has more resources at their disposal to change negative attitudes in society's members towards sexual minorities. I will see sexual orientation as a property within the social appreciation, as it is associated with individuality. Individuality and social appreciation encompass things that can be acquired or trained over time, such as traits, skills and abilities of a person, placing sexual orientation in this dimension does by no means imply that every person is expected to change their sexual orientation in order to contribute to their society. On the contrary, the sexuality of an individual is a feature that makes them stand out and be unique, therefore it fits into the social appreciation dimension better than love dimension.

4. RESULTS – WEAVING THE EMPIRICAL DATA WITH ANALYSIS

The disposition of this chapter will be divided into four sections, three of them will contain quotes from each professional category in combination with an analysis made through the theoretical framework. The fourth section will be a condensed summary of each professional category across the vignettes. Each quote will have an endnote marking, a superscripted letter to allow the reader to validate the translation with the original quote in the final section of the appendix. Cursive words have connection to the theoretical framework. I have occasionally inserted words in the respondents quotes to make them more intelligible, those words are within square brackets. Omitted words from the quotes are marked with three ellipses within square brackets. The respondents have the prefix IP while my occasional questions are prefixed with KR.

Vignette 1 – Isak

Isak is a 16 year old boy who have felt for a long time that he's born into the wrong body. He wants to wear a skirt instead of pants and would want to put on make up on himself. He does it only in secrecy when he's home alone in his big sisters room with her clothes

and make up. She recently found him in her clothes and he tried to explain his feelings to her. She did not understand but instead yelled out at him that he's sick and needs help. His parents learn of the situation and try to reason with him and make him leave his sisters' clothes alone out of respect for her. Isak suggests that he can buy his own girl clothes, but his parents don't want that. If they would find girl clothes in his room, they would take them from him. Isak doesn't talk more about it with his family, but seeks out the school counsellor and tells about his situation. After that meeting, the school counsellor takes initiative and contacts the parents and invites them to a meeting in the school in order to solve the conflict, but they oppose the idea. The counsellor tries to get a hold of Isak in order to tell about his attempt, but doesn't reach him and decides to make a new try tomorrow. Isak was on his way home and becomes surprised when he steps inside the door and sees several persons from the family's religious congregation, their religious leader was one among them. They ask him to sit down with them and he does as he is asked. They talk with him about the importance for him to be a man, that he must be able to shoulder the responsibility to a role model to his little brother and how important it is to resolve this situation without outside involvement. Isak tries to argue for his cause, but meets counterarguments not only from his parents, but also from the congregation members. He feels terribly cornered and felt a need to leave quickly. He dashes away from home, when he slows down he feels that he doesn't want to return there again. He looks up the number to the social welfare office through his phone and calls them. He tells about his situation and the welfare officer tries to cool down the situation and suggests that he sleeps home and meet her the day after already to see how they can solve the family conflict. He does not want to go home and he does not want to solve the "family conflict". He wants to be somewhere where he can be himself and he can't be that with parents.

Isak's situation as seen by social welfare officers

Many of the early reactions in the interviews with the welfare officers was towards him being young and therefore being more vulnerable than an adult, but also that it would mean the obliged inclusion of the parents in the procedure. One respondent reacted with sympathy for Isak as he was attempting to resolve the situation on his own yet his attempts were dismissed by his family. Two other respondents explored the parents' point of view and their actions, while they weren't being agreed with, could be put into a context that made it understandable:

You need to have a humble attitude in these cases, we are all affected by our upbringing, culture and what we have learned along the way. These parents want their children to be a part of their system for that is what they're brought up in. But when it's done by violent means, then it's something else.^a

Exploring the parents' point of view in this situation is a genuine strive to give an *appropriate amount of recognition*. The parents were seen by the respondent as giving Isak recognition in *love*, however they are blind to his *universal rights* as they're not accepting his gender identity. The parents are most likely merely replicating their own ways of their upbringing towards their children.

One respondent saw the inclusion and involvement of the religious congregation (henceforth simply referred to as "congregation") as the family's attempt to resolve the situation as the parents were in an emotional surprise as they learned of Isak's, until recently, hidden gender identity. One respondent did not see this as a case of HRVO, it was a case of ignorance from the parents. But the fact that the congregation was rallied due to Isak seeking external help was considered a danger-factor that could be escalated further if his second

attempt of external help-seeking, when he contacts the social welfare office, would come to the parents knowledge. The welfare officer in the vignette was, unintentionally, *misrecognising* Isak by not listening to him and not making a quick risk assessment. Even though no outspoken threats was seen in the vignette by the respondents, they raised questions regarding how far would the family go in order to stop him from involving outsiders into their matters? Safeguarding Isak's physical well-being from potential abuse was an important issue for all respondents.

The majority of respondents showed their hesitation due to the lack of information provided in the vignette. Identifying the nature of the conflict was seen as important:

It's important that me and him together evaluate what this family conflict consists of, how it affects him, his own view of it, that's quite important. Whether he feels threatened, or feels offended, or if its about moralizing him.^b

The respondent in this quote does not only stress the importance on what happened during the conflict, but also to *appropriately recognising* his *emotions* and *rights* by exploring what feelings it stirs in him and reaching that understanding together with him. The parents are projecting their shame, fear and guilt towards him and there was a need for an intervention to change the family's attitude but also to give Isak the ability to weather his thoughts:

He needs someone who will listen to him with non-judgementally and listen to his own thoughts. He is carrying more shame around who he is than a person who have not grown up with honour oriented values. He have probably felt like this for a long time.^c

The respondent recognises that the family's attempt to stay fairly homogeneous has made him subject to disrespectful treatment. By using recognitive terms, that would translate to a *misrecognition* towards Isak's *individuality*. One respondent pointed out his younger brother were used to pin guilt on Isak by compelling him to be a role-model, which is a misrecognition both towards his emotions and his individuality. He would be advised to stay persistent, but also to "choose the right battles":

In the urgent situation, my long-term advice to him is to stand up for himself and finding people who can support him against the congregation. What's most urgent? Taking the argument with his parents that night might not be an adequate course of action.^d

This quote recognises Isak's abilities to rally his network, his ability to choose wisely when to take the argumentation with his parents and an expression for safeguarding his physical well-being. However, the encouragement to stand up against his family could be an indication of giving him *too little recognition* to his *rights* as a client who is seeking aid from the welfare office, and the encouragement to rally his network might be giving him *too much recognition* in the *solidarity dimension* as it implies that he should possess the ability and capacity to do so (assuming there are people in his network who would support him). The respondent expressed a reservation as the risks of Isak going back to his family were unclear.

Another respondent saw the need for long term solutions, as the parents were unlikely to "change overnight". But these type of long term solutions need to grow from a relation with the client imbued with safety and trust. Of the proposed interventions, mediation between Isak and his family was suggested. While it does deny Isak his wish to stay away from his parents

home and will make it harder for him to express his gender identity, the mediation is motivated by preserve his contact with his family and keeping him in his current social context, as long there is no threat of violence. The question is how Isak himself sees his parents, are they seen as *primary relationships* to him? If not, is it possible to repair their relationship back to that point? Knowing his stance on the mediation is of importance to keep him involved and in order to make him feel respected as a person. The possible obstacles with the mediation is that it is also dependant on the agreement of the parents, if they refuse it then it cannot be carried out.

Regarding the short term solutions, the grant of shelter was not a certainty. The threshold for getting a shelter placement the same day as you ask for it is high, the safety risks must be substantial in order to receive that aid. There was also several mentions of the parents juridical right to their children and the social consequences for having Isak placed was discussed:

It's a big step to break off with one's family and social context. You try to make it work but not at the cost of becoming exposed for something (violent/oppressive]. One should assume his perspective, although there might not be any gains to him to be placed on his own somewhere either, without any social support or social network. It can get tough...^e

The respondent sees risks with a placement in sheltered housing, having him to endure loneliness and being away from his primary relationships could do more harm than good. It could lead to his placement being aborted and him returning to back to his family and their oppression if it becomes unbearable, an undesired scenario that is not uncommon for the welfare officers. Another respondent proposed a better alternative to a placement within a shelter, that was to place him with someone in his network who he have a relation to.

In order to make a well founded motivation to place him in a shelter, there would be necessary to investigate and assess risks and his safety in his current situation. But even if the investigation would conclude in establishing his need for a sheltered placement, the welfare officer needs the parents agreement due to Isak's young age. If the parents would disagree to cooperate, the social welfare officer would need to start a juridical process for a LVU⁵ placement.

In terms of recognition, the Swedish legislation gives recognition to Isak's gender identity and to the parent's right to their child, which in this situation guard two different interests who are in conflict with each other. This clash creates a cautiousness with the welfare officer. Using LVU in this situation would protect Isak from *disrecognitions* to his *individuality* and potential *bodily abuse*, and at the same time *giving recognition to his rights* by (hopefully) placing him into a more allowing context towards his identity. However, LVU as a compulsory tool will *misrecognise* the parents in all three dimensions; in the love dimension as their child is being forcefully taken from them, their rights dimension as their right to their child is denied temporarily and lastly, in the solidarity dimension as their parental abilities is seen as inadequate by society.

One respondent was critical to the label of conflict by the professionals:

They talk of a family conflict... When he talks about his problem it's something

⁵ LVU is the Swedish law *The Care of Young Persons Act* (SFS 1990:52), which grants society the right in certain cases to take the youth into compulsive care without their or their parents consent.

other than a family conflict...^f

By seeing it as a family conflict, the welfare officer disregarded the overarching patriarchal structures that are the root cause of this situation. This was also an act of misrecognising Isak's feelings towards his situation. This could be avoided by taking the time to sit and listen to him, as was suggested by several respondents. There was also criticism towards the counsellors swift contact with the parents and that s/he should have been in contact with Isak for longer before involving them. On whether he should remain at home with his family or not, a respondent gave this reasoning:

He should not be forced to do something he does not want. I'd start by investigate the consequences of him not wanting to stay with his family, where he would feel safe and where would not be safe... I would try to make a threat assessment and see if there is danger to his health and life.^g

Isak's situation as seen by counsellors

The in-vignette counsellor's swift contact with the parents, was the initial subject from the respondents, but they also expressed fear for how the social welfare office would deal with the situation:

I had a young girl who came to me [...] and I had to make a report due to concern for the girls well-being [orosanmälan] to the social welfare office, on the basis of her story. I wanted them to come here, meet the girl with me and hear her story and regard that as a report, but they didn't agree to it. They wanted me to send in a written report first, THEN they could come and meet the girl. That worries me as they might not understand her, contact the parents and start a process that cannot be slowed down or stopped.^h

The respondent's worry for the welfare officer ignoring the client's will and wishes is grounded in perceiving them being too rigid in their professional position. While in-vignette counsellor's swift contact with the parents was seen as *giving recognition to their parental rights*, by abiding to the law and routines, but at a cost of *misrecognising* Isak by creating unnecessary danger for him, not involving him in the decision and by revealing Isak's and the in-vignette counsellors contact to his parents:

The capital error done here is that he has been outed, that is the big mistake here. Going past Isak who doesn't get to decide.ⁱ

There was also speculation on what would happen: if the first attempt at external-help seeking resulted in rallying the congregation, how would his family react when they've learned of his second attempt at external help-seeking? This made the respondents concerned Isak's physical safety. One of the respondents felt a sense of responsibility for their client if the client would be remitted to a welfare officer and not be treated respectfully, treated dismissively or the officer be too rigid in the process with the client:

Normally you're obliged to contact the parents, but in a HRVO case it's just the parents who are problem, and then you need to go beyond what the rules say. [...] Flexibility is very central and to be taken seriously.^j

The Swedish law of *public access to information and secrecy act* [Offentlighets- och

sekretesslagen] states the child's right to have secrecy in their case towards their parents, depending on their age and maturity. The older and more mature, the more autonomous they can be in their legal procedures (SFS 2009:400, chapter 12, section 3). The very same law, with support of the Swedish law of *children and parents code* [Föräldrabalken] give parents the right and states their obligation to gain insight to their child's case unless it would cause significant harm to the child (SFS 1949:381 chapter 6, section 11). The laws are contradictory, but the weight of the parents right to gain insight is, as interpreted by me, stronger than the child's right to uphold secrecy towards their parents. The parents *juridical rights* are given more recognition than Isak's right to his integrity and upholding his *individuality*. The respondent sees Isak's rights as more important as he is being oppressing by his parents, but since the condition to uphold secrecy towards the parents is that Isak could be harmed significantly, it is up to the professional to make a judgement on the possible harm caused.

Having a smooth cooperation between the counsellor and welfare officer, within the limits of the law of secrecy, is mandatory in order for the respondent to feel confident and safety in referring the client to the welfare officer. The other respondents reacted towards the label "conflict" as a poorly chosen word to describe the situation:

This isn't a conflict, this is a person who is being subjected to pressure.^k

The label "family conflict" *misrecognised* Isak's perception of the situation and downplayed its seriousness when it should be taken seriously.

All the interviewed counsellors would aid him directly in the contact with the social welfare office, but they were divided on the advice they'd give him. One party would advice him to put his own security first and not risking escalating the situation further by provoking the family:

Primary, he need to be able to function without getting battered or beaten to death, and to treat himself with care. Living out who he is [his identity] is secondary, his safety should be put first [...] In a longer perspective it does not mean to restrict on who he is and who he wants to be, but from a shorter perspective, he may need to temporarily adapt...^l

In my interpretation, this would lead Isak being unable to express his gender identity in the short-term but the respondent see it as a long term solution as Isak would be able to express his identity once he finds a strategy to do so safely. The other respondents would on the contrary encourage him further and help him in combating any internalized transphobia and give him hope as he is being subjected to pressure towards his identity. The latter respondents would also explore his possibilities in his network that would be able to support him. I see these stances as pragmatic and ideological that gives recognition to different parts of Isak, however I interpret the ideological stance to have an ambition to give recognition to his *individuality* on a larger scale, both by normalizing Isak to himself but also to normalize his identity towards his family and society.

Regarding what should be done from society, all the respondents think that the welfare officer should not have dismissed Isak and should have taken him seriously instead, talk with him and investigate what he really wants and if he's ready to commit to be placed away from home. If that's what he wants then he should not be sent back home:

The boy is in a vulnerable state and is clearly not feeling safe in returning home.

And he has a right to live as he perceives himself.^m

There was also suggestion that there should be a readiness from the social services or even the police in case the risk escalates suddenly and the situation becomes urgent, according to the situational danger:

What makes it difficult is that the risk assessment needs to be done. It is not good if it's only an emergency response, we have to know what IS the actual risk?ⁿ

The risk assessment is needed for knowing how to deal with Isak's safety in a short term, but it will also allow for long term solutions. The respondents expressed a worry for long term solutions being neglected if the case is considered as “finished” too soon. According to what possible obstacles for these suggestion could be, the high threshold of using LVU, economic limitations, lack of knowledge from the professionals and most importantly, lack of availability of shelters with competence and oriented towards transgender clients as the majority of shelters are oriented towards women who are in need of a shelter.

Isak's situation as seen by housing personnel

All the respondents thought that the social welfare was not applying a client oriented perspective towards Isak. Using the label “family conflict” had a two-fold interpretation. One is by downplaying the seriousness of the situation by turning an blind eye to the oppression towards his identity:

It's not about a family conflict, it's about his identity not being accepted and that the family has taken to pretty big measures to talk to him, as a warning one could see it, and an attempt to show that they do not accept it.^o

The use of the congregation was not only seen as a mean to intervene from the family, but was also seen as a warning. The other interpretation of the label “family conflict” is that the fault, or that the subject that needs to be addressed was Isak himself:

If the family's is looking for help internally, he is seeking help externally through the school counsellor or social services. And where the social services sees it as some sort of... family conflict... Isak's situation is not seen... One can wonder who have issues with who: Isak with his family or the family with Isak. Seeing it as a family conflict or something that can be solved usually happens at the child's expense.^p

Isak's *physical well-being* was a main concern for all respondents and they all saw his norm-breaking gender identity being revealed as the triggering factor to the threatening situation. The respondents saw that he was not being given recognition by the social welfare officer who ignores his needs and the ongoing oppression of his *universal rights*. This along with the disrespect and rejection from his family means he is being *misrecognised* in all dimensions and have to rely on himself in the for struggle to have his identity *recognised*, or at least accepted, by his family. He is also seen as alone in the fight for his rights from the social welfare officer which, in combination with being rejected from both his family and society, leaves him in a vulnerable state:

IPI: He is rejected by both the congregation and the social services, mmm... He's quite alone by himself.

IP2: It is not easy for a young person to claim their own needs if you not being heard anywhere.⁹

Contacting other instances, while its not as demanding, will also require him to use his *abilities* in knowing who to contact, how to find that particular contact and re-tell his narrative in order to hopefully sway them to take his side in his two-front struggle. There was also an aspect of creating risk for Isak by sending him home to his family, who also are same persons trying to “correct” him and were likely continue to do so:

The social services don't realize this boy's need for protection. If he returns home and spends the night there, he could get in trouble and it's not unlikely that there already are plans to take him out of the country.^f

The respondent elaborated their statement more further in the interview:

He's running out of time. [...] There is a difference if his family had just had a fight, but in his case they already brought the congregation to the home of his parents, so in a way things are set in motion. And its not possible to hide [his identity], but now somehow, it has already started and I think this is a boy who clearly need help and support.⁵

These statements show that time is of essence for ensuring his safety, which is being ignored by the professionals he have been in contact with. If he would be forcefully taken out of the country he would be out of reach of the Swedish juridical system. This is a fear for having Isak being put in a juridical system where sexual and transgender rights aren't as accepted and the parents or other adults have less restrictions in how the upbringing of children can be carried out compared to Sweden. While the vignette does not reveal any details about Isak's or his parents cultural background, it is my interpretation that this implies that they are seen as non-swedes, unless the family was perceived to have connections outside the country through the congregation. Since the family has been trying to keep the lid on Isak's gender identity, which he does not abide to, there was also an expressed worry on how they'll react to his renewed attempt to get external help.

One respondent gave an interesting remark regarding Isak that was not given by any other respondents in the interviews, which was how s/he should be addressed:

I'm also thinking about how to respond towards Isak, and if I would be in the welfare officer's or the counsellor's place, I'd talk and ask Isak which pronouns to use on him/her, what name to use on him/her.^t

The question for how Isak want wants to be addressed must be a clear demonstration of appropriate recognition towards the identity and *self-confidence* of Isak, which is part of the *love dimension*. By asking how Isak wants to be addressed, the respondent does not project their own created and perceived image of Isak's identity, but instead is asked for what identity s/he wants to be seen as. Isak has been maintaining two parallel identities while living with his/her family. Of those who know of Isak's two identities, no one have asked him which should be used when addressing him.

On giving Isak advice, both respondent groups had different views. One group would advice him to take contact with the social welfare officer again, preferably while being backed by someone else:

My advice to him would be to return to the social welfare office and give his perspective more powerfully, and if it that doesn't help find someone else who could help with that, possibly an organization, which can help him to bring it out [his narrative]. It's not acceptable for anyone to try to change him to be someone other than who he is. [...] It is a large portion of what we work with, to help people express their narratives to the social welfare office.^u

The contact with the social welfare office often requires the client to be resourceful and strong enough to claim their rights, which is an obstacle that the respondents try to help in overcoming. The other group had a different view and reacted against the idea of giving advice:

IP1: But advice, I'd like to talk to everyone around him, the counsellor and welfare officer they aren't acting as I'd like them to in this case. To Isak I'd mostly- its hard with advice... My advice would be to keep fighting for his cause. If he'd have called me, I'd have called the welfare officer [on his behalf] and talked with them regarding the seriousness [in his situation] and do follow up questions and tried to support Isak's... Try to make them understand... But that isn't advice. I couldn't give any advice. Though I can think of a lot of things to do but no. No advice.

IP2: I'd rather like to call it support to Isak but not advice.^v

There is a distinction between giving support and giving advice by the respondents. The term advice was associated with giving *too much recognition* as it would lead to an encouragement towards a certain goal and projecting an idea towards the person in question. But they would rather give Isak appropriate recognition by exploring his views and strengthening his thoughts and wants.

Vignette 2 – Linnea

Linnea is 21 years old and homosexual, but have concealed it from her family. She is studying at university and live at home with her parents in Jönköping. Her parents have suspected that "something is wrong" with her and have been controlling her with unannounced visits when she is on lectures and other activities. They have spoken out earlier that they do not tolerate homosexuality. At one point, she decided to go to a gay club in Gothenburg with a fellow student. At the club, she met Sara and they were mutually interested in each other and they exchanged phone numbers with each other. Linnea did not know that an acquaintance of the parents saw her outside the gay club and told her dad about it. The father was furious and threatened to kill her if she'd be seen there again. He also said that their acquaintance who saw her there would keep quiet about it for their sake. She continued to meet Sara in secrecy and made up various reasons to visit her in Lund. They've had a relationship in secrecy for a year. Before one of her visits to Sara, Linnea tells her parents that she will sleep away for one night as she will volunteer at a research conference. She used the brochures from a conference that would actually be held, and made schedules of activities that she showed to the parents in order to convince them. She promised to call from the hostel when she'd arrive. She accidentally forgot her mobile phone on the bus and called instead from Sarah's landline to her parents. The parents became suspicious when they saw the caller ID and called back after a while. When Sara answers, she hears Linnea's father yelling at her and

realized that they were caught by her father. They got scared and left the apartment to stay with Sarah's parents overnight. The next day they decide to go past Sarah's apartment to check out that there is no risk of danger, but Linnea's father sees them and starts to chase them. They manage to escape Linnea's father and go back to Sarah's parents. Sara thinks that Linnea should call the police, but Linnea does not want to put pressure on the family through the police, as it might make her father even more furious. Linnea calls the social services in Lund, but is directed to the social welfare office in her home municipality. She calls the social services in Jönköping and describe her situation. The welfare officer do not judge it as a HRVO case, but as hate crime and that her threat is not serious enough. The welfare officer encourages Linnea to call the police and report the incident first, and she will be given a time at the social welfare office where her situation can be investigated further. But she hardly dare to walk around in Lund, let alone go back to Jönköping where her parents and their friends are probably on the look out for her.

Linnea's situation as seen by social welfare officers

Many welfare officers started by declaring support for her by giving recognition to her *universal rights* regarding her sexuality. Other initial reactions towards Linnea's situation was that it resembles a traditional HRVO case and that it was being far more serious as she had been receiving death threats and being controlled by spontaneous visits. Her fear of these threats forces her into having a parallel life hidden away from her family:

She's 21 years old, of legal age and can do what she wants. She has been controlled and her parents have done [controlling] visits, which is serious. There's threat of death... Because she's been to a gay club... She's forced to live a double life and she does it because she's really scared. She even makes brochures and a schedules to use as a cover, she's planning her life around this.^w

The respondents saw the demand for making a police report and calling her referring to her case as hate crime in order to direct her case towards the police, stirred heated emotions:

I think its a little strange to think that this is hate crime - I think 'hate crime' is a classificatin the police force would use [...] And [regarding] this where she has to file a police report first, that's really weird too [...] You can encourage to make a police report, but that's something different. There is no link between the need for protection and a filed police report.^x

A respondent from another interview concurred in the criticism towards Linnea's treatment:

I imagine that if the social services claim it's about hate crime rather than honour and that it is not serious enough... It's about them not being competent enough. They haven't actually met her and they can't determine over the phone [the seriousness of] the threat.^y

Both these respondents are clearly critical to the *disrecognition* toward Linnea's rights by requiring a police report and use that as a ground to assess Linnea's need for protection. An assessment grounded on whether a police report has been made or not is seen as poorly grounded, and it also *disrecognise* her emotions of fear towards her family. The latter respondent would encourage Linnea to at least have their injuries documented in case she would decide later on to file a police report. The respondent could also arrange to invite a police officer to answer the clients questions regarding the process and what would happen if

they decides to file a report:

It's very common that they do not want to file a police report... It's nothing we demand at all, the decision is with the individual if they want to do it. If they want to do it, we back them up. We have also said that, to the extent possible and there is time, we can try to include someone from the police force to give guidance and answer questions from the client regarding the procedure and what happens if they decide to file a police report.^z

Respecting Linnea's emotions towards her family doesn't need to exclude safeguarding her *rights*. On the contrary, her rights were being *recognised* by allowing her to talk with a police officer regarding the legal procedure and by advising her to document her injuries in case she would decide at a later point to report it to the police.

Her old age was seen as something to her benefit, as she would not be bound to her parents in the same way as if she would be under the age of 18. This would also lead to the welfare officer to be less dependant on the clients parents when it comes to granting her aid:

If there is any doubt at all, we rather offer too much protection and aid than to risk anything ... Besides, Linnea is 21 years old so she is not in the same situation as she's an adult.^{aa}

The respondents agreed that being directed back to her home municipality for aid was in accordance with the set routines and laws. As a client in need of social aid, you need to apply for it in your own home municipality. Because of these limitations, one respondent saw the need to be creative and flexible for the sake of the client:

She's too afraid to stay in Lund, she does not want to go back to Jönköping either. We usually do like this, [whether it's] intimate partner violence or HRVO, we can meet the client in other social offices or in other municipalities so that they are not in the immediate area where it happened. We can have it in sheltered housings, we can find solutions that are safe for the client. We can meet them at a hour of the day when the parents are not home.^{ab}

They all saw the treatment of referring to the social welfare office in her home municipality as accordingly to the principle of residence [vistelsebegreppet]. One respondent did however point out that the regulation was recently revised⁶ to give the client more possibilities to move to another municipality, if they can prove to have some kind of social ties in the municipality:

It's in the rules about which municipality that's supposed to take on an application [for aid], which is about the client's social establishment. If I live in Gothenburg and want to move to Haparanda, I could apply in advance since my grandmother lives there. And then they should oblige to it, as I understand it. The possibility does exists.^{ac}

The clients request for aid should be questioned before granting any aid, according to one respondent. The reason is not to disempower the client, it is rather to ensure the client having a realistic perception of the oppression they're being subjected to as prolonged exposure to

6 This is more thoroughly explained in the document *Ansvarsfördelning mellan bosättningskommun och vistelsekommun, nya bestämmelser – Meddelandeblad 3/2011* [The division of responsibility between municipality of residency and municipality of temporary stay, new regulations – information sheet 3/2011], which can be found on the website for the Swedish national board of health and welfare.

violence and oppression shifts increases the threshold of what behaviour is acceptable towards oneself:

The client's protection of him/herself is usually not grounded in reality [when they've had a prolonged exposure to HRVO]. Because you're accustomed to living in a exposed and dangerous way. Because of that, the client can't say "but I can just stay in an apartment here". We won't agree to that, we need to first find out what happened and how it the situation looks before going in with that kind of housing aid.^{ad}

This was reinforced by two other respondents, who had experienced clients downplaying the seriousness by referring to their cultural background:

I don't think this is taken seriously, you get to hear as a welfare officer that that "this is how we talk in our culture, we mean nothing by it". So I can understand why it might not be taken it seriously – because [you'd think] the threats won't be acted upon.^{ae}

According to these two quotes, if seen through the theory of recognition, a prolonged exposure to *physical abuse* and *denigrations* results in damaged *self-confidence* and, most prominently, damaged *self-esteem*. As these *relations-to-self* are damaged, so is the persons perception of what could be seen as dangerous to him/herself and in practice increases the persons tolerance for the amount of violence and oppression taken without reacting against it. As such, judging the severity and type of violence that the client is subjected to is done by asking concrete questions about details on who is exercising the violence and how it is being exercised towards the client.

The advice she'd be given was to be persistent in her contact with the social welfare office in Jönköping and emphasize that she feels fear towards her father and demand to be put in a shelter on arrival, if she would agree to return to Jönköping. One of the respondents in this category was also critical towards the idea of advising:

I'm not much for giving advice, advice is you telling others how they should do things. Give guidance [feels more right] for me. I think in the professional role, I can not personally sit and give advice as an welfare officer, I think that it is very important to provide guidance based on the [legal] obligations we have.^{af}

This is a similar view to the last quote given by the housing personnel in Isak's vignette, by making a distinction between support and advice, the respondent associated the latter with giving *too much recognition*. The guidance that the above respondent would give would consist of what the meaning of living in a sheltered housing is and prepare Linnea mentally on what it will result in. She might go through a tough process, she could be placed far away and might not be able to see Sara. The risk of them being separated from each other was confirmed by another respondent as well. While preparing her for this hard decision is necessary in order for Linnea to make a well-grounded decision and not risking aborting her sheltered housing early on, the driving factor behind her fathers oppression is her wanting to be with Sara. In my interpretation, the respondent sees their obligation to stop her father and other actors from oppressing her, but it is not extended to try and preserve their relationship.

Another suggested strategy was to explore her social network and see if anyone she has confidence for can support her cause and talk to her parents on her behalf. The last advice was

to make it clear for her that she's being subjected to a crime and make it clear that she is within her full rights to live her life the way she is doing. She'd also be supported to file a police report with the help from the welfare officer.

One of the respondents saw that society should reinforce her *rights* to be in love with Sara and to be safe from violence. Being dismissed by phone from the social welfare officer is in contrast to those rights. Another respondent identified that there is lots of fear, prejudice and homophobia that is silently going on in the public sectors, especially towards women:

We have a tolerant appearance, liberated and modern society, but there are a lot of prejudices. There is fear, there are many homophobes and it's very silent about it in the public sector. Even within various departments such as health care, social services, schools and so on, I feel it is very sensitive subject, e.g. when a woman is lesbian compared to a man that is gay... Somehow it is, "Yeah yeah, he's gay", but it's a woman... It becomes very silent...^{ag}

Lastly, there was seen as probable that Linnea and Sara would be treated differently if they were men, both in how their vulnerability to the exposure of violence would be seen but also that they'd have an unequal opportunity to receive adequate placement, because there is no sheltered housing for men:

I am afraid that in some cases, men and women are viewed differently, even if it's not done on a conscious level... But if the components are the same [in the hypothetical case] to this, I find it hard to believe that it will be different for men. The aid might be different because the absence of a male sheltered housing, so they might be put in a hotel or receive another type of solution.^{ah}

Linnea's situation as seen by the counsellors

The counsellors from both interviews had different stances on this situation early on. While the respondents from one interview thinks she would be given shelter by the social welfare office, the other respondent thinks that the situation is too serious for them and that the police should be contacted instead:

This is a threat present here, the father is hunting after the girl therefore it feels more appropriate to call the police, but she does not want to pressure the family. And that's so common I think... The feeling of guilt and... You don't want to make things difficult for your parents. [...] So [I think] it is with the police it belongs, spontaneously. [...] The police would not automatically contact the parents since she's 21 years old, the other boy is 16 years.^{ai}

This quote captures Linnea's ambivalence in her fearing for her life yet feeling guilt for creating a ruckus within the family and not wanting to further make the situation worse for them. Though she have expressed her wishes against filing a police report, it is unclear for the author if the police can help her without her father becoming a formal suspect in their procedure. The other respondents had a different stance and thought the social welfare officer is trying to avoid their obligations and is guilty of professional misconduct:

IP1: Calling the threat is not serious enough must be a professional misconduct! Because he threatened to kill her.

IP2: I think that there's nothing wrong with the encouragement to contact the police to file a report, but if the person doesn't want to and clearly expressed not wanting to, it feels like they're avoiding responsibility. Both to call it a hate crime and that it's a police matter and therefore not a matter for the welfare office. That's how I interpret the welfare office in Jönköping.^{aj}

The respondents in the above quote sees the welfare officers downplaying Linnea's situation as a grave transgression of Linnea's *rights*. Although filing a police report has its benefits, the respondents do think that Linnea's wishes should be *respected*. There was also a discussion on whether this was HRVO in its true meaning or not, as the respondents discussed who were involved in threatening and oppressing her:

IP1: Oh right, it mentions only the parents, it says nothing about anyone else, we don't actually know about that. Are there more or what's the context...?

IP2: This was sneaky!

IP1: Exactly! [laughter] One need to look into this, are there others who supports and who can execute this threat to kill her? Or is it just the father? Which of these people would actually be able to do this? Most people wouldn't do it but... We don't know for sure.

IP2: I agree, it is actually not in the text, but I understand that Linnea herself describes it as HRVO. But like it was stated earlier, the father's friend saw her and would keep quiet about it for their sake... It sounds like something... That one should keep quiet about it to the outside world, but that says nothing about [the inclination to exercise HRVO within] a family or relatives.^{ak}

The respondents argue that the type of violence would be much easier to identify if the welfare officer would use a standardized tool to investigate Linnea's situation, with that they'd know who the potential perpetrators are and decrease the risk of denying Linnea's *rights*, intentionally or unintentionally. But they were wary to wrongly define the situation by mistakenly seeing it as collective, when the vignette only mentioned the father as an active oppressor.

The respondents saw a need for some type of support in the contact with the authorities, and they'd advice Linnea to find personal contacts or organisations that can assist in further her cause with the social welfare office. The intervention that Linnea should receive depends on the threat level, although she is old enough to break away on her own:

She is older and is 21 years, she has an actual possibility – a bigger possibility, to separate from her parents. But then it's difficult to assess the threat, if the threat is substantial against the girl and she wants help then I definitely think she should get aid and support with another place to stay. But if the threat isn't a substantial threat of physical or psychological [violence] in that way, then it's a job that she must do on her own, to separate from her parents. That can't be provided from society.^{al}

In order words, she is in a better position to break off from her family, but its inhibited by the threat and oppression towards her *individuality* but also towards her *emotional dimension*. The reasoning continues from the same respondent regarding the responsibility that could be

pinned on her due to her age:

Paradoxically, I think that her age might result in people putting too much responsibility on her. She is 21 years old after all, and will have to take responsibility... You can have a difficult relationship with your parents without HRVO elements, and it can [still] be damn hard to be who you want to be. Then again, you do not know how crazy her father is... Someone will need to take look further into that. Well, perhaps the biggest risk is that you put too much responsibility on her because she is an adult and will have to manage on her own.^{am}

The respondent is careful to not pin too much responsibility on her due to her age alone, the actual threat is what should affect the eligibility of the aid. However, the respondent argues if there is no substantial threat towards her, then she needs to gain her independence and autonomy from her parents on her own. The other group of respondents have a different stance and see aiding both Linnea and Sara to a sheltered housing as their *right*:

IP1: [They should receive] shelters. They need to get away.

IP2: It's doesn't feel like an impossibility to arrange it either, they're women and there are shelters that are used to have girls who are exposed to HRVO as clients.^{an}

They would also go take a step further and offer to protect them by making the police report on her behalf, after analysing the potential risks and threat level, so neither Linnea nor Sara would be blamed for contacting the police:

We can offer the client to be listed as the ones filing the police report, but if it's a serious crime then we must do a risk assessment [first]. So we can take on that role and act as the plaintiffs and take the blame [from the client's family].^{ao}

Lastly, counselling talks should also be offered to them to serve as a purpose to talk through what they have been through, specially Linnea who lived a double life for a long time. It is also to explore what she wants and how she relates to her family in the long term, whether she want to stay in contact with them or if she want to break the contact with them. It was not certain if Linnea and Sara would be differently treated as men as that is associated with implications of its own:

IP1: I'm guessing here but the possibility that the threat would be taken more seriously if they were men, there is this perception that being a homosexual man is even more [norm] breaking compared to a homosexual woman, I do not know, maybe...

IP2: Yes that could be. I also thought that you're more used to see... Women to be crime victims and therefore would see [the seriousness in the situation] faster that way but...

IP1: But it is double sided...^{ap}

On one hand, a female homosexual is more fitting to the image of a victim, but on the other hand a male homosexual might be interpreted as more provocative in society and therefore more likely to be seen in need of help.

Linnea's situation as seen by the housing personnel

The respondents thought that the danger in Linnea's is considerable as his father have threatened to kill her and have been trying to get a hold of her outside Sara's apartment. Defining Linnea's situation as a hate crime instead of HRVO, specially considering it was only done over the phone, was seen as a *misrecognition* toward Linnea's *rights* and as a sign of ignorance from the welfare officer. But whether this is a matter of honour, hate crime or homophobia sparked a discussion:

I'm thinking generally that it's not obviously HRVO, we need to know a little more, I think. And it's not obvious a hate crime and that is absolutely nothing you can determine over a phone call. [...] One needs to investigate further to see what it's about.^{aq}

No matter what type of crime it is about, the respondents in another group saw it as a way to actively ignoring Linnea *rights* by avoid the responsibility and obligations towards the client:

IP1: She's being tossed around, no one wants to touch the case and suddenly its not HRVO but something new enters the picture, that's hate crime, and it becomes something entirely different.

IP2: One does not exclude the other, it's a very strange way to shove away her narrative.

IP1: So it's a HRVO case with hate crime elements, if they would be merged, but in this case you're making it easy by saying "its not HRVO, its hate crime and therefore someone else should handle the case". So its required by the one exposed to the crime to know what type of crime it is [...] It's about being able to present yourself and what you're being exposed to correctly.^{ar}

The above quote sees the burden that's put on the client to be resourceful enough to know how to present the type of crisis in terms that is understandable and acceptable by the welfare office. This can be translated in two ways, either as the welfare officer ascribing *too much recognition* to the clients *abilities*, or the officer simply disrecognising the clients *rights*.

Going back to the first group, a respondent stressed the importance of using the right tools for identifying HRVO which the welfare officer in this vignette did not use, otherwise Linnea would have been placed in a shelter. Her safety must be prioritized more, even though the *principle of residence* requires her to be in the municipality she's seeking aid in, the principle is not in her best interest in this situation as it would expose her to unnecessary risks, thus they should be flexible regarding that:

I think that the mistake the welfare office makes is them wanting to first investigate if it's HRVO with tools they don't have, before hiring someone with expertise in the field. It's a given that Linnea would be granted a placement [within a sheltered housing] if she would be [properly] investigated [everyone else agrees], and it's not like she can stay with Sara in Lund, she needs to live independently where the welfare office will come and meet her. [...] She can't return to Jönköping to seek aid, she must do it from where she is. This is the great knowledge gap in the public sector.^{as}

Another consequence of *principle of residency* which the other group discussed, is if both

Linnea and Sara would apply for aid in their respective municipality which they are living in. They will have two different welfare officers who might come to two different conclusions and if they don't collaborate together, might expose their clients for risks:

If you have two officers working separately then they'll come to different conclusions. If you're substantially threatened then it might be dangerous to be in contact with two different municipalities that doesn't communicate with to each other.^{at}

Regarding the advice towards Linnea and Sara, one group would encourage them to file a police report as it would be seen as an important demonstration of that Linnea is being subjected to a criminal and unacceptable behaviour. But this was not without implications, it is a long process and someone who's still living with her parents could be affected. The respondents from both interviews would also advice to have someone who could aid to argument for Linnea's cause towards the welfare officer, either a NGO with knowledge in this issue or their personal contacts. Regarding the latter, one respondent would also see it as feasible to as tiresome as possible towards the welfare officer:

...maybe that both Linnea and Sara calling [the welfare office], and if they've already been at Sara's parents... I think that in this case there are at least four people [Sara's parents, Sara and Linnea] who know about their situation. It should not be needed, but in this case if all of them are persistent and keep calling and really bug the welfare office into giving them aid because they can't take all calls... With a little power...^{au}

Both respondent groups thought that they should be given more recognition by taking them seriously, grant them a sheltered housing first, and after that have the level of threat and risk in their situation investigated. Both groups thought of Sara as someone who is also in an exposed situation and should be applying for aid, one respondent would take it further and see them granted shelter together:

I'm thinking that maybe they would be offered sheltered housing together. [...] the father have been outside Sara's apartment so she can't return there, she's indirectly threatened too so it's a scenario to placing them together.^{av}

While their sought aid is grounded in their need for physical safety, this very need is a result of Linnea's father trying to undermine the mutual attraction and bond between Linnea and Sara. If their love for each other is safeguarded and not disrupted by separating them, they would be given *appropriate recognition* in that dimension. The same respondent thought that this ambition is unlikely to be realistic, there was a risk that their need to stay together would not be given recognition from the professionals they're in contact with:

I'm almost 90% sure that they would not be placed together due to the current knowledge gap. In that case [where Linnea would be granted aid] only she would be helped and their love wouldn't be taken seriously. When it comes to our girls who've been placed with us, we work pretty hard if there's a boyfriend to keep their contact alive and that they are able to see each other, but I think a girlfriend [to a homosexual girl] would be lost and would just be called as girl after a while [by the professionals].^{aw}

As a long term solution, a respondent saw that they would need guidance on how to think of

their protection and safety, as Linnea's parents were unlikely to cease their pressuring:

You can't expect the parents to cease their chase or their pressure or control, instead you need to find ways to support Sara & Linnea in their vulnerable situation.^{ax}

The same group continued in discussing the support towards Linnea in helping her to be more independent from her parents, as she is 21 years old and autonomous in the *juridical sense* but should be supported to be independent in her *individuality* as well. The discussion did not cover how that would affect Linnea's *primary relations* with her family. Being independent would likely damage their relations in the short term and it's hard to tell how the outcome would be in the long term, but the important question is how Linnea herself value her relations with her family.

The respondents saw ignorance and homophobia as the only obstacles for these sought aids would be denied.

Vignette 3 – Kareem

Kareem is an 18 year old man living with their parents in Borås. He reads the last year of gymnasium [Swedish equivalent of high school] and working alongside his studies. His parents have long been talking about getting him married before he turns 20 years old. A few months ago, they arranged a meeting with another family and he was told afterwards that the visitors' daughter had been chosen by his parents as a suitable partner for him. Her parents had already accepted him as a partner to her too. They are the same age and both their parents have started talking about a wedding. Kareem have met her a few times and think she's nice, but does not want to marry her. He has told that to his parents, to no avail. Last week when her parents were visiting Kareem's parents, he gets the "good" news that a date have been set for the wedding. He protests, whereupon he learns that bridal price and other arrangements are already set and it is too late to cancel. The bride's father takes him aside and warns him to embarrass his daughter by changing his mind now. When the guests have gone, Kareem's mother sits down with him and explain that his bride lacks legal document and is illegally in the country. If they get married she won't risk her life by returning to her home country. Kareem understands why the bride's father was so threatening when he protested and he feels despair. He decides to call social services. He explains everything except details of the bride's family to not put her in trouble with the authorities and want help to get protection from the family, but the situation is not considered serious. He does not give up, but contacts the high school counsellor and speaks about his situation. He also talks about his secret that he has not told the social services nor his family, his homosexuality.

Kareem's situation as seen by social welfare officers

The respondents sought after more informations in this vignette as well. Kareem going against the will of his family was surprising to one of the respondents as the respondent openly thought, mistakenly, that most men in honour oriented families don't go against the will of the family. Another respondent had experienced a few cases of men who got in touch with the social welfare office because of them being forced into marriages, although it was a matter of pressure and not necessary a matter of HRVO:

IP: We've had a couple of [cases] guys who do not want to be forced into a

marriage. They didn't want this weird girl. That may not be honor [related violence], but they were subjected to pressure. KR: There was not room for them to be free? IP: I don't know... Maybe they have a little more influence... Well... The number of unreported cases is huge, we can only guess [how their actual situation is].^{ay}

Besides the normative expectations on him, as a man born into a heteronormative context, he has been burdened with the responsibility for another person's life as well:

He's having a huge amount of responsibility, for the family honour and... There's a lot of responsibility for another person's future too, this bride has no residence permit [and] she risks her life in her home country... They're putting a lot of responsibility on Kareem who is 18 years old.^{az}

Several of the respondents mentioned his age in this case as a factor for the aid to be unrestricted from the parental influence and opens up the possibility to talk with Kareem on the aid he requests. At the same time, the age poses an obstacle for granting him an appropriate shelter, due to the lack of appropriate shelter for this group:

Since Kareem is 18 years old, you can't place him in a sheltered housing for women, shelters in Gothenburg are 100% aimed towards women I dare say. Where would Kareem be put if he refuses to go home on the basis that he does not want to be married off to a person under those circumstances? So it's a big obstacle that he is 18 years old...^{ba}

Another respondent reinforces this view:

This guy is 18 years old, that's important. We have to believe him that he is a person who's capable and want to take his own decisions in life and are able to pursue and fulfil them.^{bb}

Respecting his autonomy due to his adult age is an important factor to give recognition to his *juridical rights*. The treatment Kareem received created a reaction in one interview, had he been a girl, he'd receive help instantly as the level of threat is prominent in this case:

IP: My thoughts are, had a girl been in this situation she would have been helped instantly. So if... An 18 year old girl who's risking to be forcefully married... Again, what should I say... The threat level here is quite high. Partly from the bride's father, but there's also the question of how his parents-, if they see it as something ordinary and might have been through it themselves, like this is simply how to do things. And when he protests they do not listen, but go on ... If he, so to say, persistently argue against this, what might happen? Will they be threatening, violent...? The bride's father has already been threatening.^{bc}

The respondent continues to contemplate to not overuse of HRVO as a label on different situations. The parents' actions in this case could be simply a matter of replicating their own upbringing onto their child, but once those views are enforced with violence or threats of violence, then it should be acted upon by the public services. How his parents might react is the key question that needs to be answered in order to categorize the danger. Some thought it was hard to give him advice as he had already done a lot, but he'd still be advised to stand up for his cause, find someone who can take his side in the contact with the social welfare office

and demand to be taken seriously by the welfare officer. One respondent thought that he needed to tell as much as possible to the social welfare officer as that is a requirement to make a well grounded decision regarding his request for aid:

I'd advise him to tell the welfare officer as much as he can. He doesn't have to mention names if he is afraid to expose her, but as much as possible so his situation can be investigated, for it is difficult to make decisions regarding the sought aid without it.^{bd}

While his sexual orientation was not mentioned in the above statement, another respondent had a different stance and did consider the current information as sufficient to make him eligible for a sheltered housing:

We would know enough to make a placement for him in a sheltered housing. His homosexuality, we do not need to know that in order to make a placement.^{be}

The same respondent sees it as important to not demand too much on the first meetings, as the initial narrative could be fragmented due to the clients everyday life is immersed with an ongoing crisis:

Many who we meet have a great need for help but tell only a small piece about it, then there's a risk that we grant an equally small aiding intervention and hope that it goes well. We humans do not function during a crisis in a way that we can tell everything on the first contact. We rather grant too much much aid too many times and then reduce it if we realize that we granted too much, rather than miss and grant too little. I do believe that.^{bf}

This quote is understood as giving *appropriate recognition*; the clients current situation have likely been so grievous emotionally, it has caused a temporal limitation in their ability to elaborate themselves. It is therefore in the clients best interest to grant them the aid and investigate their situation as they stabilize emotionally. The same respondent continues that even if the client would decide to follow through the marriage, that decision needs to be respected:

IP: Sometimes the person choose, although they don't want to, to enter an arranged marriage otherwise they can't be with their family. It's their least bad option. And to see it from our [perspective as members of] Swedish society where we have freedom of choice, that doesn't make sense. But if you've grown up and lived under those practices, maybe you do not have these choices or think to not have these choices. So it goes on. And you learn to live with it, or maybe get out of it [the marriage] later.

KR: Like you learn to love the other [your partner]...

IP: ...and it is not necessarily wrong in itself, but the important thing is to be able to take your own decision. There are people who do not live with a distinct honor-bound culture, but still have that tradition and it's OK if you want it, we can't tell people how they should choose to live.^{bg}

The respondent emphasises the importance to respect the choices of how the client choose to live their life, even if these choices aren't aligned with the respondent's own values. By

listening to the clients wishes, and offering him aid without forcing it upon him, the respondent aims to give him *appropriate recognition*. There is an opportunity for cooperation with the girl he was set to be married, as seen by a different respondent. They could collaborate together and work out a common strategy to solve the issue at hand:

This with him should take responsibility because she's without legal residency documents, it's really hard but he could talk to her... I'm only speculating, but if they could collaborate or if they have different... She might be even more vulnerable and might not want to do it [the marriage] and have a father that threatens both him and her. He could talk to her to find a common strategy.^{bh}

On the question of what type of interventions should be done in this situation, it was a necessity for the professionals themselves to be aware of their own prejudice and heteronormativity in order to not project them towards the client. One respondent stressed the importance to keep the contact with a client and follow up even after they've been placed in a shelter or in a different municipality and not leave them adrift. One of the suggested interventions was the use of mediation, which is motivated by lifting Kareem out of his social context does not necessary mean that it will benefit him:

It might not benefit him to take him out of his social context, it's not what you want to do, but instead maybe you should go back to the parents with mediation and explain that he is 18 years, he has the right to say no, forced marriage is illegal and so on, and if they can be reached through that somehow... That's what I would suggest.^{bi}

But the same respondent sees potential obstacles for granting mediation:

It could be that you don't have someone who is considered suitable for the mediation, that one... Well... I can not see any other obstacles if you [as a welfare officer] find that intervention to be needed. Otherwise it's that you think it is not so serious [enough to justify granting aid]... In a case like this, mediation would not work since there's too much threats and violence.^{bj}

There had been an attempt to use mediation in a similar situation by another respondent but it didn't even start as the mediator aborted the task:

I raised a case where I wanted mediation between the victim and the family. But it was too sensitive, they just said "no"... So less fear is perhaps a necessity, to be more daring.^{bk}

Kareem's situation as seen by the counsellors

Kareem was seen as being massively burdened with being responsible for the girls life. The case of being forced into a marriage was seen seriously by the respondents and that it should be taken seriously by the welfare officer, who is seen as as downplaying his situation. One of the respondents reasoned that the welfare officers can only act on the information given to them, but questions how much time and how much confidence the officer did instil in Kareem's narrative:

It depends on who meets Kareem. And what does the officer convey in their meeting? How long is the meeting allowed to take? Is he able to come back again

and tell more and feel safe in telling his story?^{bl}

The welfare officers is able to control the information given by the client through his/hers power position by controlling the environment the client is in. If the officer creates an unideal environment for the client to expose their narrative, they will be giving *recognition* to the clients *rights* as they are professionally obliged, although by a minuscule scale and even *disrecognising* the clients *individuality* by not creating an adapted situation to stimulate their ability to give their narrative. Later on in the interview, the same respondent reasons that the client who has prolonged exposure to HRVO will have their view skewed on what they should consider as acceptable treatment is towards them. In those cases, they could have a harder time to express their oppression to others in a convincing way. The other respondent group thought that Kareem's gender and sexual orientation as something that should not be to judge his eligibility for the sought aid or not:

This should be something that the welfare office takes more seriously. [...] regardless of his homosexual orientation, which he chooses to tell the counsellor though it should not have anything to do with it. This could be seen as a young person who is risking to be forced into a marriage. [...] it's now in recent times that they have started to include young boys or young men in the discussion in an entirely different way, and not only talking about only women and girls but also guys who are being forced and being exposed to pressure. ^{bm}

His *legal rights* should not be dependant on his sexual orientation, that requirement would result in a *disrecognition* by forcing him to expose his sexual orientation unwillingly. That would also deny other people in similar situations their *rights* as focus would be on internal factors, their personal traits, to determine their eligibility rather than outer factors which are the cause of their situation. Although the issue of forced marriage is the biggest and most urgent issue for Kareem, one thing that is to his advantage is that his family does not know of his sexual orientation. The respondents thought that the reason behind that could be that Kareem valued his family as too important to put at risk by revealing his sexuality. He sacrifices the ability to have his *individuality* recognised and to keep his *primary relationships* intact.

The advice Kareem would be given was to see if he can find someone to help him in the contact with the social welfare office, though he would need to choose one strategically to not accidentally reveal his sexual orientation revealed by his helper. Both groups would offer to aid him and contact the welfare officer on his behalf. In one interview, reasoning that if Kareem would reveal his sexual orientation it would serve towards making a better and a more wholesome risk assessment. The reasoning in the other interview saw the dilemma from Kareem's perspective, should he go against the family's arrangements and risk losing them or go along with the marriage and continue living a double life:

It may not be worth it for him to talk about his sexual orientation if he does not want to lose his family. Only he knows that. There is no good solution to this. Either he follows his heart and live out as a homosexual and lose his family, or he have to compromise with himself and live a double life, with the risk of being exposed as well, but having his family there. It's very hard of course... And I think, who are we to judge? ^{bn}

The above quote shows an appropriate amount of recognition as the respondent is being

cautious to not project his/her values on the client and strive to having a non-judgemental perspective that sees the respondent as a capable individual of making his own decisions that should be respected, even if they doesn't align with the respondent's values. Although this can be questioned whether this will lead to the *positive development* of Kareem's personality according to the theory of recognition, his choice is respected. All respondents saw it as important to talk to Kareem on what he wants and support him in that. One respondent reasoned freely and saw the opportunity to collaborate between Kareem and the unwillingly designated bride, and if they could attack the core problem together:

How can we prevent him from entering this marriage? Which persons possess power to influence this situation? Now that I come to think about the "bride" to-be, she's without legal residency documents. And you have to wonder if that's what they're trying to solve through the marriage? And then the question is whether the bride to-be... Can another solution be found to this? Can she make a new application to the Swedish migration board? Or can it be solved in another way and have him ally with her?^{bo}

One could argue that a potential alliance between Kareem and the girl he was going to be married to would be likely, as they could identify to each others situations since they're both subjected to similar types of *disrecognition*. The counsellors would seek to identify the core problem and influential key persons, these factors are necessary to find an appropriate solution to the involved parties. If the reason of her marriage was only about making her stay in the country, would it possible for her to stay without them forced into the marriage?

There was a hesitation on what aid that should be granted from society towards Kareem. One respondent suggested sheltered housing, but the others hesitated as they were not familiar with what intervention methods have been proven successful in these cases. Due to time constraints, the interview were aborted at this points for one group of the respondents. The other counsellor who was interviewed alone by me identified a few points on what possible obstacles there might be for Kareem to get aid. High workload for the welfare officer could result in them *unintentionally misrecognise the legal rights* of clients. Him being in adult age, while granting him legal autonomy, could result in his case be not prioritized as he would be ascribed *too much recognition* to his personal abilities, and is expected to solve his situation on his own. Lastly, the importance of being able to express ones narrative was emphasized:

How important it is that the persons in these situations can, that they possess a good ability to describe their situation. It's incredibly important that you can express yourself easily and describe how your situation is.^{bp}

I argue that the demands in the process of seeking aid from the welfare office, as portrayed in the quote above, can have an excluding effect to certain groups who are unable to describe their situation on their own. If this requirement and treatment applies to all individuals, what happens to a client who seeks aid, but are unaware of what parts of the narrative to focus on? This would disrecognise *the rights* of disadvantaged individuals, unless they're given appropriate support to let their narrative come into light.

Kareem's situation as seen by the housing personnel

The situation where the client is able to live relatively free until they're told that they're going to get married is not unusual for the housing personnel. At that point the crisis is triggered.

The respondents found Kareem as particularly exposed to danger, as the welfare officer did not give recognition to his *rights*, but also because the girls father have directly threatened him and Kareem was fearing for his *bodily integrity*. The respondents thought he might be even more dangerous if Kareem's sexual orientation would be known. The monetary transaction is seen as a committing factor to ensure his family will go through with the marriage, they are seen as unlikely to change their stance on this matter and there is no room for his will in his situation:

There is no room for him as an individual, he is a part of a system. He's expected to be a well-oiled cogwheel and not make any trouble.^{bq}

Being forced into a marriage and unable to choose your partner is hard, in Kareem's case the chosen weren't of his sexual preference, which made the insults even graver towards Kareem's *ethical person*, his *social esteem*. But this use of force does also affect his *emotional dimension* as Kareem is expected to follow this known norm and not diverge from it. Kareem would be encouraged to act quickly before the wedding takes place and keep seeking help as the situation could deteriorate if the girls father would perceive that she is put to shame. The contact with the counsellor was seen as a positive factor that should be kept in use. They went on and gave fairly similar advice as the former cases, to stand up for his right among other things, which sparked the respondents emotionally when they realised they were repeating the advice:

IP1: It becomes apparent for me when we talk that these youths are exposed for arbitrary decisions by the welfare office. When we sit here and say "be persistent, don't give up", that's so unprofessional! [by the welfare office]

IP2: It's scary, because everything depends on the individual [who seeks aid]. You have to keep pestering them [the welfare office] until you get aid unless you get it from the beginning, because no one will nag or take that fight for you.

IP1: And since your network is against you, you're quite alone in this.^{br}

The encouragement to stand up for ones *rights* is a declaration that the client should not have to make an uphill struggle to what's rightfully theirs. But this encouragement is not unproblematic, because it requires the person being strong enough to take the fight, which I claim that these clients in many cases aren't due to the emotional crisis and because their former network has abandoned them, which puts them in a vulnerable state. One respondent sensed Kareem's despair and felt hopelessness and thought he might follow through the arranged marriage, unless there is help from the outside that will be granted to him. Another respondent would directly advice him to not fulfil the marriage, as it would make him unhappy in the long run:

I'd advice him to not follow through this marriage because I think that he'll be very unhappy, even if the family won't do any sanctions against him.^{bs}

While this advice has the best of intentions at heart, the respondent is giving recognition for *his* need of love, it might also be an example of *too much recognition*. What is currently most important for Kareem right now, the continuance of his current *primary relationships* which encompass his family, or giving space and possibility to grow his *individuality*, his *social esteem* and the possibility to choose his own partner? As it is now, choosing one would result

in losing the other: choosing his family would result in him renouncing his own individuality and choosing his individuality could result in his family to renounce him. The girl would remain in danger and her father could be violent towards Kareem and / or his family. In order to give *appropriate amount of recognition*, he must be able to problematize together with a professional his current situation to explore which of the different, potential outcomes would be most beneficiary, or *least harmful*, to him.

On what society should do in order to aid Kareem besides granting him shelter, therapeutic counselling was suggested as the respondents saw him being burdened with the responsibility for the girls life if he would decide to go into a sheltered housing. When placed in a sheltered housing, it would be important to think through how the other inhabitants in the sheltered housing might react to someone of a different sexual orientation or gender identity. Regarding possible obstacles, there was a perspective connected to gender and heteronormativity being cause for Kareem and Isak not being taken seriously:

There's an unfairness related to gender, Linnea and Sara could be helped through the women's support centre [kvinnojour], Isak and Kareem can't. And most male support centres are oriented around men who are violent towards others. [...] he doesn't fit into the template of who that could be subjected to HRVO. If the exact same situation would happen but changing Kareem to Kareema then I'm sure the welfare office would have acted otherwise [everyone else in agreement]. [...] there is a need for more information about boys and men can also be subjected for this. Whether they're homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual or transgender. That's the first step, it's not only related to the gender.^{bt}

This quote shows an important *disrecognition* on a macro level. The female vulnerable state is being *recognised* by the society by the existence of sheltered housing for women, but men in the same vulnerable state are *disrecognised* as there is no equivalent aid for men. The roles of oppressor and victim are tied, and reinforced, to the binary genders of male and female. When these roles are switched, or other factors come in that overthrows these expectations, the client doesn't fit into the existing services as the requirements and sheltered housings are unable to adapt to the individual and his/her needs, even if the client would "almost" fit their target group.

Summary of the interviews

Welfare officers

Acting in accordance with the rule of law was given attention early in the interviews. Age was a key factor to how much the officer are able to do in a case without the parents involvement, as their consent is mandatory to grant aid or interventions for clients under 18, unless the under age client is taken into LVU care. The strive for working juridically correct was also demonstrated by a certain cautiousness due to the lack of information and in order to hear out the clients will. Respecting their will and not to give them *too much recognition* by pushing their own goals onto the client was a central theme with the respondents, even if the clients will was not in accordance with the officers' own views. For instance, would the client choose to to live under the oppression just to remain with their family, the choice should be respected even if the officer would not understand it from their cultural point of view. It was also important to keep track of the parents view in order to not lose perspective and portray the

parents as monsters, they are the product of their inherited values and social environment. But it was still emphasised that understanding them would not mean accepting or tolerating their oppressive and violent actions towards the rights of their children.

The client's safety was also in focus, in some interviews the clients was advised to be careful and avoid confrontation with members of the collective, but in several interviews the respondent would offer the client the opportunity to reside in a sheltered housing. There were two main approaches towards the safety of the client, one approach would be waiting with granting shelter until the situation is investigated and charting out the potential consequences to the individual from the aid or intervention; the matter of breaking off with the existing social context and moving into a new one requires determination and preparation in order to be carried out successfully without being aborted prematurely. The other approach would be intentionally granting too much aid and regulate it afterwards, since the longer clients are exposed to HRVO, they more accustomed they could be to the oppression and violence and less realistic perspective of what they're actually being exposed to unless they're given space outside that context. Due to this, it was seen as important to base the assessment of the clients situation through concrete questions on what they've been exposed to.

The respondents stated that the vulnerabilities in the situation, and identification of the type of violence, can only be done by meeting the client in person. It was of importance to not downplay the seriousness of threats when the client is of a non-western background, as some respondents have heard how both clients and other professionals downplay situations with the excuse that it is just a vernacular to the clients cultural background. There was also thoughts on the gender differences, the absence of sheltered housing towards other clients than women and how homosexuality is viewed differently whether its between men or women. Male clients who seek aid due to a HRVO situation gave a surprised reaction, as they're thought to be more influential in their family.

Keeping a cool head, know when to act quickly and be flexible to satisfy the client's needs was of importance in these cases according to the welfare officers. Mediation was proposed in two interviews as a form of long term intervention since it would keep the client's social context intact. Using the clients own network in order to find a suitable place would serve as both a short and long term solution, it would give the client a safer place away from the danger yet remain within the social context. It might also involve the person to the clients cause against the parents and oppressors.

The respondents identified two causes for not offering an adequate aid to the client, *misrecognition* due to high workloads and *misrecognition* or *disrecognition* due to lacking knowledge. Both these factors would pose as obstacles to identifying important factors for the clients safety and cause the officers to take unsuitable decisions. Social welfare officers also have to struggle with a negative opinion and bad reputation, which makes it harder for them to earn the clients trust. The majority of the respondents assured that the cost of housing was not an issue that would affect it to be granted or denied to the client. The clients need for protection is the sole affecting factor, assuming there was available slots and suitable places.

Counsellors

The counsellors from the two interviews had different views on how they identified the situations in the vignettes, one interview gave the impression that serious cases of HRVO should be handled by the police rather than the social services, while the other interview saw

it as the clients right to be helped by the welfare office, without necessarily contacting the police first. Age of the client were a factor that affected how the needs of the client could be met, how autonomous they could be from their parents and how much responsibility the client were expected to take for solving their own situation. The respondents thought that caution must be taken in order to not put too much responsibility on the client's age alone, while the chances for an adult to manage on their own is bigger compared to a young person, some situations are too grave and require outside intervention to be amended.

Confidence in the professional collaboration and having a mutual professional respect, trust and flexibility was also being stated as essential to work for the best interest for the client, as there was a sense of responsibility from the counsellor towards who the client is sent to and how that person treats the client, both in the social context and the legal procedure. The respondents in this category a showed clear willingness to help the clients in their contact with the welfare officer if they'd feel dismissed, as the ability to express oneself is seen as a considerable factor that affects the chances to receive the requested aid. The obligation to contact the parents when issues arise with an under age child was seen as problematic in the cases the parents themselves being the cause of problem.

The concern for the clients physical safety was something central and that needed to be explored further by using investigative risk-assessment tools or check-lists in order to plan out the adequate course of action. This would also alleviate hesitation towards the categorization of the type of violence and oppression the client is being subjected to. One respondent thought of ways to identify the core issue and solving it with the aid of the involved parties, both those subjected to the violence and influential key persons, as a way to undermine the driving force behind their HRVO. The client's sexual- and gender identity would also be encouraged and be supported. Another of the interviewed counsellors would advice to be cautious and avoiding unnecessary confrontations with the family due to safety concerns, according to the counsellor this trade off would result doing the family's bidding on a short-term, yet allow for living out their identity on the long run. If the norm breaking sexual orientation and/or gender identity has not been revealed to the family or collective, then it should remain hidden from them to avoid risking to the client's safety. Lastly, the respondents thought that the client's sexual orientation or gender identity should not be a factor that could affect the eligibility for aid, and it was seen as the right of the client to keep that private information hidden.

Housing personnel

Depending on how the situation was labelled by the welfare officer, it would imply the officer's view of the seriousness of situation, the placement of who is the cause of the problem and whether the case should be with them or shoved to another bureau or public organizationals. One important aspect as a professional was to give more *recognition* to the client towards their gender and sexual identity by, for example, asking on what pronouns to use towards the client, and also to keep the relationship with the client's partner intact by avoiding to separate them in case one of them would be placed into a sheltered housing.

Investigating the situation well and meeting the client in person was a necessity to make an adequate risk assessment of their situation. It was important to give *appropriate recognition* to the client by including them in creating their solutions and interventions instead of only have them projected from the professional. This is of significance as those under HRVO might be accustomed to not getting their will expressed and that must be taken into consideration while

working with the client. This was also cause for the objection from one respondent in this group toward using the word advice, who rather would give the clients support. However, some of the advices given by the housing personnel was direct in nature and towards how the client should do which, while having the clients best at heart, could be a form of *too much recognition*.

The respondents saw several warning signs in the vignettes, the direct threats but also indirect threats, such as when a family wants to keep outsiders from involvement while using the “inner” group and the “internal” resources to solve their issue. These cases were sometimes seen as a race against the clock, as it was unlikely that the process of sanctions, control and violence would stop once it has started. Thus action needs to be taken swiftly before an irreversible sanction is taken, such as murder but also manipulating / kidnapping the client out of the country and out of reach of the Swedish authorities.

In one case, the questioning whether it was really HRVO or type of violence was being exercised was raised. The necessity of identifying the violence type was not only the professionals burden, one of the respondents saw the client being required to know that as well to in order to present their case convincingly to the relevant service giver, otherwise the client could risk being dismissed or directed to another instance. Since the contact with the welfare office requires resourceful clients, they'd be encouraged to hold out and find other allies, both from within and outside their own network such as NGOs, and to be very persistent towards the officer if need be to get the aid they seek. Being in this position without a partner meant a particular vulnerability and loneliness, as it would put more demand on the client's own resources to be heard and to receive aid. This triggered an annoyance from the respondents as the clients should not to struggle for services that are rightfully theirs, and the respondents felt a that the advices were easy to say when you are not in that position yourself.

Whether the sexual orientation was known or not to the family or collective, was a matter that could affect how vulnerability of the client was perceived. If it is not known then the matter must be proceeded with caution as the client could be exposed to danger if that is revealed. The respondents lifted another aspect of the implications of gender and sexual orientation which involved the availability of housing. Even if there was available space to receive clients, it was uncertain how the existing tenants would act towards a new client of a norm breaking sexual orientation or gender identity. It was also a question whether the sheltered housings would receive other than “traditional” female clients.

5. DISCUSSION

The normative framework found in *recognition* theory defines the common denominators for a positive interaction between subjects, which will lead to a positive development for them. This study had two research questions that were oriented around the client's perspective; the questions was “what *misrecognitions* does the interviewed service providers identify towards the main characters in the vignettes?” and “what needs of the main characters in the vignettes do the interviewed service providers give *recognition* to?”. In response to the first question, the respondent's narratives contained several identified *dis-* and *misrecognitions* in the vignettes. One of them was mislabelling the violence, which was a result of the in-vignette professional turning a blind eye to the violence and downplaying the seriousness in the clients situation. When the client is rejected, they are required to be resourceful and take action in order to struggle for their cause and rights. Several respondents suggested the use of

assessment and investigative tools that's free from assumptions towards gender roles, culture origins and sexual orientation, in order to identify the client's situation and to prevent this type of *disrecognition*. The client can also be given *too much recognition* by the professional, either by projecting ideas, solutions or the professional's own values toward the client but also by expecting the client to solve their own situation, i.e. giving them too much recognition to their abilities, their *individuality*. Investigative questions regarding the client's sexual orientation and gender identity can be an act of *disrecognition* if the subject is being avoided because its uncomfortable to the professional, or if it's asked although it's irrelevant to the risk assessment or the case in general. This *disrecognition* is partially due to the unequal power relationship between the professional and the client, which the professional needs to be constantly aware of, and make a judgement call when this question is deemed relevant to the case or assessment (e.g. if the family show transphobic or homophobic tendencies).

The respondents reacted to several needs in the vignette characters, the most prominent need was their need for safety and protection. While some of respondents hesitated in how serious the different situations are or could become, age was a factor that affected how vulnerable the vignette characters seemed to the respondents. The perceived vulnerability can also be reinforced by the situation where the clients request for help, both formal and informal, is rejected. The client's need to be listened to was central to several respondents, and requires the professional to create a trusting, undemanding relationship where the client is allowed to take the necessary time to tell his/her narrative. Being in a safe environment would also stimulate the clients narrative, by creating a distance from the oppression and allow the client to gain perspective over their situation. The many burdens of guilt pinned on the client, both towards the family and others who may be affected may affect the client's decisions. By supporting and aiding the client in harbouring the client's guilt, the professional could strengthen their relation. Keeping the professional secrecy revolving the client's case towards outside contacts is central not only to maintain the client's autonomy, but also to prevent escalation of the violence by the oppressors. Lastly, the respondents argued that the professional should enable the client to maintain his/her romantic relationship with their partner. The main goal of a sheltered housing is often to shelter them from harm and violence, but often denies them the ability to continue their relationship which in some HRVO cases is the triggering reason to the oppression. I argue by denying the ability to continue their relationship, the service-giver indirectly continues the oppression towards the client's *love dimension*.

Besides the findings directly related to the research questions, another interesting finding was how the respondents used different perspectives to the HRVO situations in the vignettes; in some cases cultural relativism were applied to see it from within client's context, cultural background and their parent's reasoning while in other cases patriarchal universalism was applied and HRVO was abstracted to a universal form as a result of heteronormative and patriarchal dominance that could be carried out by perpetrators no matter their cultural belonging and background. Some authors argues that a cultural relativistic perspective would reveal the specific norms and traits that legitimize HRVO and differs it from other types of violence and oppression, while the universalistic patriarchal perspective ignores that in favour to see the general oppressing structures within patriarchal violence that spans globally (Kurkiala 2005, pp.178–181). Cultural relativism can cause many implications, such as seeing the violence as an exotic phenomenon only exercised by “others” and downplaying its seriousness with explanations grounded “that” culture, e.g. “that's how they talk”. It could

also lead to blindly stare at a certain cultural belonging when identifying HRVO and exclude victims who does not belong to the constructed image of the typical HRVO victim. The mechanisms of HRVO can be found in families that are “ethnically” Swedish who oppress another family member because they don't accept a gender identity and sexual behaviour that diverge from their norm. This is similar in many ways to the typical HRVO situation where, e.g., an individual's choice of partner isn't accepted. If a person of a Swedish family would seek aid and would be seen from a cultural relativistic perspective, the client's *rights* could be *disrecognised* because s/he doesn't fit the established image of who may be a HRVO victim because s/he do not belong to the exotic culture that is expected to exercise HRVO, or because s/he have traits that makes them being perceived as more self-reliant. Another danger by adopting this perspective is *misrecognising* the client when s/he makes a choice that's perceived as strange or destructive to the professional. Giving *recognition* encompass respecting choices of an individual, but I argue that in order to *give appropriate recognition*, the professional need to inform about alternatives to that choice and where to turn if the client would choose to pursue that alternative in the future. With that said, it is still possible to use both these two perspectives. Seeing HRVO situation from a cultural perspective to find what makes it particular and outstanding could indeed result in seeing details and patterns that otherwise would have been hidden, but there must be an awareness of the dangers by using that perspective; exotification of the violence and seeing it as something done by minorities, or a certain minority and excluding those who doesn't fit the expected image of a client. I argue that there are fewer negative implications by using a universalistic patriarchal perspective and it gives the professionals a tool to *give recognition* to victims of atypical HRVO cases.

Since this study only focused obstacles to the requested aid due to HRVO on a micro level between subjects, it does not provide an answer to whether there are obstacles on a higher level. According to several respondents, appropriate knowledge would allow the professional to correctly identify risks, vulnerabilities and implications of the collective violence towards the clients who are exposed to these crimes. Non-discriminatory values towards the clients would also prevent exclusion of aid-seekers based on shallow factors and superficial attributes. Lastly, flexibility was one key factor to provide swift and adequate aid to meet the client's needs, in particular those in atypical HRVO situations. The next question would be how, or if, these factors are being implemented on a large scale within the organisation. How is the knowledge of the welfare officers enhanced or refreshed periodically regarding HRVO and non-discriminatory practices? Does the welfare officers have the ability to act more freely in the workplace, or is there an institutional praxis that affects the actions and the assessment of the welfare officer? Another interesting aspect would be to see how conflicting laws and conflicting interests is handled, which would be given priority and what would motivate that choice? These questions on an institutional level can reveal some aspects of how the work is coordinated in order to give appropriate recognition to their clients, and more importantly, how the welfare officers are enabled by the organization to give the clients appropriate recognition.

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APPENDIX 1 – VIGNETTES IN SWEDISH

Isak är en kille på 16 år som länge har känt att han är född i fel kropp. Han vill hellre ha på sig en kjol än ett par byxor och hellre kunna sminka sig. Han gör det bara i smyg när han är ensam hemma i sin storasysters rum och med hennes kläder och smink. Hon har påträffat honom i hennes kläder vid ett tillfälle varpå han försökte förklara hur han känner för henne. Hon förstod honom inte utan utbrast att han var sjuk och behövde hjälp. Hans föräldrar får reda på det och de har försökt resonera med honom och få honom att låta bli hans systers kläder av respekt för henne. Isak föreslår att han kan köpa in nya tjejdkläder, men det vill inte hans föräldrar. Skulle de hitta tjejdkläder så kommer de ta dem ifrån honom. Isak pratar inte mer om det med familjen, men söker upp skolkuratoren och berättar om sin situation. Efter mötet tar skolkuratoren ett eget initiativ och kontakter föräldrarna för att bjuda in dem för att lösa konflikten, men de motsätter sig att komma till kuratorn. Skolkuratoren försöker få tag på Isak för att berätta om sitt försök, men får inte tag på honom och bestämmer sig för att göra ett nytt försök nästa dag. Isak är på väg hem den dagen och blir överraskad när han stiger innanför dörren och träffar på flera personer ur familjens religiösa församling, däribland deras religiösa ledare. De ber honom att sätta sig ner med dem och han gör det. De pratar med honom om vikten för honom att vara en man, att han måste kunna axla ansvaret att vara en förebild för sin lillebror och hur viktigt det är att detta måste bli löst utan att utomstående involveras. Isak försöker tala för sin sak, men får möta motargument inte bara av sina föräldrar, utan även av församlingsmedlemmarna. Han känner sig hemskt trängd och blir till slut tvungen att rusa därifrån. Han springer bort ifrån sitt hem, när han saktar ner så känner han att han inte vill inte återvända hem igen. Han söker på internet via sin mobiltelefon och får tag i numret till socialtjänsten. Han berättar om sin situation och handläggaren försöker kyla ned situationen och föreslår att han sover hemma så kan han komma till henne redan dagen därpå för att se hur de ska lösa familjekonflikten. Han vill inte hem och han vill inte lösa "familjekonflikten". Han vill vara någonstans där han kan få vara sig själv, och det kan han inte hos sina föräldrar.

Linnea är 21 år och homosexuell, men har hemlighållit det för familjen. Hon studerar på universitetet och bor hemma hos sina föräldrar i Jönköping. Föräldrarna har misstänkt att "något inte står rätt till" med henne och har kontrollerat henne med bl.a. oanmälda besök när hon är på föreläsningar och på andra aktiviteter. De har uttalat sig tidigare att de inte tolererar homosexualitet. Vid ett tillfälle bestämde hon sig för att gå på gayklubb i Göteborg med en kurskamrat. På klubben träffade hon Sara som hon blev intresserad av och de bytte nummer med varandra. Linnea visste dock inte att en bekant till föräldrarna såg henne utanför gayklubben och har berättat det för hennes pappa. Pappan blir ursinnig och hotar med att döda henne om hon skulle synas till där en gång till, Pappan säger också att föräldrarnas vän som såg henne skulle hålla tyst om det för deras skull. Hon har fortsatt träffa Sara i smyg och hittat på olika anledningar för att kunna åka iväg och hälsa på henne i Lund. De har haft en relation i ett år i hemlighet. Inför ett av sina besök till Sara berättar Linnea att hon ska sova borta en natt för att vara volontär på en forskarkonferens. Hon använde sig av broschyrer från en konferens som faktiskt skulle hållas, och hemma gör hon scheman över aktiviteter som hon visar upp för föräldrarna för att övertyga dem. Hon lovade att ringa från vandrarhemmet när hon kom fram. Hon råkade dock glömma sin mobiltelefon på bussen och ringde istället från Saras hemtelefon till sina föräldrar. Föräldrarna blir misstänksamma när de ser nummerpresentatören och ringer tillbaka efter en stund. När Sara svarar och hon hör Linneas pappa skrika efter henne, förstod hon att de var påkomna. De blir rädda och lämnar lägenheten för att sova hos Saras föräldrar över natten. Dagen därpå bestämmer de sig för att åka förbi Saras lägenhet för att kolla läget, och Linneas pappa får då syn på dem. De springer därifrån och lyckas undkomma pappan och åker tillbaka till Saras föräldrar. Sara tycker att Linnea ska ringa polisen, men Linnea vill inte sätta press på familjen genom att polisanmäla dem, speciellt med tanke på att de kan göra hennes far ännu mer rasande. Linnea ringer till socialtjänsten i Lund, men hänvisas till sin hemkommun. Hon ringer till socialtjänsten i Jönköping och beskriver sin situation. De anser inte att det handlar om hedersvåld utan hatbrott, samt att hotet inte är tillräckligt allvarligt. Handläggaren uppmanar Linnea att höra av sig till polisen och anmäla händelsen först, och att hon kommer få en tid på socialtjänsten där hennes situation kan bli utredd ytterligare. Men hon vågar knappt vistas ute på stan i Lund, än mindre åka tillbaka till Jönköping då hennes föräldrar och deras bekanta förmodligen håller utkik efter henne.

Kareem är en kille på 18 år som bor hemma hos sina föräldrar i Borås. Han läser sista året på gymnasiet och arbetar på sidan av. Föräldrarna har sedan länge pratat om att få honom att gifta sig innan han blir 20 år. För några månader sedan, arrangerade de en sittning med en annan familj och han fick veta i efterhand att gästernas dotter hade blivit utvald av hans föräldrar som en lämplig partner åt honom. Hennes föräldrar hade redan godkänt honom som partner åt henne också. De är jämnåriga och bådas föräldrar har börjat tala om ett bröllop. Kareem har träffat henne några gånger efter sittningen och tycker att hon är trevlig, men vill inte gifta sig med henne. Han har sagt det till sina föräldrar utan att få gehör. Förra veckan när hennes föräldrar var på besök hos Kareems får han det "glada" beskedet att ett datum bestämts för bröllopet. Han protesterar, varpå han får veta att brudpriset och andra arrangemang redan är satta och att det är för sent för att dra sig ur. Brudens far tar honom senare avsides och varnar honom för att skämma ut hans dotter genom att ändra sig nu. När gästerna har gått sätter sig Kareems mamma ner med honom och förklarar att hans blivande brud är papperslös och att om de gifter sig så slipper hon riskera livet i hemlandet. Kareem förstår varför brudens far var så hotfull när han protesterade och känner sig förtvivlad. Han bestämmer sig för att ringa socialtjänsten. Han berättar allt utom detaljer om brudens familj för att inte försätta henne i knipa och vill få hjälp med att få skydd från familjen, men situationen anses inte vara allvarlig. Han ger inte upp, utan söker upp kuratorn på gymnasiet och berättar händelsen. Han berättar även om sin hemlighet som han inte har berättat för socialtjänsten eller sin familj, nämligen om sin homosexuella läggning.

APPENDIX 2 – INTERVIEW GUIDE

- ! Record the date, time, location of the interview and the IP's anonymous number.
- ! Connect the phone to the charger and enable flight mode before recording.

Describe the purpose of the study, my interest for the phenomenon, my persona and professional background. When necessary, explain how I got tipped to contact them.

Transparency towards IP: full insight in their statements, transcription, and their full ability to alter, edit or retract and abort their participation at any time, without any explanation required.

Consent to record the interview? Explain security measures towards the recordings and their identity.

Encourage the IP to ask whenever anything is unclear or need to be questioned.

Warm up:

How do you define HRVO? What sets out from domestic violence?

...experiences of HRVO against LGBTQ persons?

What principles should combating HRVO rely on?

What role do you see your organization have against this problem?

Vignette questions:

What's your general thoughts on the situation?

What advice would you give to the person in the vignette?

What should be done from the public to aid them?

What do you think are the obstacles to that suggested aid from the public?

Afterwards:

How did the interview feel?

Do you see any common threat across the vignettes?

Got any thoughts that I should bring with me which I haven't asked about?

APPENDIX 3 – UNTRANSLATED QUOTES

- a Man måste vara ödmjuk i dessa ärendetyper, vi är alla barn av våran tid och kultur och av det vi har lärt oss. de här föräldrarna vill att deras barn ska vara en del i deras system för det är det dom är uppfostrade i. sen när det tar sig till våldsuttryck, då är det något annat.
- b Det är viktigt att jag tillsammans med honom värdera vad den här familjekonflikten består utav, hur det påverkar honom, hans egen egna synen på det, är nog ganska viktigt. Om han känner sig hotad, om man känner sig kränkt, eller handlar det mer om moralisering.
- c Han behöver någon som lyssnar på honom förutsättningslöst och höra hans egna funderingar. han bär på mer skam kring den han är än person som inte har vuxit upp med hederstänkande. Han har nog känt såhär ganska länge
- d I den akuta situationen, på sikt skulle jag råda honom att stå på sig och samtidigt hitta människor som kan stötta mot församlingsmedlemmarna. Vad är mest akut? Det är kanske inte adekvat att ta kampen med föräldrarna den kvällen.
- e Det är ett stort steg att bryta med sin familj o sociala sammanhang. Man jobbar för att det ska fungera men inte till priset att man blir utsatt för nånting. Man ska utgå från han, samtidigt kanske man inte tjänar att sätta honom för sig själv nånstans heller, utan nåt stöd eller socialt nätverk. Det kan bli hårt.
- f De pratar också om en familjekonflikt... När han pratar om sitt problem så är det något annat än en familjekonflikt...
- g Han ska inte tvingas att göra något han inte vill. sen skulle jag börja kartlägga konsekvenserna av att han inte vill vara hos sin familj, vart är han trygg och vart är han inte trygg... jag skulle försöka kartlägga hotbilden om det är fara för hans hälsa och liv.
- h Jag hade en ung flicka som kom till mig [...] och jag blev tvungen att göra en orosanmälan till socialtjänsten utifrån hennes berättelse. Då ville jag helst att de skulle komma hit och träffa flickan tillsammans med mig och höra hennes berättelse och betrakta det som en orosanmälan, men det ville inte de, utan de ville att jag skulle skicka in en skriftlig orosanmälan först, SEN kan de tänka sig att komma för att träffa flickan. Då blir jag orolig för att de inte förstår henne och dra igång en maskineri, kontakta föräldrarna och starta en historia som inte går att bromsa.
- i Generalfelet man gör är att Isak har blivit outad, det är det stora misstaget inom det här loppet. Gå över Isak som inte själv får bestämma.
- j I normalfallet så ska man kontakta vårdnadshavare, men i ett HRV ärende så är det just vårdnadshavaren som är problemet och då måste man gå utanför vad reglerna säger. [...] Flexibiliteten är jättecentral och att man blir tagen på allvar.
- k Det är ingen konflikt, utan det är en person som utsätts för påtryckningar.
- l Det primära blir att han kan fungera och inte blir misshandlad eller ihjälslagen och att han får vara rädd om sig själv, att han får leva ut den han är [hans identitet], får komma i andra hand och säkerheten i första hand [...] I ett längre perspektiv behöver det inte inskränka på den han är och den han vill vara, men ur ett kortare perspektiv så kan han behöver anpassa sig tillfälligt...
- m Pojken är utsatt och känner sig uppenbarligen inte trygg i att återvända hem. Och han har rätt att leva som den han upplever sig vara.
- n Det som [gör det] svårt också är att riskbedömning behöver göras. Det blir inte heller bra om det bara blir en brandkårsutryckning utan vi måste se vad ÄR den egentliga risken?
- o Det handlar inte om en familjekonflikt utan det handlar om att hans identitet inte accepteras och att familjen har tagit till ganska stora åtgärder för att prata med honom, som en varning skulle man kunna se det och ett försök att visa att man inte accepterar det.
- p Om familjen söker hjälp internt så söker han hjälp externt genom skolkurator eller social tjänsten. Och där social tjänsten då ser det som någon slags... familjekonflikt... man ser inte Isaks situation.... Man kan undra vem som har bekymmer med vem: Isak med sin familjen eller familjen med Isak. Ser man det som en familjekonflikt eller någonting man kan lösa så sker det oftast på barnens bekostnad
- q IP1: Han avvisad av både församlingen och av socialtjänsten, mmm... Han står ju där ganska ensam.
IP2: Det inte är så lätt att för en ung person att själ hävda sina egna behov om man inte får gehör någonstans.

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- r Socialtjänsten inser inte den här pojkens skyddsbehov. Om han går hem och sover så riskerar han att råka illa ut och det är inte omöjligt att det finns redan planer på att föra honom ut ur landet.
- s Han har liksom inte någon tid. [...] det är skillnad på om hans familj bara hade bråkat, men nu är det faktiskt så i det här fallet att de redan var en församling hemma hos hans föräldrar så på något sätt har linan redan börjat löpa. Och det går inte längre att dölja [hans identitet] utan nu är det på något sätt, ja det är redan startat och jag tror att detta är en pojke som behöver tydligt stöd och hjälp.
- t Jag tänker också kring hur man bemöter Isak och om jag skulle vara i socialtjänstens eller kuratorns ställe, skulle jag prata och fråga Isak vilka pronomen hen vill att man använder, vilket namn hen vill att man ska använda.
- u Mitt råd till han skulle vara att återkomma till socialtjänsten och framföra sitt perspektiv ännu starkare, och om det inte går fram så sök hjälp hos någon annan, möjligtvis till någon organisation, som kan hjälpa att få fram det [sin berättelse]. för det är inte okej av någon att försöka ändra på honom till att vara någon annan än den han är. [...] Det är delvis mycket som vi jobbar med, att hjälpa folk att få fram sin historia till socialtjänsten.
- v IP1: Men råd, man skulle vilja prata med alla runt omkring, kurator och socialtjänst för att de agerar inte som jag skulle önska i det fallet. Till Isak skulle jag mest- detta är svårt med råd... Mitt råd skulle vara att han skulle stå på sig, skulle han ringa till mig så , skulle jag ringa till socialtjänsten [å hans vägnar] och pratat med dem om allvaret [i hans situation] och ställt en del följdfrågor och försökt stötta upp Isaks... försök att få dem att förstå... men det är inte råd. Jag skulle inte kunna ge några råd. Däremot tänker jag massa saker man kan göra men nej. Inte råd.
IP2: jag skulle nog vilja kalla det i så fall för stöd till Isak men inte råd.
- w Hon är 21 år och är myndig o kan göra vad hon vill. Hon har blivit kontrollerad och föräldrarna har kommit på [kontroll] besök, vilket är allvarligt. Det är dödshot... För att hon har varit på gayklubb... Hon får ju leva ett dubbelliv och det gör hon för att hon är rädd på riktigt. Hon till och med hittar på broschyrerna och gör ett helt schema för att göra en täckmantel, så hon planerar sitt liv efter detta.
- x Sen det här tycker jag är lite konstigt att man anser att det handlar om hatbrott - jag tänker att hatbrott är en polisiär rubricering och inget som socialtjänsten skulle använda sig av. [...] och det här med att hon måste polisanmäla händelsen först... är också jättekonstigt. [...] Sen kan man uppmana till att göra en polisanmälan det är nånting annat. Men det finns ingen koppling mellan skyddsbehovet och polisanmälan
- y Jag kan tänka att om socialtjänsten säger att det handlar om hatbrott snarare än hedersvåld och att det inte är tillräckligt allvarligt... Det handlar om att de inte är tillräckligt kompetenta. Man har faktiskt inte träffat henne här och man kan inte över telefon avgöra hur hotet är.
- z Det är jättevanligt att man inte vill polisanmäla... Det är ingenting vi kräver alls utan man bestämmer själv om man vill göra det. Vill man göra det så backar vi upp det. Vi har också sagt så att, i den mån det är möjligt och det finns tid, så kan vi be någon från polisen finnas med, bara för att ge rådgivning så de får veta vad som händer om de polisanmäler.
- aa Vid minsta tveksamhet går man alltid åt det hållet att hellre erbjuda för mycket skydd överhuvudtaget än att man riskerar någonting... Sen så är linnea är 21 år så hon är inte i samma situation hon är ju vuxen
- ab Här vågar hon inte vistas i Lund, hon vill inte heller åka tillbaks till Jönköping. Vi brukar göra såhär, [oavsett om det är] våld i nära relation eller HRV, att vi tar besök på andra socialkontor eller i andra kommuner så att man inte är i närområdet där det har hänt. Vi kan ha det på skyddsboenden, vi kan hitta lösningar som är säkra för klienten. Vi kan ta tider på dygnet där föräldrarna inte är hemma.
- ac Det i bestämmelser kring vilken kommun som ska ta sig an en ansökan, där det handlar om klientens sociala förankring. Om jag bor i göteborg och vill flytta till happaranda, så ska jag kunna ansöka i förtid för att min gamla mormor bor där. Och då ska dom åta sig det, så har jag förstått det. Den möjligheten ska finnas.
- ad Klientens skydd om sig själv brukar inte vara så förankrad i verkligheten [när man har varit utsatt för HRV länge]. För att man är van vid att leva på ett utsatt sätt. Därför kan inte heller klienten säga ”men jag kan bo i en lägenhet”. Det går vi inte med på, vi måste ta först ta reda på vad som har hänt och hur det ser ut innan vi går in med nån typ av insats.
- ae Jag tror inte att man tar sånt här på allvar, man får höra som handläggare att "såhär pratar man i vår kultur, vi menar

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inget med det". Så jag kan förstå att man inte tar det på allvar – för att [man tror att] det inte kommer bli handling av det.

- af Jag är inte så mycket för att ge råd, råd är ju att man ska tala om för andra hur dom ska göra saker. Ge en vägledning [känns mer rätt] för mig. Jag tänker utifrån professionella rollen kan jag inte som person sitta och ge råd som tjänsteman, jag tänker att det är väldigt viktigt att man ger vägledning utifrån dom [lagliga] skyldigheter vi har.
- ag Vi har ett tolerant sken, frigjort och modernt samhälle, men finns mycket fördomar. Det finns rädsla, det finns många homofober och det är väldigt tyst om det inom offentligheten. Även inom olika förvaltningar till exempel sjukvården, socialtjänsten, skolor o.s.v., upplever jag att det är väldigt laddat, t.ex. när en kvinna är homosexuell jämfört att en man är homosexuell... På nått sätt är det, "Jaja han är ju gay", men är det en kvinna... så blir det väldigt tyst...
- ah Jag tror tyvärr att man i vissa lägen ser lite olika på tjejer o killar, även om man inte gör det på ett medvetet plan... Men om ingredienserna är detsamma [i det hypotetiska fallen] som i den här så har jag svårt att tro att det blir annorlunda för killar, faktiskt. Sen kanske insatsen skulle se annorlunda ut för att man inte har skyddat boende för killar, så man skulle placera killar på hotell eller en annan typ av lösning.
- ai Här finns en hotbild, pappan är ute efter flickan och då känns det mer adekvat att ringa polisen men hon vill inte sätta press på familjen. Och det är så vanligt tänker jag... känslan av skuld och... Man vill inte göra det svårt för sina föräldrar. [...] Så [jag tycker att] det är hos polisen det hör hemma, spontant. [...] Polisen hade inte per automatik kontaktat föräldrarna, för hon är 21 år, den andre pojken är 16 år.
- aj IP1: att hotet inte är tillräckligt allvarligt måste va tjänstefel! Eftersom han har hotat med att döda henne.
IP2: Sen tänker jag att uppmaningen att höra av sig till polisen för att göra en anmälan är inget dåligt i sig, men om personen inte vill det och har varit tydlig med att inte vilja det, det andas nånting om att avsäga sig ansvaret. Både att säga det är hatbrott och att det är polisens sak och därmed inget för socialtjänsten. Så tolkar jag socialtjänsten i Jönköping.
- ak IP1: Juste, det står bara om föräldrar, det står inget om någon annan runtomkring, det vet vi faktiskt inget om. Är det fler eller vad är det för sammanhang...?
IP2: Det var en luring!
IP1: Precis! [skratt] Man behöver undersöka detta, finns det andra som understöder och som kan verkställa det här hotet om att döda henne? Eller är det bara pappan? Vilka av de här personerna skulle faktiskt kunna utföra det här? De flesta skulle nog inte göra det men... Det vet vi ju inte.
IP2: Det håller jag med om, det står faktiskt inte men jag uppfattar att Linnea själv beskriver det som hedersvåld. Men det är också det som framkommer tidigare, att pappans vän såg henne skulle hålla tyst om det för deras skull... Det låter som att nånting... Att man ska hålla tyst om det utåt men det säger inget om [benägenhet att utföra HRV i] en familj eller släkt.
- al Hon är äldre och är 21 år, hon har faktiskt möjlighet – större möjlighet, att separera från sina föräldrar. Sen är det svårt att bedöma hotbilden, om det finns en reell hotbild mot flickan och hon vill ha hjälp då tycker jag att hon absolut ska få hjälp och stöd med ett annat boende. Men om det inte finns en reell hotbild om fysiskt eller psykisk [våld] på det sättet, då är det ett arbete som hon måste själv göra, att separera från sina föräldrar. Det kan inte samhället bistå med.
- am Paradoxalt nog tror jag att åldern kan resultera att man lägger för stort ansvar på henne. Att hon är ändå 21 år och hon får ansvara för det själv... Man kan ju ha en väldigt svår och besvärlig relation till sina föräldrar utan att det är hedersförtryck eller av hederskaraktär, det kan [ändå] vara jäkligt svårt att få vara den man vill vara ändå. Sen vet man inte hur galen den här pappan är... Och det behöver väl nån kika på. Ja, kanske den största risken är att man lägger för stort ansvar på henne för att hon är vuxen och får driva det själv.
- an IP1: [De borde få] skyddat boende. De behöver komma undan.
IP2: Det känns inte omöjligt att ordna det heller, för att de är kvinnor och det finns skyddade boenden som är vana att ta emot tjejer som är utsatta för HRV.

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- ao Vi kan också erbjuda att vi kan stå för anmälan, sen är det nåt allvarigare brott så måste vi ha en riskbedömning [först]. Så då kan vi ta på oss och stå som anmälare och då kan de [klientens familj] skylla på oss.
- ap IP1: Nu gissar jag men möjligen att liksom hotet skulle ha tagits på större allvar om de var killar, alltså att det finns den här föreställningen att vara homosexuell man bryter än mer mot [normen] än att vara homosexuell kvinna, jag vet inte, kanske...
- IP2: Ja det skulle kunna vara. Jag tänkte också att man liksom att man är vanare vid att läsa av att... kvinnor ska vara brottsoffer och att man därför skulle se [allvaret i situationen] snabbare på det sättet men...
- IP1: Men det är dubbelt...
- aq Jag tänker lite generellt att det är inte klockren heder [relaterad våld], vi behöver veta lite mer tänker jag. och det är inte heller klockrent att det är ett hatbrott och det kan man absolut inte avgöra på telefonsamtal. [...] man behöver ju undersöka vidare tänker jag för att se vad det handlar om.
- ar IP1: Hon bollas runt, ingen vill liksom ta i det, och sen är det ju inte hedersvåld, utan det kommer in något nytt, det är hatbrott, så då blir det något helt annat
- IP2 och det ena utesluter inte det andra, det är ett väldigt konstigt sätt liksom skjuta bort det hon beskriver
- IP1 Så att det är ju ett hedersvåld med hatbrottskaraktär, om man nu skulle slå ihop dem, men här gör man det enkelt för sig och säger att ”det är inte hedersvåld utan det är hatbrott så därför så är det någon annan som ska handlägga den”. Så det gäller för den som är utsatt att veta vilket typ av brott det är [...] det gäller att kunna presentera sig och det man är utsatt för korrekt.
- as Jag tänker att det misstag som socialtjänsten gör är att de först vill kolla om det är HRV med verktyg det inte har innan de anlitar någon som kan frågorna. Det är ju ju givetvis så att Linnea skulle få en placering [inom ett skyddat boende] om hon blev [ordentligt] utredd [medhåll av samtliga], och det är inte heller så att hon kan bo med Sara där i Lund utan hon behöver ha ett eget boende dit socialtjänsten kommer. [...] Hon kan inte åka till Jönköping för att söka bistånd utan hon måste göra det därifrån hon är. Det här är den stora kunskapsluckan hos myndigheterna.
- at Ska man ha båda handläggare som arbetar var för sig så kommer man fram till olika uppfattningar. Är man riktigt hotad kan det vara riktigt farligt att vara i kontakt med två olika kommuner som inte pratar med varandra.
- au ...kanske att både Linnea och att även Sara ringer [dem], och även om dom redan varit hos Saras föräldrar... Jag tänker att i det här fallet så finns det åtminstone fyra personer [föräldrarna till Sara, Sara och linnea] som vet om deras situation. Det borde inte behövas, men i det här fallet om alla ligger på och ringer och verkligen är så besvärliga att socialtjänsten ger dom hjälp för att dom inte orkar med samtalen... Lite kraft så...
- av Jag tänker att dom kanske skulle erbjudas skydd tillsammans. [...] pappan hade ju varit utanför Saras lägenhet så där kan hon ju inte vara, hon är ju också indirekt hotad så det är ju ett scenario att placera dom tillsammans.
- aw Jag är nästan 90% säker på att de inte skulle vara placerade tillsammans pga rådande kunskapsbrist. I så fall [om Linnea skulle beviljas hjälp] skulle bara hon få det och att man inte skulle ta den här kärleken på allvar. När det gäller våra flickor som placeras så jobbar vi ganska hårt om det finns en pojkvän att de ska ha en kontakt o träffas, men jag tror att en flickvän [till en homosexuell flicka] skulle tappas bort och börja benämnas som väninna efter ett tag [av de yrkesverksamma].
- ax Man kan nog inte förvänta sig att föräldrarna liksom ska upphöra med sin jakt eller press eller kontroll utan här gäller det att hitta former för att stötta Sara & linnea i sin utsatthet.
- ay IP: Vi har haft ett par stycken [ärenden] där det är killar som inte vill bli bortgifta. De vill inte ha den här knäppa tjejen. Det kanske inte är heder [relaterad våld], men det var påtryckningar.
- KR: Det fanns inte utrymme för dem att vara fria?
- IP: Vet inte... kanske har de lite mer att säga till om... ja... mörkertalet är väldigt stort, vi kan bara gissa [hur deras situation ser ut].
- az Han har ju jätte mycket ansvar dels familjen heder och... det finns mycket ansvar för en annan persons framtid också, den här bruden har inget uppehållstillstånd [och] hon riskerar sitt liv i hemlandet... man lägger väldigt mycket

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ansvar på Kareem som är 18 år.

- ba Eftersom Kareem är 18 år kan man inte placera honom på ett kvinnojourboende, skyddade i Göteborg boenden är ju till 100% för kvinnor vågar jag påstå. Var ska man placera Kareem om han vägrar gå hem just utifrån att han inte vill bli bortgift med en person på dom primiserna? Så det är ett stort hinder att han är 18 år...
- bb Den här killen är 18 år och myndig, det är viktigt. Vi får tro honom att han är en person som kan och vill ta sina egna beslut i livet och att han ska fullfölja det.
- bc Mina tankar är att hade det här varit en tjej så hade hon fått hjälp direkt. Så att... om en 18 årig tjej som riskerar bli tvångsgift... Åter igen, vad ska jag säga... Graden av hot i detta är ganska starkt. Dels från brudens far, men det är också frågan om hur hans föräldrar-, om de ser det som något självklart och kanske själva har varit med om det, att det är såhär man gör helt enkelt. o när han protesterar så lyssnar de inte utan kör på... om så att säga, han sätter hårt mot hårt, vad händer då? Blir de hotfulla, våldsamma...? Brudens pappa har redan varit hotfull.
- bd Jag skulle råda honom att berätta så mycket han kan för socialtjänsten. Han behöver inte nämna namn om han är rädd för att hänga ut henne, men så mycket som möjligt så man kan kartlägga hans liv, för det är svårt att göra bedömningar utan det.
- be Vi skulle haft tillräckligt att göra skyddsplacering för honom. Hans homosexualitet, det behöver vi inte veta för att kunna göra en skyddsplacering.
- bf Många som vi möter har ett stort hjälpbehov men berättar bara en liten del, då finns en risk att vi gör en motsvarande liten insats och hoppas att det går bra. Vi människor fungerar inte under en krissituation så att vi kan berätta om allt på första kontakten. Då går vi hellre in för många gånger och med en för stor insats för att sedan minska på den om vi inser att här gjorde vi för mycket än att vi missar och gör för lite. Jag tror faktiskt det.
- bg IP: ibland så väljer personen, trots att de inte vill, att ingå ett giftermål för annars så kan de inte vara med sin familj. Det blir deras minst dåliga alternativ. Och man ska se det ur vårt [perspektiv som medborgare i det] svenska samhället där vi har fritt val så går det inte ihop. Men om man är uppväxt och lever på det sättet så kanske man inte har dem valen, eller upplever att man inte har de valen. Då blir det så. o så lär man sig att leva med det eller så lämnar man [giftermålet] kanske senare.
- KR: Som att man lär sig älska den andre [sin partner]...
- IP: ...och det behöver inte vara fel i sig, men det viktiga att man får ta ett eget beslut. Det finns människor som inte lever med uttalat hederskultur, men som ändå har den traditionen och då är det helt ok om man önskar det, det kan inte vi säga nånting om hur man väljer att leva.
- bh Det här med att han ska ta ansvar för att hon är papperslös, det är jättesvårt men han skulle kunna prata med henne... jag spekulerar bara men om de skulle kunna gå ihop eller om de har olika... hon kanske är ännu mer utsatt och kanske inte heller vill göra det [giftermålet] och har en pappa som hotar både honom och henne. han skulle kunna prata med henne också för en gemensam strategi.
- bi Det kanske inte gagnar honom att lyfta ut honom ur sin sociala sammanhang, det är inte vad man vill göra utan kanske man bör gå tillbaka till föräldrarna med hjälp av medling och förklara att han är 18 år, han har rätt att säga nej, tvångsgifte är olagligt etc., och om det går på något sätt att nå dom med det... Det är vad jag skulle föreslå.
- bj Det skulle vara att man inte har någon person som man anser som lämplig medlare, att man... Ja... Jag kan inte se några andra hinder om man [som socialsekreterare] tycker att insatsen behövs. annars är det här att man tycker att det inte är allvarligt [nog att bevilja insatsen]... I det här ärendet, medling funkar inte heller när det finns för mycket hot och våld.
- bk Jag lyfte ett ärende jag ville ha medling mellan ett offer och släkten... Men det blev för laddat, de sa bara "nej"... Så mindre rädsla är kanske en nödvändighet, att våga mera.
- bl Det hänger på vem som träffar Kareem. Och vad förmedlar den social sekreteraren? Hur långt får det samtalet ta? Får han komma tillbaks igen och berätta mer och känna sig trygg i att berätta?
- bm Detta borde vara nånting som social tjänsten tar mer på allvar [...] oavsett hans homosexuella läggning, Vilket han väljer att berätta för kuratorn men det ska inte ha nåt med saken att göra. Det här skulle man kunna se som en ung

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person som riskerar att bli bortgift. [...] det är nu på senare tid som man har börjat inkludera unga killar eller unga män i diskussionen på ett helt annat sätt, och att man har pratat om att det är inte bara kvinnor och tjejer utan även killar som utsätts för påtryckningar och tvång.

- bn Det är kanske inte är värt för honom att berätta om sin sexuella läggning om han inte vill förlora sin familj. Det vet bara han. Det finns ingen bra lösning på detta. Antingen följer han sin hjärtas röst och lever fullt ut som homosexuell och förlorar sin familj, eller så kompromissar han med sig själv och lever ett dubbelliv med risk för att bli avslöjad också, men ha sin familj kvar. Det är jättesvårt förstås... Och jag tänker, vem är vi att döma där?
- bo Hur kan man förhindra att han går in i det här giftemålet? Vilka personer har makt att bestämma i situationen? Nu kommer jag tänka på att den blivande "bruden" är papperslös. och det undrar man också över om det är det som man försöker lösa via giftemålet? Och då är frågan om den blivande bruden... Kan man hitta en annan lösning på det här? Kan hon göra en ny ansökan till migrationsverket eller går det att lösa det på annat sätt och få honom att alliera sig med henne?
- bp Vad viktigt det är att personer i dessa situationerna kan, att de har en god förmåga att beskriva sin situation. Det är oerhört viktigt att man har lätt för att uttrycka och beskriva hur man har det.
- bq Det finns ju inget utrymme för honom egentligen som individ utan han är del i ett system. Han förväntas bara vara den väloljade biten och inte ställa till med något problem.
- br IP1: Det jag blir medveten om när vi sitter o pratar är att de här ungdomarna blir utsatta för godtyckliga bedömningar från socialtjänsten. När vi sitter här o säger "stå på dig, stå på dig"- det är så oprofessionellt! [av socialtjänsten].
IP2: Det är så skrämmande, för allt hänger på individen [som söker hjälp]. Du ska tjata [på socialtjänsten] tills du får hjälp om du inte får det från första början, för det är ingen som tjarar åt dig eller som kan ta fajten åt dig.
IP1: Och eftersom nätverket är emot dig så är du ganska ensam.
- bs Jag skulle ge honom rådet att inte genomföra det här för jag tänker att han kommer att bli väldigt olycklig, även om det inte blir några sanktioner från familjen mot honom.
- bt Det finns en orättvisa som har med kön, Linnea o Sara skulle kunna få hjälp via kvinnojour, det kan inte Isak o Kareem. O de flesta mansmottagningar handlar om män som utsätter för våld. [...] han passar inte in i mallen för vad som är [vem som kan vara utsatt för] HRV. skulle man se exakt samma situation men byta ut Kareem mot Kareema så hade socialtjänsten garanterat reagerat på ett annat sätt. [medhåll av samtliga]. [...] Det behövs mer information om pojkar och män kan även vara utsatta i detta. Vare sig de är homo, hetro, bi eller transexuella. Det är ju första steget. det hänger inte på könet bara.