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DESK RESEARCH

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Introduction.

Although Norway is often considered as a prime example of gender equality, the rate of violence against women remains still high. This is a perplexing situation which has been called as *Nordic paradox* (Garcia & Merlo, 2016). Norway is considered as one of the most equal countries (Global Gender Gap Report, 2020), however domestic violence still exists as a continuous challenge regarding gender equality in Norwegian society. While both women and men may be victim of and perpetrator of domestic violence, women are typically subjected to the most severe kind of violence, to a greater degree than men. According to existing research, approximately 25 percent of women have been exposed to violence or threats of violence during their lifetime. 1 in 10 women in Norway have been subjected to rape. It is known that most of the rapes (86 percent) are committed by people known to the victims. In addition, about 25-30 percent of all homicides are committed by an intimate partner (all statistics from Thoresen & Hjemdal, 2014). Domestic violence has severe consequences for society, both economically and socially. Not only in that it traumatizes and harms the personal integrity of individuals, violence also has lifetime economic consequences such as poor work performance, losing jobs and long-term unemployment due to being exposed to abuse. If taking into account lost productivity from paid work, lost profits as a result of violence plus public service costs, domestic violence is estimated to cost Norwegian society between 4,5 and 6 billion NOK annually (Rasmussen, Strøm, Sverdrup & Vennemo, 2012).

Definition of violence

Violence is any act directed at another person, which, through this act injures, pains, intimidates or offends, causing/forcing the person to do something against his/her will or to stop doing what he/she wants (Isdal, 2000). Violence can manifest itself in various forms.

The World Health Organization (2020) defines different types of violence as physical, psychological or sexual, and as deprivation or neglect.

Physical violence is violence that involves physical contact. Physical violence may be more easily visible than other types of violence as it may leave visible damage and bruises. The gravest form of such violence is murder (Nasjonal veiviser ved vold og overgrep, 2020).

Psychological violence is measured as negative or hostile attitudes or actions, without any physical force, which can expose the victim to fear, powerlessness, guilt, shame, feelings

of inferiority, low self-esteem, despair or the fundamental feeling of not being wanted and loved (Bufdir, 2020)

Sexual violence can emerge in a form of psychological and physical violence. It can appear as unwanted physical affection and rape. But it can also manifest itself as sexualized talk, indecent exposure, filming and photography (Nasjonal veiviser ved vold og overgrep, 2020). Sexual violence affects our most private and vulnerable side and destroys sexuality in a relationship.

Deprivation or neglect is not giving care or giving insufficient care to those that depend on you, be it younger or older people.

There are various forms of violence which can occur at the same time in a violent relationship. For instance, **material violence** is a form of physical violence against material objects, and not physically targeted at the victim itself. Another form for violence is **economic violence** that refers to control over the finances of other partner; that the partner is being denied control over his or her own finances. Financial independence is an essential factor for being able to make free choices, such as leaving a violent partner and choosing where to live. Economic violence often affects women who have lived in a relationship with a partner who is controlling. **Latent violence** refers to a state of constant fear of recurring violence, as a result of previous experience. This also occurs without any active threat. Having experienced violence means that you know it can happen again (Isdal 2002, Nasjonal veiviser ved vold og overgrep, 2020).

Violence in close relationships – Norwegian context

The latest Norwegian action plan against violence (2014-2017) specifies violence in close relationships as a serious crime, violation of fundamental human rights, and a public health problem. Violence in close relationships can manifest itself in a various form of exploitation, including physical, psychological, sexual and material abuse against a person to whom the perpetrator has a close relationship. The perpetrator may be a romantic partner or former romantic partner, cohabitant or spouse. The victims may also be children, grandchildren or other close relatives. Ultimately, violence may have serious consequences as it takes lives. It is recorded that 7 of 28 killings in Norway in 2012 were committed by present- or ex-partner (married or cohabiting). Six of the victims were women, one was male. The last decade the number of women who were killed by present- or ex-partners was 63. Between 20 and 30 per cent of the murders who are committed in Norway are committed by present or former partner.

Norway, along with other Nordic countries which are known for their gender-neutral legislation, have moved from the conceptual use of "violence against women" to "violence in a close relationship" in order to include all groups of victims in a close relationships. This gender neutral concept not only includes men but also all victims of violence such as same-sex couples, children, the elderly, and violence from other members of the family, such as violence in close relationship in large families with minority backgrounds (Bjørnholt 2019). Violence in close relationships has become a standard term for cases where abuser/perpetrator and victim are linked to each other by close family ties or otherwise are close to each other in everyday life. Honor-related violence most often takes place in close relationships and therefore falls under the term violence in a close relationship (Bjørlo 2014).

Honor based violence

Honor based violence is often defined as a form of violence that aims to protect or restore honor through the use of violence (Narud, 2014). How to keep honor and what it takes to lose honor is decided by different norms in the community. Girls are particularly exposed to this type of violence, because of norms linking their sexual behavior to family honor. This type of violence usually occurs in families with strong collectivist and patriarchal values (Harnes, 2019, Wikan, 2009).

Violence that is committed to prevent future loss of honor also falls under the same concept. Severe limitations of young people`s freedom, forced marriages and female genital mutilation are also defined as honor related violence. Honor killing is the utmost consequence of honor related violence. Honor related violence is often initiated by parts of the large family or members of the close network. The perpetrator is often a member of family, either locally or internationally (Bjørlo 2014)

The Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs (Bufdir) describes how honor-based violence differs from other types of the violence:

- The violence can be seen as legitimate by (parts of) the family / networks / people within same community.
- There are several perpetrators of violence, not only one as is usually the case with cases related to violence in intimate relations in the majority population.
- The violence may be the result of a collective decision.
- The victim has few supporters.

It is crucial to have knowledge about the phenomenon, mechanism and characteristics in order to identify cases of honor-based violence, and thus being able to reach out to victims and to assist practitioners and families. Identifying cases of violence as honor-related affects which security measures and support measures to carry out. Research based knowledge of the phenomenon of honor related violence can also help us broaden our understanding of how shame, fear, loneliness and loss of network affects the individual person's mental health (Ibid).

Honor based violence- Norwegian context

Honor-related violence is a relatively new phenomenon in the Norwegian context, which has been more visible over the last decades. An increased awareness of the phenomenon occurred in parallel with escalation in cases of violence which is uncovered in the same period. More knowledge, and especially understanding the phenomenon and the various traditions, has been crucial in uncovering this type of crime (Bjørlo 2014).

In the 1990s there has been increasing public attention towards the issue of honor-based violence. Histories of Sima and Nadia were the well-known cases commencing awareness in Norway on honor-based violence. Sima was subjected to forced marriage and sent to her parent`s country of origin. Nadia was left in parent`s country of origin because she broke the norms and family honor (Friberg & Bjørnset, 2019). These and other cases of forced marriages got media`s attention in the 1990s, and several organizations subsequently started offering assistance to young people at risk. Oslo Red Cross was among the first to offer assistance to the victims of honor related violence (Bredal, 2005). In 2002 honor related violence caught huge attention when Swedish-Kurdish Fadime Sahindal was murdered by her father. Her history became a defining part of public debate on honor-based violence in the Nordic countries. After that, other known cases of honor related violence have led to a public debate on forced marriages and social control in Norway (Friberg & Bjørnset 2019).

While many in the following public debates expressed an urgent need to build knowledge and competence about the phenomenon, some also claimed that it in fact happens few forced marriages in reality and it is the media who is portraying the issue as enormous, which leads to further stigmatization of an already stigmatized groups. Some others alleged that people stay silent about the issue of forced marriages because they are afraid of being labeled racist (Bredal, 2005). We see that this kind of debate is still visible in the Norwegian public debate and is strongly linked to the immigration politics.

In 1998 the Norwegian parliament was the first in Europe who introduced Action plan against forced marriages. Later this was followed by six more other action plans. The first

two plans had (from 1998 and 2002) primarily pays attention to forced marriage. The second action plan entered into force in 2002 as an urgent call after the honor killing of Fadime Sahindal in Sweden (NRK, 2002). The third plan (2008-2011) brings the honor-based control and strong control into focus while action plans from 2012, 2013 and also recent action plan for the period from 2017-2020 concentrates on the issues of forced marriage, genital mutilation and control. These plans were introduced separate from the "regular" action plans against domestic violence. These action plans signalize the societal challenges that politicians consider as a need to address. The issue of forced marriage, and later genital mutilation and negative social control, have been considered as a gender equality challenge in the Norwegian society for over 20 years. Until the last action plan migrants/ ethnic minority groups in Norway had been center of attention. However, the last action plan first time acknowledges that ethnic Norwegian citizens who are growing up in closed religious communities may also experience the same issues, and thus it is crucial to broaden our understanding of the phenomenon.

Violence against minority women has been referred to and treated differently than violence against majority women (Akpinar, 2003). Violence against women with minority background experiencing forced marriage and honor-based violence have been *hypervisible* in Norwegian public debate. Violence against minority women has been portrayed as integration issue and described as part of the *culture* of certain ethnic minorities, while violence against minority women was invisible in the mainstream anti-violence work. Hypervisibility refers to politicians' crisis rhetoric when they talk about the issue, as well as policies and initiatives, which have been ad hoc for a while (Bredal, 2013)

Honor-based violence is a form of violence and should not be legitimized or acknowledged as neither culture nor tradition. In this report we identify honor-based violence as a form of violence. When we say that other types of violence such as forced marriage and female genital mutilation are expressions of honor based violence, it is important to recall that they should be seen as honor based violence only insofar as honor is an relevant issue in the cases that we are talking about.

Concept of honor and its correlation with patriarchy in different societal systems, including ethnic and religious minorities

Honor

Honor is basically a positive concept, related to self-esteem, social inclusion and status (Harnes, 2019). Across cultures, all human beings have honor. Either individually or a collective honor we share with other members of the same community.

«The code of honor» are different norms and rules for what gives honor and how to lose it (Wikan, 2009). Both women and men have honor, but norms on what gives honor and dishonor are usually gendered. Girls' and women's honor are connected to the idea of being sexually pure. Mainly, this means being a virgin when entering marriage. But there are a number of other norms connected to purity that has an impact on women's daily life; dressing and acting appropriately, not to interact with the opposite sex, not to participate in leisure activities, and to have responsibility for care work and household chores. Men are expected to provide for women, make decisions on their behalf and to guard their honor (Bufdir, 2019). Boys and men can have different roles in this system. They can be victims or perpetrators of the violence, forced marriages and control. They can also be expected or being forced to control others, use violence or contribute in forced marriages in order to preserve the collective honor. In other words, boys and men are made responsible to maintain the collective honor. Boys and men usually have more freedom than women and girls, at least as long as they fit in their families' traditional gender roles. Boys can experience same sanctions as girls for not living accordingly the traditional masculinity roles (Bredal, 2011; Rexvid & Schlytter, 2012). The concept of honor is not connected to a specific culture or religion but is often evident in societies where the state is weak and has little legitimacy and trust within the existing population, and where the extended family takes over many of the community coordinating functions. Honor based cultures are found all over the world, but more often in communities originating from regions that reach from North Africa, through the Middle East to Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent (Yourstone et al, 2013).

In some families and communities, the collective honor of the family is considered to be very important. The families may be very concerned that cultural and traditional norms be followed, in order to maintain the family's honor. HRA is a form of abuse against an individual that the family feels have disgraced them, or whom they fear will disgrace them in the future. The aim of HRV is to prevent loss of honor or to restore lost honor. HRV can consist of serious incidents of violence, as there is a lot at stake for the family and the community if honor is lost. For the family, loss of honor may mean that the family loses its recognition, that relations are broken, and that the family is excluded from their social community (Bufdir 2019).

Patriarchy

The hierarchy based on gender is often referred to as patriarchy. Patriarchal power structures are a common denominator across cultures where one finds examples of honor-based violence. While patriarchy can be defined as a cultural logic, values and norms characterized by perceptions of male superiority and female subordination, it is however in *classical patriarchies* also based on a hierarchy between generations (Bredal & Melby, 2018). In a classical patriarchal society, power is distributed according to gender and age, placing (the older) man as head of the family, granting him the privilege to decide the rules and to effectuate sanctions when said rules are not followed.

The bulk of victims of domestic violence in general, and honor-based violence in particular, are women, as we have seen how it is mainly the concept of women's sexual purity that is connected to family honor. But both women and men – as well as transgender persons, whatever their identity – may be either victim or perpetrator, or both (Johnsson-Latham, 2005). The patriarchal power structures frame the lives not only of the women, but also of the men, who have to find their place in the system and live up to its definition of what being a man entails (Bredal, 2011). Young people who identify as LGBT and grow up in families that practice negative social control are also a particularly vulnerable group in this connection (Norwegian action plan against negative social control, forced marriage and genital mutilation 2017-2020).

Honor based violence, culture and context

As noted in chapter one, honor-based violence has been discussed as an issue present in some migrant communities in Norwegian public debate. Rather than focusing on connecting honor-based violence to particular cultures or regions, existing research in the Nordic countries has focused on phenomenal similarities across cultures, as well as the context of honor related violence and the situational triggering mechanisms. There is research suggesting that the stress connected to migration can be triggering for patriarchal violence, and that situational factors in the country of residence might be just as crucial as cultural background (Bredal, 2011). We will expand on this in the chapter on the situation of migrants and refugees. Some have also pointed out that honor-based violence is also exists in Norwegian Christian communities (Langvann, 2015, Langvann, 2017, Lervåg, 2017). Members of religious communities can be subject to strict rules concerning what is honorable, as well as sexually and morally acceptable. Some religious communities may practice control so that members remain in the congregation, restricting their contact with

people on the outside. This, however, has been a blind spot in Norwegian public debates as well as in the help structures. Studies show that some of those who have experienced social control in religious communities in retrospect report that they missed and wanted engagement and reaction to their situation from the outside societyⁱ

Common for both migrant communities and religious communities is that they are tight communities with outspoken norms, interdependence and low tolerance for deviant behavior (Gelfand mfl., 2011). They can also be seen as communities of moral. Communities of moral is a term for a community beyond the family. Such communities do not have to agree on everything, yet they share so much morality that it makes sense to define them as such community (Gullestad, 2002). Based on the growing awareness of and research on these mechanisms, the latest Norwegian action plan for combating honor based violence and social control acknowledges these similarities, and includes religious communities as one of their target groups.

To summarize, we are talking about a social logic connected to strong power hierarchies, and emotionally close communities. HRV is connected to men's power based on their gender, elders' power over the following generations and the collective power over the individual (Bredal, 2011). Honor and honor-based violence are difficult topics to discuss. It is important to avoid generalizations suggesting that all members of a certain religion, ethnicity or cultural group practice honor-based violence. It is also important that the help structures build their competence about the mechanisms of honor, patriarchy and collectivism, as well as growing up in closed religious communities (IMDi, 2019).

Types of Honor Related Violence / Abuses (HRV). Emerging Issues: Forced Mariages, FGM, etc.

Honor related violence entails a variety of different sanctions with the aim of restoring family honor (Bye, Eggebo & Thunem, 2016). Ranging from social exclusion to forced marriage and murder, the term encompasses a variety of violent actions, of varying degrees of severity. While the physical sanctions may be more visible and seem more serious to the bystander, the potential risk for the individual attached to for instance being isolated or excluded needs to be recognized and acknowledged (Bredal, 2004). In Norway the focus has mainly been on forced marriage, FGM, negative social control, physical violence, honor killings and to be left abroad, either to marry or to be forced to attend school against your own will.

The Norwegian directorate for children, youth and family affairs (Bufdir) provides the following list of different kinds of HRV:

Negative social control, physical violence, degradation and other forms of psychological violence, threats, forced marriage, social exclusion, acid attacks and honor killings. In addition to that it involves forced deportation and female genital mutilation (FGM).

Negative social control is defined by the Norwegian government as different kinds of pressure, threats and coercion that is carried out systematically in order to ensure that individuals live according to the norms and values of their family or social group. The control may violate the individual's rights according to the Convention of the Rights of the Child as well as Norwegian law (Justis- og Beredskapsdepartementet, 2017, s. 12).

Forced marriage refers to a situation where individuals right to consent to a marriage, to choose whom to get marry, or to end an engagement or marriage without facing sanctions taken away. Forced marriages occur when an individual can't choose who she or he wants to marry with, can't choose to be unmarried, and becomes subjected to psychological pressure, threats or coercion to marry (Bjørlo, 2014).

Female genital mutilation signifies various procedures where external female genitalia are partially or totally being removed, or when other lasting damage is afflicted, without medical groundsⁱⁱ

Forced deportation refers to a situation where people are being held abroad against their will. The cases which is known in Norway usually concern children who are sent back to their parents' home country and held there against their will. The main reasons for parents sending their children abroad is a reaction to Norwegian child welfare services, to prevent their kids to become "too Norwegian" and to strengthen their children's knowledge about their religious and cultural identityⁱⁱⁱ.

Legislative and Lawyers Point of View

Norway is a democratic state with the rule of law. Norwegian Constitution Law was passed in 1814. In this chapter we will present the relevant international conventions, Norwegian legislation and some of the reported cases of violence, especially cases of honor-based violence. After presentation of the legislation we will give an overview of a different protection measures the police implements in cases of violence.

Violence and honor-based violence

The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (The Istanbul Convention) was ratified and entered into force in 2017 in Norway. The Convention calls on parties to take a wide range of actions to combat domestic violence. The article 12 (5) and 42 (1) in the Istanbul Convention and article 4 in Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) state that cultures, custom, tradition or "honor" should not be considered as justification for violence.

In Norway the term *abuse in close relationships* is used to differ domestic violence from violence that happens in other areas of life among the strangers then in close relations. The Penal Code, section 282 (2005) defines abuse in close relationships as threats, forced deprivation of liberty, violence or other degrading treatment seriously or repeatedly abuses by a present or former spouse or cohabitant, a present or former spouse or cohabitant's relative in direct line of descent, a relative in direct line of ascent, a member of the person's household, or anyone in the person's care. This understanding of close relationships is thus primarily confined to the core family and in a straight downward or upward lineage, but may also include persons who are part of the household or who have an emotional or family relationship with them (The Penal Code, 2005).

In 2018, according to Statistics Norway^{iv} there were 3,406 cases reported as abuse in close relationship, of which 280 cases ended with a verdict^v. This shows that many cases do not end up with a verdict.

According to the Penal Code. Section 254. *Deprivation of liberty* is punishable. Deprivation of liberty is defined as any person who by confinement, abduction other means unlawfully deprives a person of his or her liberty.

Cases and trials where honor is found to be underlying reason for the violence have appeared in the Norwegian court. Norway does however not register cases of honor-based violence separately from other cases of violence, and it varies whether honor is seen as relevant. To exemplify, we will briefly describe two cases, one in which the Court held that honor was motive and one in which the Court did not focus on issues of honor:

1. March 2019, a father was sentenced in the Supreme Court for serious threats against two of his children. The convicted person had repeatedly threatened to kill his daughter and his son, who he found had violated the family's honor, and he ordered his son to kill his daughter. The daughter was strongly affected by the threats. The

conduct was close to attempted contribution to homicide. The Supreme Court stated that motives for the threats were the family's honor^{vi}. This is a historical judgment in the Norwegian context because it is the first time the Supreme Court has held that honor was the most important reason for the abuse^{vii}

2. The trial of a 16-year-old boy who died as a result of being struck in the head several times has sparked a new debate in Norway. A 21-year-old man is charged with aggravated bodily harm resulting in death and for leaving another in helpless condition. The victim was the boyfriend of the sister of the accused. Some have argued that honor-based violence should be part of the charge. Politician Jan Bøhler has criticized the police for failing to investigate honor-based violence, and he asks for statistics on honor-related criminal cases^{viii} (Klassekampen, 2020).

Forced marriage

That marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 16 (2) (1948), International Covenant on Civil and political Rights, article 23 (1966), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights article 10 (1966, Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, article 16 (1979), Convention on consent to marriage, minimum age for marriage and registration of marriages article article 1 (1964) Istanbul Convention article 37 (2018). The Istanbul Convention, article 32 states that states should make it legally possible to annul forced marriages (Istanbul Convention, 2018).

Forced marriage is defined in the Penal Code. Section 253 as any person who by violence, deprivation of liberty, other criminal or wrongful conduct or improper pressure forces a person to enter into marriage. The law also includes any person who contributes to another person's travel to a country other than that person's country of residence, with the intent that the person will there be subjected to forced marriage.

The Marriage Act, section 18 a, states that marriages entered outside of Norway will usually be recognized in Norway. Marriages will not be recognized if marriage is entered without both parts being present during the marriage, of one of them was under 18 years old, and one was already married (Marriage Act, 1993). The Marriage Act, section 16 makes it possible to annul marriage if it was forced for one or both persons (Marriage Act, 1993).

A study from ISF (2015) have analyzed all verdicts in the period from 1999 – 2014. Some verdicts are from the Supreme Court, other from the District Court and the Court of Appeal,

in total 24 cases. Nine cases were about the annulment of marriage, and seven about threats to enter or already entered forced marriages^{ix}.

Female genital mutilation

The Istanbul Convention, article 38 explicitly states that female genital mutilation should be criminalized. More specifically:

- a) excising, infibulating or performing any other mutilation to the whole or any part of a woman's labia majora, labia minora or clitoris.
- b) coercing or procuring a woman to undergo any of the acts listed in point a;
- c) inciting, coercing or procuring a girl to undergo any of the acts listed in point a (Istanbul Convention, 2018)

According to Penal Code, section 284, anyone who performs a procedure on the genitalia of a woman that damages the genitalia or permanently modifies them are culpable. Reestablishment of genital mutilation is subject to the same penalty. Consent does not exempt for a penalty. Section 285 is about aggravated genital mutilation. Whether genital mutilation is aggravated depends on if the results have led to illness or work incapacity, an incurable defect, flaw or injury, death or considerable harm to body or health.

No one has ever been convicted of genital mutilation in Norway. A study done by NKVTS (Damvad, 2014) shows that kindergarten, school, child welfare services and health nurses in schools are usually the ones that report genital mutilation. According to this study there are many reasons why it is hard to convict anybody of female genital mutilation. If a girl got genital mutilation outside of Norway, it is difficult to find out who did it. There may be no witnesses, and parents may deny that they know anything about it. It is hard for the police to work with cases like this when they do not have enough evidence. If a girl got genital mutilation before she migrated to Norway, parents cannot be convicted for female genital mutilation as a crime (Lien, 2017).

Duty of confidentiality, Duty of report, Duty of disclosure and Duty to avert criminal acts

Employees in the public sector are obligated to provide information, report suspected cases of abuse or neglect according to the Education Act, the Kindergarten Act and the Health Personnel act. In addition, all members of society are obligated to prevent future punishable acts, according to the Criminal act.

Employees in the public sector have a statutory duty of confidentiality. In some cases, you must break this duty. This is the case if the duty of disclosure, the duty of report or the duty to avert criminal offence applies.

Duty of disclosure; you have a duty of disclosure if the child welfare services ask for information in a case where they suspect neglect, physical or sexual abuse, according to the Education Act § 15-3, the Kindergarten Act § 22 or the Health Personnel Act §32.

Duty of report; duty of report entails the same responsibility as duty of disclosure, except that it is the individual employee who is responsible to take initiative and report if they suspect neglect or abuse. This duty underlines the responsibility of the single professional individual to observe and report cases of suspected abuse, regardless of position or rank.

The duty to avert criminal acts means preventing a future punishable act. There is no duty to report punishable acts that have already taken place. The duty to avert criminal acts applies when you know for certain, or consider it as most likely, that a person will perform sexual abuse, inflict serious harm (included serious psychological abuse) or kill another person in the future, according to the Criminal Act § 196. The duty to avert criminal acts is universal and applies to all members of society.

Violence against individuals with a migrant background

Immigrants who enter Norway through marriage or reunion with a spouse who has or will receive a permanent residence permit, must stay in the country (and the marriage) for three years before they can apply for a residence permit of their own. Because of this three-year rule, some victims of domestic violence remain in violent relationships in fear of being evicted from the country (KUN, 2019). Immigrants who are abused in marriage can, according to Section 53 of the Immigration Law, still be granted a residence permit if they or their children have experienced abuse. In practice, an analysis of proceedings shows that the evidence requirements are too strict, and that a too strict interpretation of what constitutes abuse in practice compromise the applicant's rights according to the law (Jussbuss, 2018).

Compensation from the state for victims of violence

Victims of violence and abuse can be compensated for all types of personal injury that they have suffered as the result of crime (The criminal injuries compensation Code, 2001) In order to be eligible for compensation, there must be a preponderance of evidence indicating that a crime has been committed. You may be eligible for compensation even if the criminal case was dropped. In cases involving homicide, the victim's family may be entitled to

compensation. Children may also be entitled to compensation, if they have witnessed violence against family members or caregivers (The Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority, 2020).

Police's protection measures for victims of violence

Police can implement one or more protection measures for a person that experienced abuse and violence^x

Emergency panic alarm / «Violence alarm» is a free tool for a victim of violence to make her/his everyday life safer. When the situation is perceived as dangerous and unsafe, victims of violence can activate the alarm to get direct contact with the police. The severity of the threats determines how long you should have the alarm. Violence alarm is meant as a temporary solution. The criminal offense doesn't have to be reported in order for victims of violence to receive a violence alarm^{xi}

«**Reverse violence alarm**» is a penal/criminal sanction from the court. The abuser/perpetrator is punished to use an electronic device, often a fetter. Police defines a geographical safety zone around the victim where the abuser/perpetrator is not allowed to move into. The prohibition zone must be so large that the police can cut off the convicted person before he reaches the offender. Use of reverse violence alarm has been a success where it has been applied. In all cases the perpetrator has respected the victim's safety zone. The Director of Public Prosecutions has requested increased use of the reversed violence alarm^{xii}.

Restraining order means that perpetrator of violence or threats is not allowed to physically, through telephone calls, emails, letters or text messages contact the victim. The police decide whether restraining order should be imposed. The ban must be tried by the court, and the court will finally decide if restraining order should be upheld^{xiii}

Secret address/unlisted address is another protection measure police can use to protect victims of violence. Code 6 is secret address, meaning that address is hidden for everybody except authorized persons. Victims of violence or threats about violence have to move when living with code 6. Code 7 is confidential address, meaning that address shouldn't be given to private persons, but public authorities are allowed to see the address^{xiv}

Multi Agency Approach to HRV (social aspect)

There are numerous help structures and instances working with HRV in Norway. To a certain extent, work on detecting and preventing honor-based violence is mainstreamed into the regular work of the police, shelters, schools, child welfare services and health stations. There are however some organizations that specialize in this field. Firstly, the Norwegian competence team on forced marriage, genital mutilation and negative social control, provide guidance and counselling to individuals and professionals. Secondly, there are minority counsellors at a small number of secondary schools and high schools, who are trained in this field. There is also a police department specializing on honor-based violence, as well as a family counselling office. For young persons exposed to honor-based violence who are in need of protection, there is also an emergency shelter.

There are also several NGOs working with honor-based violence. The biggest is a help line run by the Norwegian Red Cross.

We will give a brief description of the different structures below:

The Norwegian Competence team on forced marriage, genital mutilation and negative social control, is a team consisting of 8 members from different directorates; the directorate for children, youth and family affairs, the police directorate, the health directorate, the foreign directorate, the work and welfare directorate and the directorate of integration and diversity. The team's mandate is to provide guidance and counselling to victims of honor based violence and to the help structures around them, to increase the competence on the subject in the directorates and help structures, and to coordinate and administer the shelter for young victims of honor based violence. The team publishes a yearly report on the subject.

The police

All police departments have personnel specializing on domestic violence. The police tools for risk assessment are SARA (Spousal Assault Risk Assessment), and PATRIARK, an assessment tool for honor-based violence. These tools are available to all police departments, but not necessarily implemented, leading to a parliamentary proposal in 2018-2019, proposing that these tools be implemented in all police departments. Stovner police department in Oslo have a section specializing in HRV.

There are 49 **minority counsellors** working at a total of 2 secondary schools, 40 high schools and two guidance centers for youth^{xv}. The counsellors refer some of their cases to child welfare service, and in 2018 about a fifth of their cases were reported to the police.

Emergency shelter for young persons exposed to honor-based violence. The competence team administers places in this fortified shelter for young persons exposed to honor-based violence. Places are distributed based on a risk assessment done by the competence team in collaboration with local police, taking into account external threat of honor-based violence from the (extended) family as well as the young persons' ability to live with strict and limiting safety measures.

The **family guidance offices** are offices providing guidance to families experiencing conflict or crisis. The service is free, and open to all. The staff at the family guidance offices are psychologists and social workers. Several offices have received training in honor-based violence, with Enerhaugen office in Oslo being the leading experts nationwide.

Integration counselors at chosen foreign embassies

Norway has four integration counselors stationed at foreign service offices in areas from where many emigrate to Norway, and where many cases of forced marriage occur. Currently there are integration counselors in Amman, Islamabad, Ankara and Nairobi. The integration counsellors work with cases related to forced marriage and honor based violence at the foreign service stations, with increasing competence among Norwegian actors on the country in which they work, with networking and collaborating with local actors who can contribute in the work against forced marriage, and with conveying information about the Norwegian society, Norwegian marriage and family patterns, traditions and law to persons seeking residence permit in Norway.

Reporting and statistics

Overall statistics from Statistics Norway show a total of 32 840 reported incidents of domestic violence and abuse in 2018^{xvi}. Nordic studies indicate that children with immigrant background are relatively more at risk for being exposed to violence than children in the majority population, and children with immigrant background are over-represented in Norwegian child welfare services (Haugen, Paulsen & Caspersen, 2017). There is no separate register for cases related to honor-based violence or abuse. Neither do we know how many victims of forced marriage are.

There are yearly reports from minority counselors as well as from the Competence team and the Red Cross help line.

In 2016 as well as 2017 and 2018, the competence team had an annual total of about 600 cases (Bufdir, 2018). The main cause for inquiry in 2018 was threats/violence (22%), involuntary stay abroad (15,5%), suspicion of forced marriage (15%) and fear of forced marriage (12,3%). Most of the inquiries were about girls or women (76%), mainly in the category of threats/violence, while the inquiries concerning men (20%) mainly concerned suspicion of forced marriage. 54,5% of the cases concerned persons over the age of 18, 45,5% concerned minors, under the age of 18, This is the highest percentage of cases concerning children since the competence team was founded in 2004. A total of 33 persons moved into the Emergency shelter in 2018.

Most of the cases concerning suspicion of forced marriage were connected to applications for residence permits for family reunion. About a third of the cases concerned persons who were abroad at the time of contact.

Since 2013, minority counsellors at schools and integration advisors at foreign stations have had a total of 1026 cases, of which 239 in 2017. Most of the cases concern extreme control (44%), followed by threats/violence (31%) and fear of forced marriage (10%) (IMDi 2017)

The Red Cross help line received 142 first time inquiries in the first half of 2019, 74% about women and 26% about men. 15% of the inquiries were about persons under the age of 18¹ (Røde Kors 2019)

These numbers do not provide certain knowledge about prevalence. The statistics are not coordinated, and the same case might be registered in multiple systems. As with cases of violence in close relations in general, we know that many cases are never reported.

Situation of Migrants and Refugees – Victims of Violence, including HRV in Norway and Bulgaria (maximum 5 pages)

Migration in itself is a process creating and changing culture. Values are strengthened or weakened, and cultural, political and economic factors in the country of residence create a backdrop for migrant families and how they adjust to their situation as immigrants. For the individual, migration is connected to a redefinition of the self; it induces new arrangements in gender relations and forces the individual to answer the question 'who am I' in the new

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context (Apkinar, 2003). Several reports suggest that situational factors connected to living as a migrant in Norway create stress and contribute to enhancing the risk of honor-based violence. In addition, discrimination and marginalization might contribute to increased risk of honor-based violence (Bredal, 2011).

For many who come to Norway as immigrants, being introduced to the Norwegian society is a major and challenging transition. Many miss a larger community to support them. Many parents with immigrant backgrounds are used to having the extended family as well as the local community involved in child rearing. The combination of missing a sense of community, experiencing a dissolution of the family and facing a new and unfamiliar society can be challenging for many parents (Friberg and Bjørnset, 2019). Some experience liberal attitudes towards alcohol and sexuality in the Norwegian society as threatening. In addition, some feel that their identity, religion and culture is under pressure and that their traditional tools for control are not available. In this cross-pressure some parents might become insecure about what is good care and how to set boundaries for their children. Communication can be challenging (Smette and Rosten, 2019). Language barriers can make it difficult to understand the new context, rules and norms. It might also be challenging to communicate well with the Norwegian help structures. Some immigrants also experience it as difficult to make acquaintances and to build a social network with Norwegians. In addition, parents who depend on their children to communicate in Norwegian, may experience a power shift, which may undermine their authority with the children.

It is not only the parent generation who experience stress connected to their migrant status. Children in immigrant families may experience considerable cross-pressures. For young second generation immigrant women, a wish to be integrated into the host society can in many cases be connected to resistance to their ethnic community's subjugation, meeting expectations from the surrounding society to be free to choose partner and lifestyle on the one hand and to comply with the wishes of the family and act honorably on the other (Apkinar, 2004). In 2018 a group of young women with minority background started a public debate on social control in ethnic minorities. The women – who called themselves 'The shameless girls' - criticized their own environment for controlling women and girls' lives, as well as the Norwegian majority for depriving them of the power of definition, and for always speaking on behalf of them, instead of giving them the space to express their main challenges. The shameless girls have published a book which is translated into several languages and received numerous prizes for their contribution to the public debate on the topic.

A study from 2019 also indicates that parents are more worried about bringing up boys in a migrant context than girls (Smette og Rosten, 2019). For young second generation

immigrant men, research indicates that those who experience racism and discrimination become more conservative and patriarchal, something which can be understood as a defense mechanism or a reaction (Bredal, 2011). Thus, patriarchal attitudes and social control do not always originate from the family. Concepts of honor and traditional gender roles can also be connected to a globalized youth culture influenced by American youth culture connected to hip hop and gangster rap.

Success Stories in Norway

As we have shown in previous chapters, there is an extensive help system which specializes on honor-based violence, and part of the work is mainstreamed into ordinary help systems. A lot of the work with preventing honor-based violence is done by NGOs. The Norwegian directorate of integration and diversity administer grants and fixed assets for organizations working against negative social control, forced marriage and female genital mutilation. The NGOs reach victims and perpetrators on other arenas and with a different approach than public instances. Some good examples are Intercultural Health info, Hjelpeskilden (help source) and the Red Cross help line.

Intercultural Health Info (Tverkkulturell helseinfo) is a voluntary organization that was founded in 2015. They provide information services to people with immigrant background, as well as health professionals who have regular contact with people with immigrant backgrounds. One of their focus areas is prevention of female genital mutilation.

The help source (Hjelpeskilden) is an NGO providing help and support to people who are in a problematic process of breaking out from religious communities. They provide information about religious communities, diversity, mental health and childrens' rights and other subjects relevant to people who are religious outbreaks.

The Red Cross help line is run by the Norwegian Red Cross. It is one of the oldest actors working with HRV in Norway. In 2000, the help line was assigned by the Ministry of Children and Family Affairs to serve as a national helpline, as a part of the Norwegian government's first action plan against forced marriage. It is open Monday through Friday, for victims of honor-based violence, people who work in help structures or family members. It is possible to call anonymously to discuss a case. The help line provides information about Norwegian law, the individual's rights, public assistance as well as follow-up consultations at their office in Oslo. They also have a chatline and provide lectures on the subject of honor-based violence.

Glossary of terms

Abuse is any harmful or unlawful treatment or use, often to gain an unfair benefit of some kind.

Attitudes are individual views, opinions or feelings about something.

Beliefs are firmly held attitudes often regarding religion, cultural practices and other major facets of a person's life.

Child sexual abuse is any behaviour, with or without contact that imposes sexual behaviour on a child.

Domestic violence is any act or threatened act of violence by a family member or members, spouse or partner. Domestic violence can include physical or sexual abuse, economic abuse; emotional, verbal or psychological abuse, including any conduct that makes another person feel constantly unhappy, humiliated, ridiculed, afraid or depressed or to feel inadequate or worthless; harassment, including sexual harassment and intimidation; or conduct that in any way harms or may harm another person, including any omission that results in harm and either endangers the safety, health or wellbeing of another person, undermines another person's privacy, integrity or security or detracts or is likely to detract from another person's dignity or worth as a human being.

Early marriage is when someone marries or is forced to marry under the age of 18. This is often forced by parents or other relatives.

Emotional abuse/violence is behaviour that seeks to control an individual by inflicting emotional harm, which can include threats, intimidation, humiliation, coercion, etc. and can often lead to or is incorporated with other forms of violence including domestic and sexual violence.

Exploitation is the act of taking advantage of something or someone, the act of taking advantage, unjustly, over another person for your own benefit. Female genital mutilation (FGM) is when healthy vaginal tissue is either nicked, excised and/or sewn in relation to rite of passage in some cultures and communities. Forced marriage is a marriage conducted without the valid consent of one or both parties, and where duress is a factor.

Gender is the social construction of roles according to whether a person is male or female. Gender is pliable and varies across cultures, time and context. Gender is one of several defining socio-cultural characteristics, such as ethnicity, religion and age, which define a person's experience and their opportunities.

Gender-based violence (GBV) is an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females. GBV is not synonymous for violence against women and girls even though it is widely recognized that GBV is normally perpetrated against women and girls by men and boys. This acknowledgment of men and boys as the predominant perpetrators of GBV does not exclude them as victims of GBV. Gender based violence is often used interchangeably with violence against women, and this fluidity of use speaks to the subordinate role of women in society, which often leaves them as victims. There are many forms of GBV and most commonly, they are categorised to include: sexual violence, sexual exploitation and abuse, domestic violence, honour related violence, economic violence and emotional violence.

Human rights are universal guarantees protecting individuals and groups against actions that interfere with fundamental freedoms and human dignity. Norms are the routine behaviours of individuals or groups of people within a society and this behaviour is used to define normal behaviour.

Oppression is unjust and cruel use of power and authority over individuals or groups.

Patriarchy is the male dominant social structure where women are subordinate.

Power is having control, authority, or influence over an individual. Rape is forcing a person to have sexual penetration vaginally, anally or orally, against their will.

Sex is the biological difference between men and women.

Sexual harassment is perpetrating unwanted sexual advances or sexual attention.

Status is the social and economic standing that a person has in a community in relation to other people.

Violence is the use of force or power to harm another person

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