



Gender and Peace Series

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Nowadays, women are being used as human weapons in current political and economic conflicts. From this perspective, this book includes several empirical and theoretical tools to analyze this problem and ultimately contribute to a change, which would make women become key actors in peace building process.

In order to show how gender violence currently affects women's lives, it presents contrasted cases where experiences of women in conflicts and wars can be considered as the tip of the iceberg of an existing patriarchal system in our societies. Thus, this book will allow the reader to develop a deeper understanding of how gender violence goes beyond different geographical, social and political realities as they all share the gender inequality.

The War → the Women → their Bodies

• Dhayana Carolina Fernández Matos • Fernanda Pattaro Amaral • Harsimran Kaur • Ignazia Bartholini • Irit Hakim-Keller • María Nohemí González Martínez • Mugisho N. Theophile • Rozina Khanam • Valerie Bahati M. • Raquel Ramirez Salgado • Zoneziwoh Mbongdulo

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The War → the Women → their Bodies

Researchs and experiences on Africa, America, Asia and Europe



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C O M P I L E R S
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INTRODUCTION

It has been almost a year since that 2014 RED HILA meeting – beginning of Autumn for ones, and spring for others, a rainy season for ones on the tropics and summer perspective for others, we get back to Zobeide’s story. It is the same story that could put us all together, almost a year ago, into the way of publishing our scientific thinking to know how it has being relocated our references over time and according our new paths.

And so we return to remember that story:

From there, after six days and seven nights, you arrive at Zobeide, the White City, well exposed to the moon, with streets wound about themselves as in a skein. They tell this story of its foundation: men of various nations had an identical dream. They saw a woman running at night through an unknown city; she was seen from behind, with long hair and she was naked. They dreamed of pursuing her. As they twisted and turned, each of them lost her. After the dream they set out in search of that city; they never found it, but they found one another; they decided to build a city like the one in the dream. In laying out the streets, each followed the course of his pursuit; at the place where they had lost the fugitive’s trail, they arranged spaces and walls differently from the dream, so she would be unable to escape again.

This was the city of Zobeide, where they settled, waiting for that scene to be repeated one night. None of them, asleep or awake, ever saw the woman again. The City’s streets were streets where they went to work every day, with

no link any more to the dreamed chase. Which, for that matter, had long been forgotten.

New men arrived from other lands, having had a dream like theirs, and in the city of Zobeide, they recognized something from the streets of the dream, and they changed the positions of arcades and stairways to resemble more closely the path of the pursued woman and so, at the spot where she had vanished, there would remain no avenue of escape. The first to arrive could not understand what drew these people to Zobeide, this ugly City, this trap (Calvino, 1974, pp. 45-46).

Zobeide's story was a fictional story written by Italo Calvino (1974) into his book entitled "Invisible cities", in which he intends to create a dialogue from Marco Polo – an Italian merchant and so exiled - to a Tatar emperor called Kublai Khan about the cities he visited once. Interesting is that every city he (Polo) describes has a woman's name. Zobeide is the only one that was once mentioned into the "Arabian Nights", as the name of the Caliph Harún-al-Rashid's wife (Lauretis, 1984).

According to Lauretis (1984, p.13), Zobeide is a perfect "representation of the paradoxical status of the woman in Western discourse" about the absence of women into the Western thinking, although culture is originated from woman, she is absent from cultural and historical process. "Women are absent as historical subjects" (Lauretis, 1984, p.13). Also, according to Lauretis (1984, p. 14):

The city of Zobeide is an imaginary signifier, a practice of language, a continuous movement of representations built from a dream of woman, built to keep woman captive. In the discursive space of the city (...) woman is both absent and captive: absent as a theoretical subject, captive as a historical subject.

A year ago, Zorbeide city helped us to analyze our reality on the light of a

significant imaginary scene, a metaphor of the absence of women as historical subjects “in the discursive space of the city” (Lauretis, 1984, p.14), just like the construction of the scientific discourse, in which the woman is at the same time “absent and captive: absent as a theoretical subject, captive as a historical subject” (Lauretis, 1984, p.14). Zobeide’s story is a framework to the asking: What does it mean to speak, to write, to build science discourses from women?

After a year we meet ourselves again on the thinking exercise of no longer being absent and captive as a subject, but on the path to be agents of our own creativity, owning of the origins and *telos* of our intellectual productivity foundation. All of this means doing the exercise of discovering the face, ceasing to be the ghostly creature of academic dreams, the object of desire (as Zobeide was), invisible, but produced and displayed in the texts.

It means the exercise of discovering face, ceasing to be the ghostly creature of academic dreams, the object of desire, invisible, produced and displayed in texts.

So, starting from this exercise of thinking consciously we are adding more voices when asking again, what does it mean to speak, to write, to build knowledge from women?

So, a year later, with a new partner on board, the volume *Women subjected to abuse and used as sexual weapons into armed conflicts: A comparative analysis into a global context involving testimonials and research about gender and armed conflicts and peacebuilding into America, Europe, Africa and India*, from the series Weaving Knowledge from RED-HILA leads us to recognize ourselves as creative agents from the intersectionality of the academic thinking on incessant transformations, re-identifications, and united to make science.

It is from that boundary line where we are getting out of the conflicting encapsulation origins to extend these women knowledge production to all areas of the Humanities.

This book aims to fill the gap existing between theoretical approach and practical one, with experiences of women activists for bringing peace to post conflict countries in an international panorama composed by life stories and interviews that emphasize the central role that women play on peace agreements in post conflict countries. Voices from Israel/Palestine, India, and Africa are used to give a world view about the consequences of such conflicts and how women can act as peacekeepers and peacemakers.

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- Calvino, I. (1974). *Invisible cities*. (W. Weaver, trad.) New York: Harcourt Brace Jovenovich (original book published in 1972).
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PREFACE

Violeta Doval Hernández¹

In the context of a world terribly marked by the use of violence against women as a weapon of war, this book enables us to come closer to this reality listening to the voices of women from Colombia, Israel, Palestine, India, Eastern Europe and Congo, to seek answers that lessen the violence over women and lead to their empowerment.

The different chapters show how, despite the International Laws protecting civil society, women are being used to inflict injury as human weapons in current political and economic conflicts. From this perspective, the present book includes several theoretical and empirical tools to analyse this problematic and eventually contribute to a change that make women become key actors in peace building processes.

In order to show how gender violence impacts women's lives nowadays, this book presents contrasted cases framed in different contexts where the experiences of women in conflicts and wars can be considered the tip of the iceberg of the existent patriarchal system in our societies. Thus, the reader can develop a deeper understanding of how gender violence crosses different geographical, social and political realities as they all share the gender inequality. The book provides key elements to achieve a critical view over the relation

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between gender and conflict contexts, as it includes a rich theoretical framework and the academic skills to confront the uniqueness of this predicament.

The Chapter I includes an economic context of the main aspects that play a relevant role in current worldwide conflicts. Statistical data is presented showing how conflict areas and highly militarized states have a significant share of key natural resources demanded in this phase of capitalism (as in Middle East region). The author points out to important contradictions of “peace-making international system”, as their main actors are countries highly involved in defense industry and weapon’s export (as United States, Russia, China, France and the UK) and where women play a secondary role. The author analyzes relevant theories related with War, Peace building and Conflict resolution as realist, psychological, demographic, economic and political perspectives. The chapter introduces the Gender and War perspective as it was firstly formulated by the United States Institute for Peace (USIP, 1325) by United Security Council Resolution and including ideas established already in Beijing Platform for Action (1995).

The idea of the inclusion and *naturalisation* of violence in our political systems and State-nation societies, is developed in Chapter 2 (*Conflict and post conflict borderlines: women as the central piece of conflict resolution*) falling conceptually in different theoretical approaches and analyzing Bourdieu (2007), Collins (1974), Hanna Arendt (1970) and Antonio Negri (2015) among other contributions, and focusing on the contextualization and analysis of violence as an inherent element of our societies.

A real case of systematic women violence in permanent conflicted societies is exposed in *Chapter 3* in the context of the war between the government and the guerrilla in Colombia where different patterns of violence over women’s bodies have been maintained as a scourge of political destruction strategies through fear over population.

In contrast with this line of research, a wide range of peace building perspectives in philosophy historical vision is included in the following .Chapter 4, as it is needed and pertinent in order to search for new paths towards a re-thinking and a democratization of the peace-making strategies. The authors of this chapter includes a rich contribution of the personal vision of women peacemakers of four countries in post conflicts contexts.

The importance of recuperating the past and the impact of denying historical conflicts over the whole population is further analyzed for the case of Serbian post-war context in Chapter 5 (*“Memorycide” and gender violence in a Society of Eastern Europe*), where stigmatization processes work as a way to hide painful memory and avoid their healing.

Chapter 6 (Status and condition of Indian women) describes the decrease of women’s rights in India since British colonisation. Thus, the decline of their status has led to major contradictions between the Constitutional framework and the empirical data showing women problems in the access to health, education and basic rights. The author describes the social and institutionalized system named as the dowry, which is the economic contribution in marriage that the women’s family must provide and which is leading to women’s deaths when the family cannot afford it. This problem has increased enormously with the country economic crisis impacting with up to one Indian woman life per hour according with the available data.

In Chapter 7, in the context of DR Congo, the organization COFAPRI presents their work with women and children of war in order to reduce the impact of decades of violence against the local population and their consequences of social exclusion and destruction of self-esteem.

The importance of including gender perspective in social communication is detailed along last Chapter 8 which emphasizes the need of new strategies and

tools to enable women to be key actors of a change towards peace and human rights through the empowerment of women.

The book included an extensive list of references and updated literature from interdisciplinary approaches in the different chapters for the use of any organization and research group working on gender empowerment and peace building.

The cultural diversity blended into each chapter can make of this book an important reference to consider the problem of gender violence in contexts of post/conflict through complex and rich perspectives and to facilitate paths towards building more peaceful and egalitarian societies. The whole society should become aware of the importance of putting an end to this conflicts with major consequences on future generations.

CHAPTER 1

What about the others?

The paradigm used for some governments to achieve peace through starting conflicts

Fernanda Pattaro Amaral¹

María Nohemí González Martínez²

Abstract

This chapter aims to trace some routes about conflicts and peace theories, as an introduction to those theories and a gender approach focusing on women acting as peacemaking. The first part of this text will focus on some explanation of the main theories that have been used to explain a conflict scenario in a globalized world. Some interesting data are being used to discuss the connection between the major weapon exporters and the UNSC with notes about a future analysis on its data. The second part will just highlight the importance of a gender perspective on peace and conflict thinking, bringing a useful literacy related to it for further researching.

Key words: Conflict, Women, Violence, Government, Peace, War.

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Borders (Whats up with that?)
Politics (Whats up with that?)
Police shots (Whats up with that?)
Identities (Whats up with that?)
Your privilege (Whats up with that?)
Broke people (Whats up with that?)
Boat people (Whats up with that?)
(From the song “Borders”, by the artist M.I.A., 2015)

Macbeth, from Shakespeare (1978)³, is a powerful story about power and politics. Lady Macbeth is one important figure on this novel. She has a peculiar character and is a strong woman who fights for bringing and keeping her husband as the king. But for that she had a strong plan to eliminate anyone that could intercept her dream of having her husband as a king. So, she softly convinced her husband to kill people who could destroy this dream. But in one epic scene she realized that although her husband was the one that had killed people, the people’s blood was into her hands. In a specific act, a Doctor and a Gentle woman are talking about Lady Macbeth while seeing her sleepwalker rubbing her hands pretending she was washing them, something that she used to do according to Gentlewoman. In a scene, Doctor and Gentlewoman listen to Lady Macbeth’s words while she was into her sleepwalking:

(rubbing her hands) Come out, damned spot! Out, I command you! One, two. OK, it’s time to do it now.—Hell is murky!—Nonsense, my lord, nonsense! You are a soldier, and yet you are afraid? Why should we be scared, when no one can lay the guilt upon us?—But who would have thought the old man would have had so much blood in him? (...) The thane of Fife had a wife. Where is she now?—What, will my hands never be clean?—No more of that, my lord, no more of that. You’ll ruin everything by acting startled like this (...) I still have the smell of blood on my hand. All the perfumes of Arabia couldn’t

3 For this chapter we used a 1978 version of *Macbeth*, from Shakespeare.

make my little hand smell better. Oh, oh, oh! (Shakespeare, 1978, Act 5, scene 1, p.179-180).

The character of Lady Macbeth can be used here as a metaphoric example of how some states (official or parallel ones) start a conflict situation by pointing out that is the only way to achieve peace, and at the very end blood stains cannot see on their hands, but they know how much blood they are responsible for. And also those states use someone's hands to receive all those bloody, generally accusing the other one.

When into the process of constructing the main analytical approach of this book a central thought was "what about the others?" This question leads us to Mary Douglas studies about the sacrifice of the others for the well-being of the major part of the society, for this major part lives in harmony it can be necessary the sacrifice of a minor part of the same society. And what can be a conflict but the sacrifice of a part of the global society in pro of the other one? But, most important, this other part of the global society is nothing but states – a metaphysical construction that has the legitimacy to apply violence "if needed". And frequently this violence is used to justify peace, to justify acts against what is called "terrorism". The results are: the ones used to be sacrificed for the others and that survived of all mass attacks have to live in a country with absence of clean water, electric energy, food, remedies, education, a decent health system...and women and girls also have to live with abuses in every way, verbally, physically and sexually. Maybe this is the apocalyptic time...for the survivors, of course, not for the ones who won and make the war in the name of peace. According to Smith (2013):

There are a very wide range of elements that might be included in the costs of conflict, depending on the particular purpose of the calculation. These include: the resources used to fight the conflict such as military expenditures; the destruction of physical and human capital (including deaths, injuries and loss of economic skills); the effect on technology, institutions and international

economic linkages, such as trade and migration; and the psychological, social and environmental impacts of the conflict (...) Other possible costs of conflict, or the preparation for conflict, are militarism or a military industrial complex of the type President Eisenhower warned against and a ratchet effect by which military expenditure is increased during the conflict and does not return to its pre-conflict level subsequently. A military industrial complex may not only transfer resources from the private economy, but also distort market prices and switch entrepreneurs from innovation to rent seeking. Alternatively, there are those like Ruttan (2006) who argue that war is necessary for economic growth because it promotes innovation. Each of these arguments are controversial and perhaps too difficult to quantify to include in a calculation of costs. (Smith, 2013, p.5-6).

Mary Douglas (1998) when arguing about nuclear phobia and nuclear medicine therapy and the right to decide who needs to be sacrificed for the surviving of the others affirms that no one should decide who must be sacrificed for the well-being of the others, but the ones who allege that nuclear treatment is a risk take this decision, because to them the rights of a healthy person come before the rights of a person with cancer, diabetes, and others, for example. So, those people not totally healthy can be sacrificed for the sake of the healthy people.

In a conflict and post conflict situation we can clearly see that there is a social group to be in risk for the benefit of other social group. Talking about the peace concept, Galtung (1967) gave us the following interesting thinking:

(...) had there not been the word “peace” to glorify means, policies, occasions, then some other term would have to be invented - and the moment peace becomes more technical, split into its component meanings and worked into a system of means-ends thinking, that very moment will the term have lost its usefulness as an umbrella concept. Earlier generations would justify policies they wanted for any reason by claiming that they were an expression of God’s

will - the present generation will claim that they serve the cause of peace (Galtung, 1967, pp.6-7).

A. Economy justifies conflicts – the world defense market

In a capitalistic war the ones who had nothing are the ones who are marked to be sacrificed. All the countries presented here are sacrificed countries to keep the capitalistic machine on and on. It is very important to point out that only five countries in the entire world officially control the world security: USA, Russian Federation, United Kingdom, China and France (United Nations Security Council - UNSC). Coincidentally they are rich countries and they also believe that some must be “the one” elected to protect the others. Who are the others? Protect from what?

The fact that these are rich countries means that they represent together a total of 35, 409 trillion dollars GDP⁴ according to The World Bank (2011-2015) report, and also coincidentally they appear on the most 10 rich economies on the planet.

Table 1. US\$ GDP per capita 2011-2015 - UNSC

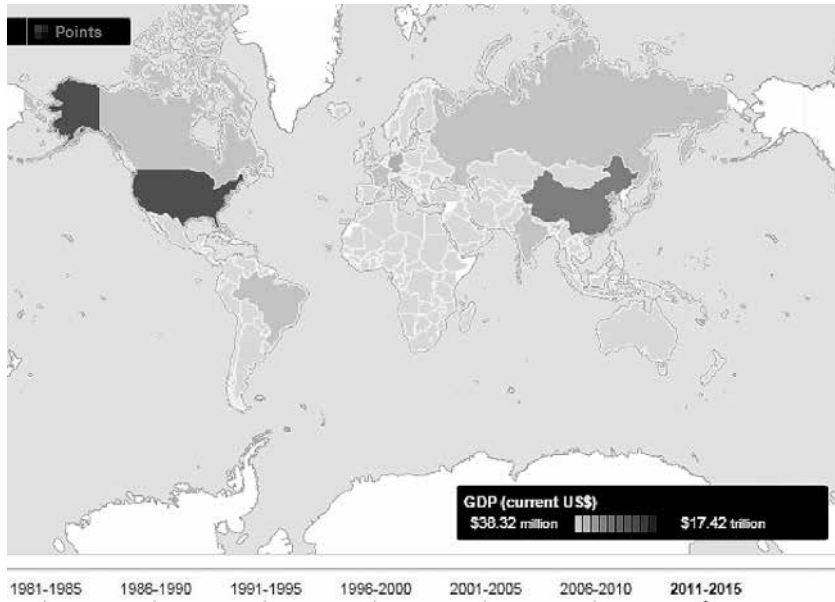
China	France	Russia	United Kingdom	USA¹
10,360 trillion dollars	2,829 trillion dollars	1,860 trillion dollars	2,941 trillion dollars	17,419 trillion dollars

On the other side, the countries affected by conflicts studied at this book are not even on the top 20 according to The World Bank report (2011-2015), except India.

Table 2. US\$ GDP 2011-2015 - conflicts

Cameroon	Colombia	D.R. Congo	India	Israel	Serbia
32,548 billion dollars	377,739 billion dollars	32,962 billion dollars	2,066 trillion dollars	304,226 billion dollars	43,866 billion dollars

4 Gross Domestic Product.



Map 1. US\$ GDP 2011-2015
Resource and image from: The World Bank (2011-2015).

If we took a glance at the amount of the globally Military expenditure GDP we can see the amount of money spent with the militarization of the peace. The money goes to peacekeeping operations as well as to military defenses (civil defense and previous military activities are not included on this data).

Table 3. Most Military Expenditure % US\$ GDP by 2014

Countries	Military Expenditure % US\$ GDP	US\$ GDP
Colombia	3,5	377,739,622,866
Congo, R.	5,0	14,135,462,556
Guinea	3,8	6,624,068,016
Iraq	4,3	220,505,682,865
Israel	5,2	304,226,336,270
Jordan	3,5	35,826,925,775
Lebanon	4,6	45,730,945,274
Libya	8,0	41,119,144,923
Morocco	3,8	107,004,984,357
Myanmar	3,7	64,330,038,665

What about the others? The paradigm used for some governments to achieve peace through starting conflicts

Oman	11,8	81,796,618,986
Pakistan	3,4	246,876,324,189
Russian Federation	4,5	1,860,597,922,763
Saudi Arabia	10,8	746,248,533,333
South Sudan	8,3	13,069,991,258
Ukraine	3,1	131,805,126,738
United Arab Emirates	5,7	401,646,583,173
United States	3,5	17,419,000,000,000

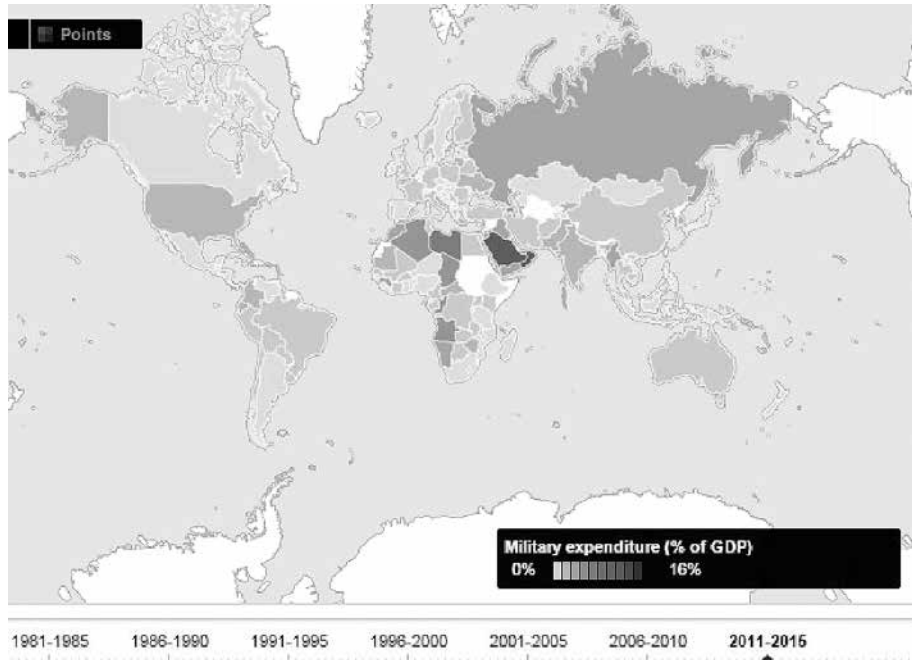
Resource: The World Bank (2011-2015).

The data used here shows the amount of money spent by countries that spend more money on militarization than the others. We can see that countries from Middle East are the ones who spend more money on militarization. What for? For keeping the State sovereignty once they belong to areas in which petroleum are abundant; natural resources. Four countries which spend most with militarization are members of OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries): Iraq, Libya, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. Together they spend 28, 8% of their GDP.

Table 4. Expenditure on Education in comparison with military expenditure %US\$ GDP by 2011-2015 (Colombia, India, D.R. Congo, Cameroon, Israel, Serbia, United States of America, China, France, Russia and United Kingdom)

Countries	Educational Expenditure % US\$ GDP	Military expenditure % US\$ GDP
Cameroon	3,0	1,3
China	-	2,1
Colombia	4,9	3,5
D.R. Congo	-	1,4
France	5,5	2,2
India	3,9	2,4
Israel	5,6	5,2
Russian Federation	-	4,5
Serbia	4,4	2,2
United Kingdom	5,8	2,0
United States of America	5,2	3,5

Resource: The World Bank (2011-2015).



Map 2. Military Expenditure % US\$ GDP – Global

Resource and image from: The World Bank (2011-2015).

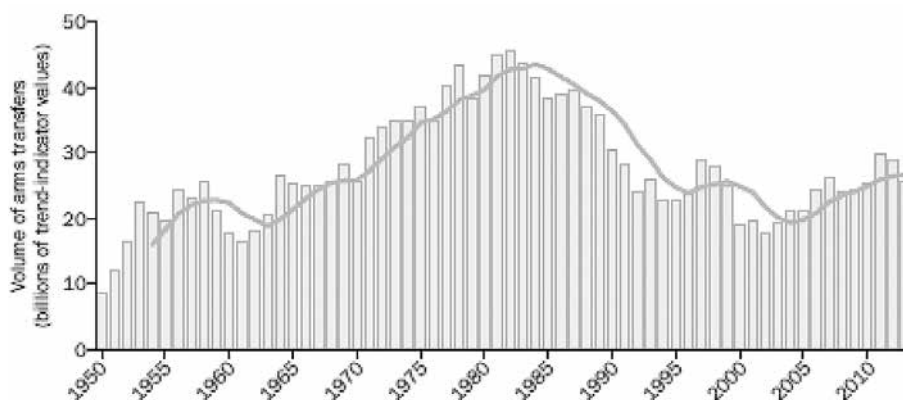
The world peace is not favorable to the maintenance of the capitalism. Weber (2006) worked about the “spirit” of capitalism in one of his most famous books, and in his analysis he found that our contemporary world was built upon a single pillar that is the money accumulation, and that people, societies, governments, etc. must do anything to have even more money, because having more money means having more power upon others, and it seems we are still living into a “war game” in which states compete each other to conquer more territories. As we could see on the images and data above is that war brings money to states, and, of course, make the ones who are the victims lose much more money than the others. And also we did not count the other costs of a war/conflict situation: the lives lost, the infrastructure costs, the post conflict costs, etc. The secret of all this process resides on the wealth’s idyll by the elite.

Table 5. The 10 largest exporters of major weapons and their main clients, 2009-2013

Share of international arms export(%)			Main Clients (Share Exporters total exports) 2009-13		
Exporter	2009-13	2004-8	1st	2nd	3rd
USA	29	30	Australia (10%)	South Korea (10%)	UAE (9%)
RUSSIA	27	24	India (38%)	China (12%)	Algeria (12%)
GERMANY	7	10	Usa (10%)	Greece (8%)	Israel (8%)
CHINA	6	2	Pakistan (47%)	Bangladesh (13%)	Myanmar (12%)
FRANCE	5	9	China (13%)	Morocco (11%)	Singapore (10%)
UK	4	4	Saudi Arabia (42%)	USA (18%)	India (11%)
UKRAINE	3	2	Norway (21%)	Australia (12%)	Venezuela (8%)
SPAIN	3	2	China (21%)	Pakistan (8%)	Russia (7%)
ITALY	3	2	India (10%)	UAE (9%)	USA (8%)
ISRAEL	2	2	India (33%)	Turkey (13%)	Colombia (9%)

Resource: SIPRI, 2014.

Table 6. International Weapons transfers since 1950 to 2010



Resource: SIPRI, 2014.

If we take a closer look to the both tables above, we can easily see that on the top 6 countries that most gain with such defense industry are the 5 ones that are the responsible for the world peace, in other words, the main 5 countries that are permanent at the United Nations Security Council (US, Russia, China,

France and United Kingdom) are also responsible for the gross financial gain with exporting major weapons. “Evidence suggests the peace between democratic states is strongest when those states are also economically developed” (Kinsella & Rousseau, 2008, p. 486).

B. Peace Studies and War Theories

The studies of Kinsella and Rousseau (2008) about democracy and conflict resolutions points that two powerful nations can make agreements to maintain the peace between them. This is a realist position that was an important concept by the 1980s:

This realist position came under increasing scrutiny beginning in the 1980s. Doyle (1983, 1986), for example, compiled a list of liberal societies and interstate wars during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and found that no two democracies had engaged in a full-scale war. He concluded that “liberal states have created a separate peace, as Kant argued they would, and have also discovered liberal reasons for aggression, as he feared they might” (Doyle 1986: 1151), (Kinsella & Rousseau, 2008, p.478).

Nowadays, scholars are studying what is called “democratic peace” that is contrary to the realist position, and it is divided into three main different versions of democratic peace propositions, although they need more empirical evidence to belong to the peace studies literature. Usually democratic countries did not fight each other because they share the same view of Liberalism, and the “democratic peace” is based on it (Elman, 1997). The main “democratic peace concepts” are:

1. *Monadic*: its main argument is that democratic governments or states are working to live in a more peacefully relation to other states, independent of the way they are governed. So, they search for living in peace with all states no matter the kind of government of each one of them.
2. *Dyadic*: this other concept works on the interaction between only two [democratic] states.

3. *Systemic*: its main concept addresses the way in which “the proportion of democracies in the international system influences the perceived legitimacy of democratic institutions and the use of military force in international society” (Kinsella & Rousseau, 2008, p.478).

Some arguments about democracy and conflicts noted that the “socialization of political leaders within their domestic political environments” (Kinsella & Rousseau, 2008, p. 478) gained emphasis into political theory. This argument can have two different applications based on the political regimen adopted and in the political socialization environment. The democratic political leaders tend to use diplomacy and negotiation to solve international political conflicts in which political system based on non-violence is required. “Losing a political battle does not result in the loss of political rights or exclusion from future political competition. Moreover, coercion and violence are not considered legitimate means for resolving conflicts” (Kinsella & Rousseau, 2008, p. 478). The nondemocratic political leaders or the political leaders from states that are not based on democracy tend to use coercion and force that are legitimated on the regime (autocracies) to solve international political conflicts.

Conversely, because democracies expect nondemocratic states to externalize coercive and uncompromising norms of conflict resolution, they adopt similar strategies when dealing with these opponents. The argument therefore assumes that a democratic state’s behavior is conditioned upon the expected behavior of its opponent and that the opponent’s regime type informs this expectation (Kinsella & Rousseau, 2008, p. 479).

Also, democratic states face difficulties when appealing to their own society asking for support in an international conflict in which violence may be required, while on autocratic states the population usually supports a violent strategy against the other state. As an example, Kinsella and Rousseau (2008) show the existing relationship between political openness and civil war:

The most democratic societies face few rebellions because the level of grievance is generally lower; group conflict is more often resolved nonviolently, even if sometimes contentiously. But the most authoritarian societies may also face few rebellions, despite a higher level of grievance, because group conflict tends to be suppressed by the state (p. 485).

But, of course, in democratic systems grievances can also happen and the main difference here is the efficiency in which such rebellion acts are repressed by authorities, with the use of violence and force to minimize political risks to states, as Kinsella and Rousseau (2008) also affirm:

Although partially democratic systems, just like fully democratic systems, may permit the mobilization of groups whose interests are at odds with the policies pursued by the government, they are also quicker to repress protests, strikes, and other forms of civil disobedience, thereby inflaming discontent and resentment even as they close off opportunities for groups to redress their grievances. When a regime combines the permissive elements of democracy with the repressive elements of autocracy, the risks of violent domestic conflict are at their highest (485).

To explain wars there are some interesting theories in different areas. There are psychological theories that argue that human beings are naturally violent; biological theories that argues that the victory over another people is inspiring; the demographic theories that focuses on Malthusian theory and expanding population that causes war; sociological theories like the Primacy of Domestic Politics that focuses on war as product of domestic conditions, and the Primacy of Foreign Politics that focuses on statesmen's decisions and geopolitical situation to keep peace; and also the Rationalist theories explained before. Also we have Economic theories arguing that war is a product of an economic competition searching for natural resources; and Political Science theories, such as the Realist theory. At this point we will keep the focus on the

Political Science and International Relations' war theories that can give us a great understanding of what war means to our world.

The theories of war and peace known as realist theories focus on post-Cold War (Brown, Cote, Lynn-Jones & Miller, 1998). The context in which many studies were working is a bi-polar world once it was the Cold War scenario and then the post-Cold war in which a multipolar world emerged. The multipolar world could bring some political difficulties to some countries due to the destabilization that a world with too many potential leader states could bring in their running to be the one, and then it was a theoretical difficulty to establish a clear order in a multipolar world, and so there was not a unique military power to "establish" order in the world, which could allow other states to initiate some conflicts or some anarchical movements to reclaim the world. The work of Brown, Cote, Lynn-Jones & Miller (1998) informs that a way to prevent this was keeping those two potencies (USA and Russia) fighting each other to maintain such stability on the world. It is a very interesting point of view. But, somehow, and with the help of UNSC those two potencies keep on maintaining the stability in the world even if they are not fighting each other like on the old times. They still control the world peace. It is important to remember that peace is also not a nature condition at all, so it must be constructed, and then established. As Kant affirmed:

The state of nature (*status naturalis*) is not a state of peace among human beings who live next to one another but a state of war, that is, if not always an outbreak of hostilities, then at least the constant threat of such hostilities (Kleingeld 2006, p. 72).

Immanuel Kant (2006) argued that within human beings ethical values and moralities evil and good coexist and also the ability to choose between both of them. Also, nature is an arena in which human morality objectives reside. The real morality is only guaranteed by the free choice of human beings in focusing on good or evil. So, by this thought it is also valid that once states are operated by human beings with potential to do it, a peace agreement is also a

place in which the choice of evil and good coexist together. Peace and conflict are results of human being's moralities and values. As Kant (*apud* Kleingeld, 2006) pointed:

Moreover, being hired out to kill or be killed seems to constitute a use of human beings as mere machines and tools in the hand of another (the state), a use which is incompatible with the rights of humanity in our own person (Kleingeld, 2006, p.69).

C. What about women and girls? War and Gender

At this segment of the text we intend to clarify some important notes about women, girls and war/conflicts. First we will point out a few arguments about the theme by some important authors and authoresses, and at the second part we will present a schedule with important works about gender and war to expand the reader's point of view and facilitate further studies about it.

The first study was done by United States Institute for Peace (USIP), called "Gender, War and Peace-building". This study-guide works upon United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSC) 1325, adopted in 2000, and the absence of women acting as peacekeepers or even "stakeholders". By doing this (i.e. the women's absence), states can be incurring more than one case of violence against women because it violates women's human rights by denying women their participation in all the peace agreements, plus violating their economic and social condition in societies, and a case of justice. But the women's and war/peacekeeping studies did not intend to make them all visible but, furthermore, it intends to look for a genuine process of inclusion.

Wars in the past two decades have heightened awareness of the vulnerability of noncombatants in civil strife. Civilians in every major conflict – Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador and others – have been regularly targeted as a tactic of war. Women have not escaped this targeting – in fact, in many conflicts, women have been

particular targets, as armed forces attempt to demoralize their opponents. At the same time, women have not participated in political negotiations to end their conflicts. Neither have they been included in many UN-sponsored mediations. As a result, a special concern for women's issues is often missing from peace settlements, hampering reconstruction and reconciliation processes. (USIP, n.d, p.2).

Goldstein (2001) also emphasizes the importance of women and war studies to understand how war affects women and girls by using them as sexual weapons, and also how they were the primary targets of massive wars:

Recently, the roles of women in war have received increased attention in both scholarship and political debate. US moms went off to battle in the 1991 Gulf War, to a global audience. Since then, women have crept slowly closer to combat roles in Western militaries. Meanwhile, women were primary targets of massacres in war in Rwanda, Burundi, Algeria, Bosnia, Southern Mexico, and elsewhere. The systematic use of rape in warfare was defined as a war crime for the first time by the international tribunal of the former Yugoslavia (...) Despite this growing attention to women in war, however, no comprehensive account has yet emerged on the role of gender in war – a topic that includes both men and women but ultimately revolves around men somewhat more than women (Goldstein, 2001, p.04).

At this point, UNSC 1325 makes an important and crucial contribution to put women into peacekeeping and peace agreements efforts, by giving them visibility and marking this a kind of amendment, women and girls (and so, gender) have being the focus of decision-makings and also promoted women to work as decision-makers about peace and security and as negotiators. It was the very first one of its kind and was adopted only in 2000 (USIP, n.d):

It is important to emphasize that UNSCR 1325 did not develop in a vacuum, but instead was informed by the commitments of the Beijing Platform for

Action in 1995 and a number of other initiatives that tenaciously tackled the issues of increased gender-based violence and discrimination in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations at the end of the 20th century. It gradually became obvious that the end of the Cold War had changed not only the international political environment but also the nature of warfare, i.e., from mainly inter-state to predominantly intra-state, with ethnic and religious differences becoming increasingly a cause or a pretext for violent conflict. The civilian population in general, and women and children in particular, thus have become the frontlines of warfare, subjected to systematic attacks by state armies and violent non-state actors alike. Major General Patrick Cammaert, a former UN Peacekeeping Commander, has said “it is now more dangerous to be a woman than to be a soldier in modern conflict.” Moreover, the women have been systematically sidelined and excluded from meaningful participation in peace processes. It is this situation that UN Security Council Resolution 1325 seeks to redress (USIP, n.d, pp. 2-3).

USIP (n.d) brought some data about women and peacekeeping and peacebuilding, by using United Nations Development fund for Women’s data (UNIFEM), that nowadays is known as UN-WOMEN that presented in a sample of the most 24 peace processes made since 1992 (until 2010), that just 2.5% of their signatories were women, 3.2% of their mediators were women and 7.6% of their negotiators were women. Also, the UN study (USIP, n.d) emphasizes that in 2010 a total of 16% of the peace agreements addressed women’s rights, which means that 34% of them don’t take women’s needs and rights into a relevant context. And it brings another important data that “more than 50 percent of peace agreements fail within the first five years of signature” (USIP, n.d., p.4). This is even more interesting since by peace agreements justice can be done, and peace could be addressed, or must be, but also “further delays in the implementation of full and effective integration of women in the field will likely result in failure to adequately address such issues as sexual and gender-based violence, women’s rights and post-conflict accountability”.(USIP, n.d, p. 4). The post resolutions to support UNSCR 1325 to achieve all those important goals are the following:

Resolution 1820 (2008)

Recognizes that conflict-related sexual violence is a tactic of warfare, and calls for the training of troops on preventing and responding to sexual violence, deployment of more women to peace operations, and enforcement of zero tolerance policies for peacekeepers with regard to acts of sexual exploitation or abuse.

Resolution 1888 (2009)

Strengthens the implementation of Resolution 1820 by calling for leadership to address conflict-related sexual violence, deployment of teams (military and gender experts) to critical conflict areas, and improved monitoring and reporting on conflict trends and perpetrators.

Resolution 1889 (2009)

Addresses obstacles to women's participation in peace processes and calls for development of global indicators to track the implementation of Resolution 1325, and improvement of international and national responses to the needs of women in conflict and post-conflict settings.

Resolution 1960 (2009)

Calls for an end to sexual violence in armed conflict, particularly against women and girls, and provides measures aimed at ending impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence, including through sanctions and reporting measures (USIP, n.d, p.3).

Goldstein (2001) has worked on an important book about gender and war, but it has some faults when working with gender studies and concepts. Goldstein (2001) works with innumerable cases of women taking part into military operations, and also exposes the polemic theories in which biological theories explain the lack of women in war because of their nature. But the author just shows those theories to argue that in fact cultural constructions were responsible for making women the most targeted on wars and having minor participation on armed conflicts and also on peacekeeping or peacemaking, and that

a gender segregation in childhood was responsible for the poor participation of women on these issues. He is inclined to affirm that this gender segregation enables wars along humankind. It is the same thought from USIP (n.d, p. 4) that affirms that “To some degree, roles and needs may reflect biological differences, but for the most part gender and the different roles, priorities, types of status, and access of women and men are determined by society”. Both of them argue that in many cultures the way girls and boys are socialized determines their roles into society and encourages them to adopt male or female ideals about toughness, strength, aggression, etc.:

These ideals promote the male status of warrior and the preparation for war as a core component of manhood. Girls, on the other hand, are often expected to take on caretaker roles, to raise families, and to be active in local communities rather than on the national political stage. (USIP, n.d., p.4).

At the other side, Goldstein (2002) also affirms that for the boys, being prepared for a war is complicated, because they “need to be dragged kicking and screaming into, constantly brainwashed and disciplined once there, and rewarded and honored afterwards (...) “force men to endure trauma and master fear, in order to claim the status of ‘manhood’” (Goldstein, 2001, pp.263-264). Those constructions also built the absence of women as decision-makers as USIP (n.d.) affirms:

For most of history, men have been seen both as decision-makers and as soldiers. Women’s experiences in war have been little understood. The international community has only recently focused on women’s potential contribution to peacebuilding and on the difficulties that women face in war (USIP, n.d., p. 4).

Prugl (2003) explains that while Goldstein (2001) analyzed the literature about the gender construction he was able to think about the men’s domination over women and made the following questions:

Does male sexuality during wartime cause aggression? Does the feminization of the enemy lead men to rape conquered women and explain the absence of women in their own ranks? Do societies keep women away from combat roles so that they can exploit women's labor more extensively during war?(Prugl, 2003, p. 336).

To answer those questions Goldstein (2001) looks over the use of women as sexual weapons of war by systematic rapes, and other ways used to control and to dominate women. When rape is used strategically as a weapon of war scholars have found that this behavior certainly creates fear and trauma on the entire population, male and female. By this way it has the ability to destroy communities and also families or even be used as a kind of "ethnic cleansing" by forcing sex and making those women pregnant and so "pollute" "that ethnic blood" (USIP, n.d.). Goldstein (2001) affirms that uncoerced sex and the military organized prostitution co-exist. Also he clarifies that those sexual practices by soldiers are due to some "disruption of social norms in war" (Prugl, 2003). USIP (n.d.) brings us some important data about the continuous use of rape in wars perpetrated by soldiers, armed actors and also civilians and rebels:

200,000 "comfort women" who were forcibly drafted into sexual slavery by Japan's army from 1928 until the end of World War II. Many women are still seeking reparations and a formal apology from the Japanese government for these abuses. In another well-known case, some 200,000-400,000 Bengali women were reportedly raped by Pakistani soldiers after Bangladesh declared its independence from Pakistan in the early 1970s. Figures of raped women during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina are disputed, but range from 20,000-50,000 and, in numerous cases, the victims were kept enslaved in "rape camps." More recently, rape has been used as a weapon of war in conflicts in Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.(USIP, n.d., p.5).

What Goldstein (2001) and USIP (n.d.) argue is that rape has been used all over the history and received poor attention in the past centuries. It can be said that rape in warfare is an issue belonging to the post-modernity studies. And the symbolism of raping in warfare circumstances means a “metaphor for the domination of the enemy” (Prugl, 2003, p.336).

C.1. Useful bibliography about war and gender

In the intention of offering more than critical views about conflict and post conflict situations and gender, at this point we intend to offer some literature to honor every researcher that worked with the topic along those twenty years or more and also make a contribution in the field by compiling some important works about gender and war/conflict/post conflict⁵.

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Women are needed in peacekeeping

In this chapter we tried to bring some notions about the conflict and peace theories, arguing that peace agreements are guided by a more structural condition between states or nations. Peace in a post conflict panorama is a long journey to pursue because there are a series of conditions that are needed to establish peace in a country/state/nation. The absence of negative interaction and some kind of positive interaction between states and parallel states, groups, etc. are necessary to realize peace. However, a kind of agreement between big powers about peace maintenance is needed, just like Galtung (1967, p.13) affirms:

If now the big powers are able to keep peace between themselves, to cooperate in sharing the fruits of, exploitation for instance, then this system can remain “peaceful” for years, decades, centuries. (...) The point is the centralization around the dominant power: as long as he or they are able to cooperate, then

chances of avoiding violence are considerable simply because the big power does not need it and the small powers are unable to use violence for lack of resources and training and very often have internalized the values of the big power so well that they do not want basic changes in the structure either.

This was considered a feudal system of peace building, when one has the power over the other that must obey. It is not so different in the contemporary (post)conflict panorama as mentioned on the first part of our chapter. By this way we can also think about a micro power level in which there is a conflict situation in a country, for example, Colombia, which is passing through a post conflict stage, in which is necessary the basic elements to restore peace are necessary for the region with sufficient economic resources to realize this post conflict process:

The conditions most conducive to preventing the outbreak of civil war are related to those most conducive to peace settlements and the reestablishment of political stability in the wake of civil war. The power of the central government must be consolidated, its legitimacy must be established or enhanced by allowing previously excluded groups access to the policymaking process, and sufficient economic resources must be mustered and allocated to support the peace-building process (Kinsella & Rousseau, 2008, p. 286).

But, once this pathway between conflict situations to a post conflict situation is made, it is necessary to argue about the real effects of peacekeeping through those affected by conflicts, especially women and girls who are the main targets in this situation. The nativity on those affected countries is low and the mortality is high, also the life expectations are low, so to rebuild such places and societies is not an easy task. Their societies will live with the consequences of a civil war/conflict:

Can peacekeeping alleviate the permanent effects of civil violence? Here the evidence provides a relatively pessimistic view. A lot of the damage (for exam-

ple due to food shortages) is not reversible. Civil conflict harms the population permanently and inhibits the potential for economic growth. This implies that peacekeeping will, in all likelihood, not lead to strong growth reversals even if expectations improve. However, even if economic growth does not pick up, the combination of violence reduction and humanitarian aid in peacekeeping can prevent further permanent harm to the population (Mueller, 2013, p.25).

Despite women and girls being the main conflict/violence target (sexual abuses, rapes, etc), Bidaseca (2013) explains that it is necessary to change the questions asked by contextualizing the phenomenon keeping in mind the historical patriarchal system, intersectionality and its symbolic efficiency to better understand the nature and the legitimacy of the violence. Then Bidaseca (2013) gave us elements to ask new questions about the way in which women must be assisted when in a post conflict process:

Some of the things that national and international institutions can do to assist women is to provide counseling services, to help them establish property rights, to improve public services for women (especially in healthcare), to offer microcredit programs, to expand skills and vocational training, and to support ministries for women's affairs. Asking for their input, however, is a first priority. As Susan McKay argues in a paper on reconstruction in northern Uganda and Sierra Leone, "At community level, at the level of the institutions which distribute resources, and at the level of national policy formulation, women and girls are usually rendered invisible or are, at best, marginalized by being perceived only as leaders and facilitators of cultural and social reconstruction." McKay goes on to advocate for women and girls to be "recognized and empowered as key actors" in all reconstruction efforts.(USIP, n.d, p.9).

According to some studies with a gender perspective, women are often taken as a less important subjects than men in almost every aspect of society, as González and Amaral (2014, p.181) argue about "how the resistance can be at the same time [an act of] domination?" Women's resistance to being protago-

nists of peacebuilding process could be considered, in a certain way, a form of domination, once women are demanding their subjecthood.

A gendered perspective on war and peace allows us to unpack the effect of excluding women and other groups from power and access and to explore the impact of this exclusion on peacebuilding. It is important to emphasize that such exclusion does not only delineate who sits at the negotiating table but also reflects the lack of access to resources (including information and knowledge), political participation, legal rights and status (land and property ownership, legal documents, due process and representation), and economic rights and status (employment and income). (USIP, n.d, p.4).

It is evident that peacebuilding needs to take on a gender perspective in order to be more resolute, more efficient and more reasonable to achieve peace in places facing post conflict situations. Despite the controversial thinking that wars are being used to achieve peace, women and girls are the most fragile group due in part to the naturalization of the use of the differences to subordinate them in a powerful discourse in which female needs to be protected by male, and in part because of the naturalization of male violent character that, of course, was a socio-cultural construction far away from Nature or an essential manhood or womanhood. More women are needed in the decision making processes to work with peace thinking into high political spheres. Peacebuilding is, first of all, a political decision, and political decisions are most in men's hands, equity is needed to give peace a chance to be remade in our contemporary world.

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CHAPTER 2

Conflict and post conflict borderlines: women as the central piece of conflict resolution

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Abstract

This chapter aims to make visible the strategies of a conflict and post conflict and women as a central key for achieving peace. Also we emphasize in how women's bodies have been used as a strategy of war. Our methodological approach is a literature review done by several authors from four continents which enrich the analytical proposal of this chapter, and also we work with life stories emphasizing women as peacemakers. This chapter hopes to have a global vision about the post conflict processes and the implication of women on it, working with Latin America (America), Europe, Africa and Middle East, and India with authors also from the four continents bringing their views and experiences.

Key words: Women, Conflict, Post conflict, Peace, United Nations.

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Introduction - Strategies

A. If people are afraid, they can be controlled

In post conflict scenery some elements appear to reaffirm the necessity of war and conflicts for governance. Rapport (2015), by analyzing the U.S. politics of post conflict, argues that noncombat operations can be activities that don't need force (primary) to achieve their objectives. Those activities are, for example: "the provision of human assistance; civil affairs operations, up to and including the administration of an occupied territory; the reconstruction of infrastructure; and the reform, restoration, or creation of political institutions", and he affirms that sometimes it can also be taken in a wrong way as "post conflict" or "post combat" operations. And, as demonstrated by Iraq interventions in 2003, those activities may not be developed into a peaceful environment; by saying that it can be "highly suspected". (Rapport, 2015, p.31). By analyzing the United States politics about noncombat, Rapport (2015) affirms that:

The ramifications of poor performance in noncombat operations can be severe. On one hand states may find foreign – imposed regime change a useful tool for preventing future threats. On the other hand forcible regime increases the likelihood of civil war within the target state, and weakly democratic governments imposed by outside powers can make life worse for targeted countries and their neighbors. Given the difficulty of installing governments via force and the propensity of civil wars to draw in regional states, it is distressing that the United States, as the country responsible for the largest number of forced regime changes in the past half century, has apparently not developed a deeper appreciation of the challenges that face such endeavors. Of course, policymakers need not seek regime change for noncombat operations to be crucial for success. (Rapport, 2015, p. 33).

To Bourdieu (2007), symbolic violence is a modality of symbolic power, that differs from structural violence once the latter exists into structures and hi-

erarchies (and for this study our structure and hierarchy is related to the democracy), and it is longitudinal. The naturalization of this powerful relations leads to a common fear from societies to their governments in some ways, and again this fear is also necessary. So, the States also manipulated the structural violence as the symbolic one, and by doing this the society accepts this domination and allows some kind of violence against it. But is this consensual? We believe so; this agreement of violence is consensual, maybe it is a kind of social contract of the violence in which there are some points that violence is allowed by the States and the societies. A mutual contract of violence is accepted, both with official States and parallel States and the societies.

According to Collins (1974), violence is a process which occurs in many micro-situations. Also, the author works with the individual perspective of facing violence according to the fear it causes, like panic situations. Violence is connected in micro and macro level on societies. On the micro level we have violence between individuals, for example, and on the macro level we have state violence between nations. The author Peter Kaufman (2014) affirms that there are some contradictory aspects of violence because in some cases it is accepted and in others, it is not. He used a social classification to violence that is based on three C's: a) Contradictions, b) Contextuality and c) Constructedness. The a) means the contradiction mentioned above between what is acceptable and what is not by society; the b) means that violence is a process that can be acceptable or not depending of the context we are observing and/or participating on it; and the c) means that violence is socially constructed and so also its acceptance, what can differ for some biological studies that affirm that violence is a natural behavior and we human beings were natural born killers.

Hanna Arendt (1970) affirms that violence needs instruments to support its actions, and by citing Hobbes she argues that the social pacts mean nothing if there is not a coercive force behind it; they are just words on paper. So, coer-

cive force is linked to violence, and in this case (State- Society) it is necessary to make these pacts be respected by society.

The philosopher Antonio Negri (2015) argues about political power constitution by their origins through a Machiavellian thought, and it can be useful to this analysis once we study violence as a social phenomenon controlled by States. The constitutional power is a sign of a kind of violence that governments constructed. He argues that to Carl Schmitt this power means “exception state” far away from freedom, but to Negri (2015) this constitutional power is the reason why we have freedom.

Paolo Virno (2013) affirms that the topic of violence - that has been idolized or exorcised - has been directly linked to takeover by institutions or organisms, and it is part of a mechanism to defend the constitution of a State, and that the nonviolence culture approach may be not so appropriate for this situation.

Every singular constitution used some violence to establish it. Also, as Santino (2003) affirms:

Today’s society produces criminality because of some of its main characteristics (the globalization of capitalism increases the gap between underdeveloped nations and developed nations and between social groups, the financialization of economy and the liberalization of the circulation of capitals offer many possibilities to laundering illegal capitals, the prohibition of drugs has made the traffickers the richest criminals of the history) and the intertwining of legal and illegal economies as well as of criminal organizations and the social and institutional context. Drugs and money laundering are the best known aspects of today’s criminal activities, but the most devastating is the connection between politics and crime (Santino, 2003, p. 347).

And we have Italy with some interesting discourses and politics to sustain

the sovereignty of its State. The Mafia broke the state monopoly on violence. Santino (2003) argues that:

Mass media represents the Mafia as a sort of universal Evil, the “octopus” that controls all criminal activities: from drug to arms trafficking and now even radioactive substances. In reality, the Sicilian Mafia can be considered a “winning model” of Organized Crime (at least until now) due to its complexity and long-standing role in society, but care must be taken against stereotypes that always see the octopus’ tentacles everywhere (...)The Mafia is not a temporary emergency, but a permanent structural phenomenon. It is not anti-State even though, being a criminal organization both external and opposed to the State; it does not recognize the State’s monopoly of power and force. (Santino, 2003, p. 325 - 329)

When you have the preliminary conditions on your side like ones explained by Santino (2003), the illegal and legal together, the criminal and political scenery make emerging parallel states (like Mafia organization) that will struggle with the State for the legitimate use of the force to defend its parallel state. Santino (2003) uses a definition that can be applied to other forms of parallel states. For him, Mafia is “a system of violence and illegality that aims to accumulate wealth and to obtain positions of power; which also uses a cultural code and which enjoys a certain popular support” (Santino, 2003, p. 328). So, as Virno (2013) says,

What happens now that it is considered the existing form of state, the last worthy of being eroded and destroyed, rather than being replaced by a Hyperstate “of all the people”? Perhaps nonviolence becomes the new religion to officiate? It does not seem appropriate. Here is an unforeseen oxymoron; the recourse to force must be understood in relation to a positive order to defend and safeguard (Virno, 2013, p. 124).

In spite of all these facts, the state violence used here by states affirms its social cohesion function, which can be very controversial, but talking about territory violence seems to be the only way to guarantee the unity. However its regulation and the way it will be used can be questioned. And this is important: violence can be useful for mankind, but the intensity, the regulation, the ways and the force are a very delicate issue. Using violence to defend a country is one thing, but the indiscriminate use of this power/force of state violence cannot be acceptable.

B. Combat operations and politics

By the 2005 (two years after the invasion of Iraq) the Defense Department of the U.S. argued that stability and reconstruction to Iraq were now priorities. The General William B. Caldwell “on the preface to the U.S Army’s new field manual on stability operations” issued that: “They shall be given priority comparable to combat operations and be explicitly addressed and integrated across all DOD activities including doctrine, organizations, training, education, exercises, material, leadership, personnel, facilities and planning”. (Caldwell *apud* Rapport, 2015, p. 126).

This manual helped to create an institutional structural force that came into the scene and so civil departments were created to facilitate this new U.S. priority on a post conflict reality. The Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization was created, in which the president George W. Bush was the coordinator of the “planning and implementation of reconstruction and stabilization mission” (Rapport, 2015, p. 127), and other ones like Interagency Management System, that increased the discussion about how policymakers should treat the population security, how new institutions must be created to assure governance and “peaceful political competition” (Rapport, 2015, p. 127-128). The author (Rapport, 2015) affirms that political and also military leaders doesn’t know the costs, risks, and goals on post conflict operations as they know about a major military operations.

To consider an intervention, the focus must remain in

the activities scholars and policy experts have recommended for securing peace after conflict – from the relatively simple task of providing humanitarian assistance to the highly ambitious aim of erecting new legal and political institutions – are unlikely to materialize without some forethought and support from top decision makers. More importantly, the decision to initiate a military intervention should depend on the potential difficulties that could arise in all types of operations and stages of a campaign. Just as leaders may reconsider military action after revising estimates of the opposing side’s strength, they may reconsider intervention if military victory means having to administer an ungovernable territory. Whether or not government reorganization can compel top decision makers to pay greater heed to such factor remains to be seen. (Rapport, 2015, p. 129).

The president of the United States, Roosevelt, when talking about the war scenery on 1940 (a year before Pearl Harbor attacks, so he was under the World War II context), said that “failure of democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction”, and said about the future of the world that it will happen based on

economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants (...) a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor (...) it is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. (Roosevelt *apud* Rapport, 2015, p. 161).

But also something interesting was happening in that moment, the “supremacy of some” on the worldwide. Roosevelt and Churchill met by 1941, and Roosevelt argued that United States and Britain should police the world to prevent interstate war from happening other times. By this time Roosevelt

developed his “four policemen” to assist the world formed by: United States; Britain, China and URSS, to “quash regional disputes before they grew into armed conflicts” (Rapport, 2015, p.162).

The author explains the backstage of World War II, mainly the question about United States and Germany, once Roosevelt noticed that the majority of Germany people were supporting its leader, Hitler, he concluded that also Germany people were dangerous because they were “innately aggressive”. Also, the author writes that

A JCS³ memorandum on conditions in occupied Europe reported that ‘it is believed that we desire a tabula rasa after the collapse of Germany on which to build a peace after a considerable period of trial during a prolonged armistice’.
(Rapport, 2015, p. 162).

Certainly there is another important force that can predict a military campaign - that is the financial cost of it, depending of the amount the campaign will be prohibitive. So economics arrangements can predict when or most important “why” a conflict will occurs. As Rapport (2015) affirms that,

Explanations that rely on the fog of war and opportunity costs to explain strategic assessments share much in common. Both presume that decision makers are procedurally rational actors whose ability to plan ahead is limited only by the constraints placed on them by limited information and resources.(Rapport, 2015, p. 270).

Weitz (2011) wrote about the challenges that security institutions face nowadays, “Nuclear weapons proliferation, containing and eliminating terrorism,

³ Joint Chiefs of Staff– Vietnam. For more information, please also see the Pentagon Papers: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon3/doc230.htm>

building state capacity, and halting genocide” for example (Weitz, 2011, p.10). Also more than these challenges, the most important part of this war governance is how institutions deal with it, the legitimacy or the justification to start a war or finish one depends on the lens in which each security institution looks at the problem and wants to be involved with.

The United Nations began with the countries called “the Allied Powers” during the World War II, calling themselves “United Nations” by 1942. So, they “institutionalized their cooperation by creating an organization, the United Nations, primarily to defend the recurrence of such massive global conflict” (Weitz, 2011, p. 10).

So, the United Nations emerged as a security organization after World War II; it was formed by 50 countries to fight against fascism, on October, 24,1945⁴. “The United Nations provides a platform for the global community to address the myriad issues of governance, included but not limited to security issues”. (Weitz, 2011, p. 12). But the United Nations today faces the emergence of another (security) institution called G8⁵, but its legitimacy is not totally recognized. Also, there are other arrangements of regional security institutions around the world with its own formal rules like: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the Organization of American States (OAS), the European Union, and etc. that can try to focus on the security of outside problems, which means security issues in countries or regions outside the organization’s regional institution countries. On this point, Weitz (2011) affirms that:

This tendency sometimes brings them into complex relationships with the United Nations. While they can help the UN achieve its goals, nonmembers sometimes accuse them of trying to displace the UN as the only organization

4 It was first the League of Nations, an international body created by statesmen like Woodrow (US president) to prevent phenomena like the World War I to happen again.(Weitz, 2011).

5 Russia left the G8, so it is now recognized as G7. Those countries are: the United States of America; Germany; Canada; France; Italy, Japan, and United Kingdom.

empowered under international law to authorize the use of force for purposes other than self-defense.(Weitz, 2011, p. 12).

Although the main objective of United Nations was to work to establish a peaceful world for the future generations stay away and safe from wars, it has failed.

But perhaps the greatest objective of UN was not the alleged world peace, but the “world peace” under control, under a control that belongs to a few countries, in reality. U.S. confirms that by inviting (the U.S. Congress) the brand new organization to establish “its permanent headquarters in the United States” (Weitz, 2011, p. 12). Why? Because when you keep things closed to you it is easier to control it, to know what is happening to it, to guard it. And, as almost every international organization economy was in UN agenda, some believed that World War II could have been helped by the Great Depression on 30’s. So, free trade was on the political agenda of the brand new organization (along with security, peace, nonviolence tools, international law, etc). Another important point that put UN ideals in check, is that the Chapter 19 on the UN Declaration affirms that “the United Nations is not authorized ‘to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state’”(Weitz, 2011, p. 14)⁶. Another fact is that the UN Security Council has as permanent members only five “powerful” countries – 5UNSC (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and the United States). Also only 10 states are elected by a General Assembly for two-year terms, and these states are distributed by UN “traditions” by only 2 Latin American states and only 1 Eastern European state. The rest of the vacancies are distributed this way: 5 between Asian and African states and 2 on Western European states (Weitz, 2011). It seems unfair that a large community like Latin America is reserved only 2 vacancies while a small community (in comparison with L.A.) like Western

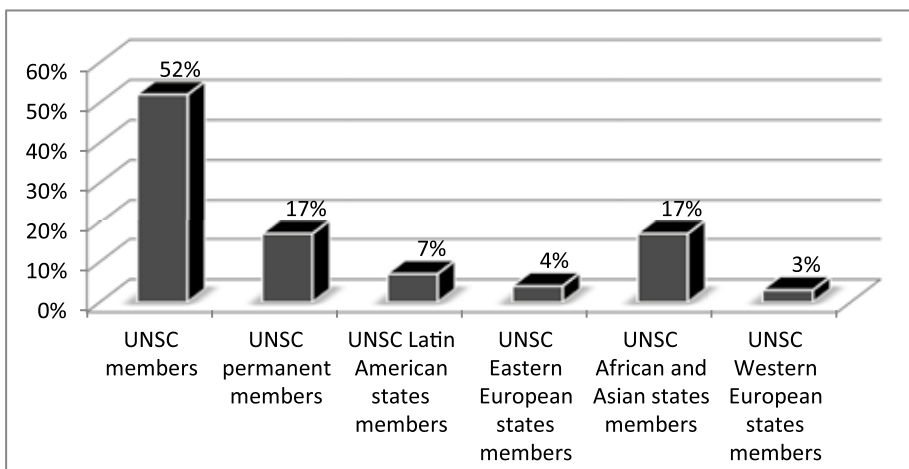
⁶ The Vaticano, Kosovo and Taiwan were not recognized as nation state by UN, and don’t take part into UN Councils. Actually, Weitz (2011, p. 46) affirms that those countries did not “meet the UN criteria” for being considered so.

European States has the same amount of vacancies. The UN are a very strategic organization, and it doesn't want "just" a world peace or a friendly world.

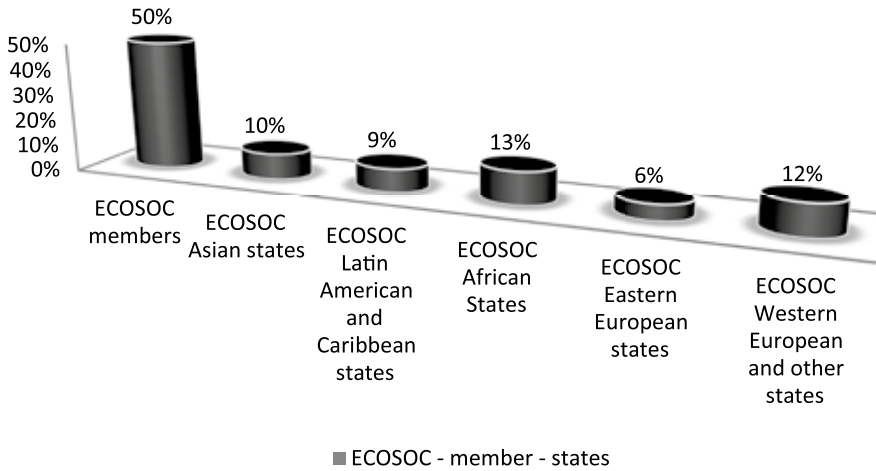
As Weitz (2011) explains, this UNSC works based on:

Each UNSC member has one vote. Procedural decisions, such as whether to discuss an issue in the Council, require the affirmative vote of at least 9 of its 15 members. No country has the power to veto procedural decisions. Substantive decisions require nine affirmative votes, as well, but also the support or abstention of all 5 permanent members. This requirement for unanimity among the permanent members gives each of them "veto" power over substantive decisions, such as a decision to send troops to a location. (Weitz, 2011, p. 14).

By way of comparison, another important organism from the UN is the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), that has 54 member states for a three-year mandate, and is geographically structured by allowing: 14 African states, 11 Asian states, 6 Eastern European states, 10 Latin American and Caribbean states, and 13 Western European and other states. If we put those data into graphics we will have these:



Graphic 1. UNSC Member - Vacancies - States



Graphic 2. ECOSOC - Members - Vacancies

By analyzing these graphics it is clear that between these two organisms inside UN, the UNSC has more concern about selecting who can and who cannot take part into the commission. On the second graphic we have 50% more state vacancies that the first graphic, of course because there are more positions in general, but the proportion is more balanced in the second graphic than in the first one. On the second graphic some regions had increased more than others in comparison with the first graphic. Almost everyone region grows well, except Eastern European states that only grown 1%. This shows us that the UN has some particular interests and strategies to the world, and we must make accurate our perspectives about UN and peace.

Also, it seems urgent that an organism like those ones must be constructed in relation to gender issues, also with regional states with veto power or decision and with a more feminist political agenda that could work on women in the front line of peace agreements, for example. UN- Women, for example, seems to be just an answer to the outside pressure (feminist perhaps) to incorporate women's agenda and issues, but this organism did not have so much power as the other ones above. It is necessary to claim this power to UN-Women

too or it may seem just an aesthetic UN organism. As an example, the UNSC can control arm sales, investigate disputes, send diplomatic envoys to mediate them, call for negotiations, propose and enforce ceasefires, conduct other peace-promoting activities, impose sanctions, deploy peacekeeping forces, and authorize various military actions (Weitz, 2011, p. 17).

But otherwise, the UN-Women cannot have this power to authorize military actions, for example, in states in which femicide is increasing and those states did not work well in decreasing it (example: Mexico). A UN-Women revision of its own strategies, and claim for more independence inside UN is urgent..

C. Political economy of Armed Conflicts

Ballentine and Nitzchke (2003) worked on a policy report about the implications on economy in issues of wars. They studied some country case studies like: Colombia, Kosovo, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Burma, and Papua New Guinea. Some of their studies will be used here to emphasize how profound war issues can be to states and even to the world, because:

While there is overall agreement that economic factors matter to conflict dynamics, there is little consensus as to *how* they matter and *how much* they matter relative to other political and socio-cultural factors. The answers to these questions are not merely academic. Improved understanding of the causes, character, and dynamics of intra-state conflict can lead to more effective policies for conflict prevention and resolution; conversely, inadequate analysis may result in inappropriate policy responses and ill-conceived solutions. (Ballentine & Nitzchke, 2003, p.2).

As an example about the relation between economic factors and wars, we will use the emblematic case of D.R Congo (DRC-Africa) and its rebel exploitation of natural resources. The authors explain that when you have a region with resource abundance (and in particular if this region is not developed) the risk of armed conflict is considerable because there are “rebel aspirations

for self-enrichment and/or by the opportunity for rebellion that easy access to natural resources provides to would be insurgents” (Ballentine & Nitzschke, 2003, p. 3). Also the exploitation of the natural resources can help to develop insurgencies and insurgency groups that are fighting for control of some regions – a kind of parallel state – using for that the money that came with that exploitation, like the diamonds and electronic components that people use on their cellular phone, for example, in DRC. When a state fails in protecting its citizens and fails in giving them the necessary conditions to survive, so these insurgent armed groups reclaim the formation of parallel states (not official) with their own rules and strategic focus. They stay in a powerful condition because they use two tools that are fairly efficient to control a population: armed soldiers and the fear of its population. Violence here is the instrumental action to make the population fear these parallel states, and so to surrender to them.

Political approaches see conflict as a result of state weakness, which is characterized by the lack of ability to monopolize force, maintain order within its territory, and generate resources to provide public goods, which can lead to the erosion of legitimate authority and capacity for effective governance. (Ballentine & Nitzschke, 2003, p. 4).

Corruption is another efficient way to bring conflicts to a state, when people perceived that a government is corrupt and the population is becoming poor and without minimum conditions to survive, the population no longer trusts this government and this can open multiple doors to establish armed conflicts there, which can result in a “violent state collapse” (Ballentine & Nitzschke, 2003, p. 4). A different perspective about economic development and the end of corruption could prevent some conflicts from existing. For that is urgent that economic policies and fair trade be preserved to develop those countries in need of development. On the other hand, for that armed group is interesting that this chaos continues to exist because it makes their resistance more effective and powerful, so “that combatants prefer protected war to peace” (Ballentine & Nitzschke, 2003, p. 5).

The authors analyzed the Colombian case that could easily be featured on some characteristics mentioned above, with the main problem about trafficking and inefficient policies to stop it, and they said that

Drug cultivation provides large parts of the rural population in Colombia with important livelihoods. Interdiction and eradication efforts aimed at curtailing the income for guerrillas and paramilitaries, complemented by poorly implemented alternative development programs, not only raise the profitability of, and thus the incentives for, increased narcotics cultivation, they also disproportionately hurt the poor, causing further grievances and increasing local support to guerrilla movements (...) Policy-makers' view of the legitimacy and motives of armed groups has profound implications for conflict resolution in determining the choice of policy responses. For example, the depiction of the guerrillas and paramilitaries as mere criminals and, more recently, terrorists by the Colombian government and the U.S. calls for a military defeat rather than diplomatic negotiation. (Ballentine & Nitzschke, 2003, p. 6).

In this way it is possible to understand that the main problem is in the way states deal with armed conflicts: trying to stop it by violent tools but not giving them the possibility of working on citizenship values like employment, for example. Working to give more development opportunities is necessary for those countries. The reasons why we still have armed conflicts nowadays are two⁷ that can possibly be just one: money.

D. Women in the front line of conflicts

D.1. The Anarchy

Women taking part into post-conflict situations can be considered a kind of anarchy, once their "natural" place to be was a private sector, not a public one, never a war or a post conflict space. To better understand this concept, we will observe how some authors understand this point of discussion. Michel (2010)

⁷ Religious beliefs are the other reason.

affirms that anarchists “resist authority as the source of servility and slavery, if not the source of all the ills of the world. For them constraint is ‘synonymous with prison and police’ (...) they are not united by any discipline. (p.214). Judith Butler (2012) gave a very elucidative interview about what anarchy means for her nowadays.

According to Butler (2012),

If you follow, for instance, the weekly demonstrations at Bi’lin⁸, you can see that human bodies are put into the path of machines that are building the separation wall, are exposing themselves to tear gas, and literally producing an interruption and redirection of military power. The point is to enter into the scene, the building, the movements, to stop them, to redirect them, but also to deploy the body as an instrument of resistance. Of course, it is important that there are cameras there, on the scene, and these machines function as counter-machines, documenting Israeli state violence, but also interrupting its effort to control media coverage of its own actions. Since racism is at the basis of this segregation wall, we see as well the “scandal” of violence being done against Israeli activists (...) There is an important “queer anarchist” component to these demonstrations, and it has to do with episodic, direct action, drawing on older traditions from ACT UP, for instance. But it also has to do with exposing and stopping the violence of an ostensibly legal authority.

I think this last is important to point out, since when the legal regime is itself a violent regime, and legal violence consumes all recourse to due process or legal intervention, then anarchism becomes the way of contesting and opposing the violent operation of the state (...) So anarchism in the sense that interests me has to do with contesting the “legal” dimensions of state power, and posing disturbing challenges about state legitimacy. The point is not to achieve anarchism as a state or as a final form for the political organization of society. It is

8 An Israeli /Palestinian social movement called “Anarchists Against the Wall”.

a disorganizing effect which takes power, exercises power, under conditions where state violence and legal violence are profoundly interconnected. (Butler, 2012, p.20-22).

So, what those women are doing by occupying the public arena is in certain circumstances an anarchical movement that women were given voice to stay side by side with men's voice in case of some resistance and in conflict situations. Hannah Arendt (2011) when explaining about modern revolutions, begins arguing about how the historical materialism was an important vehicle to explain the natural violence and war emergence in modern times. The revolts and subversions by peculiar interests (and political, of course), mostly bloody and violent, was based on the existent difference between poor and rich social classes, that was understood as natural and also inevitable in political bodies and in mankind. By what was explained before about the politics of war and conflicts and how rebels struggle for money control, we can affirm that what Arendt (2011) argued continues making sense when applied to the actual conflict situations explored later on this chapter by personal testimonies of peace-makers. Also, Arendt (2011) explains the political view of freedom – this concept usually used in so many post conflict situations and also a political target which can mean that the use of freedom can be a political strategy to keep a sovereignty of a state or a group of people⁹. According to Arendt (2011), the concept of freedom emerged with the Greek state-cities as a political organization way in which citizens used to live together without a central domination, in other words, without the dominated and the dominators. If we realize the words of Butler (2012) about anarchy we can see that she rescues that old Greek conception of freedom and domination from states over its citizens:

We can say that the state is permanent, but certain state formations are not. But maybe it is equally true to say that because there is no “state” that is not at once

⁹ Arendt (2011) keeps in evidence that this freedom belonged to the ones who possess (material) conditions to be considered citizens into the democratically state-cities.

a state formation, states are the kinds of arrangements that come into being, alter, and are dissolved. It seems to me that the right to revolution depends on the possibility of the state being dissolved by the concerted will of the people. This is a certain power that popular sovereignty has over state sovereignty, and I want to hold on to this notion. It is true that certain states project their permanence, even try to institute that permanence, but they can only do this through fortifying the effects of their legitimacy and, of course, their armed power – army and police alike. So does it not make more sense to say that the state is always in the process of re-instituting its effect of permanence, and that critical interventions can be made at the various sites where that re-institution takes place. In other words, that re-institution is not guaranteed, and that lack of guarantee can be exposed by strategies we call anarchist (Butler, 2012, p. 22).

For so many decades this place was meant to be the exact place for men to work into their own politics and policies. How it is possible that a peace agreement, for example, could be planned excluding women? If women gave birth to half of humanity and they are the other half of humanity, how they could be outside of post-conflict policies and resolutions? The answer is gender stereotypes. For so long women were meant to belong to the private sphere, which means to take care of the home, children and husbands. Public issues belonged to men. They (women) have a constructed sex, this constructed sex put women in a prison. No, not the feminine sex, but the man's concept of what a feminine sex should mean to society. The feminine sex means things like: fragility, children, weakness...and also it is a condition that allows men to use the vagina as a way to show that women are objects that they possess. Rape is being used as a way of conquering territories, as a weapon of war.

D.2. Sexual violence as a weapon of war

The statistics on sexual violence in conflict are uncertain because the official statistics must be lower than the real data, because the sources which work upon those statistics are based on cases reported or when medical attention was needed (Palermo & Peterman, 2011). So, statistics about this issue is just

an estimate. Also, according to Palermo and Peterman (2011), is hard to get the information through household surveys because there is a huge stigma with girls and women who suffered sexual violence; they can face prejudice from their families, husbands, partners, society, etc.

Even though we will mention here the estimate about the use of sexual violence in conflict and post conflict cases, they are also alarming. The Bosnian war had 200.000 cases of rape during the war, by a report from European Commission by 1993 – the conflict lasted more three years since then – point out Palermo and Peterman (2011). Also, we have the following statistics:

more than three quarters (75%) of Liberian women were raped during the country's civil war, despite the evidence from peer-reviewed studies which have estimated the prevalence of rape to have been between 9.2% and 15%. The three-quarters estimate originates from a study conducted on a sample of survivors of different types of sexual violence, of whom 77% had experienced rape (DK Cohen & AH Green, unpublished data, 2011) (...) Estimates of rape during the 1994 Rwandan genocide range from 250 000 to 500 000 individuals. Calculated by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Rwanda in a 1996 report, these estimates were extrapolated from the number of recorded pregnancies resulting from rape (approximately 2000–5000) (...) The Democratic Republic of the Congo has been called the “rape capital of the world”. Media and advocacy coverage often state that “tens of thousands” of women have been raped during the conflict spanning more than a decade from the mid-1990s. More than 15 000 rapes were reported each year to the United Nations mission in the DRC in both 2008 and 2009, and this number has commonly been used to infer a magnitude of sexual violence in the country (...) In contrast, a recent study using population estimates and data from the nationally representative Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) conducted from 2006–2007 showed that the rate of rape among women aged 15 to 49 years in a 12-month period was 26 times higher than the estimates based on reports to United Nations authorities (Palermo & Peterman, 2011, párr. 7-9).

Rape has been used as a military strategy over a group of people or societies to affirm the domination against them by the ones who possess the power and the force to do it, but was only punishable by the international law in the later twentieth century (Ayele, 2011) . Generally they are used by rebel or soldier groups who uses women's and girls' fears to be controlled, and this control is by violating their bodies, which means that those women and girls are nothing but a conquest to those rebel/soldier groups. Also by violating those women and girls, it is considered a humiliation to those societies which rebel groups intend to control. Women's and girls' bodies are a military strategy field. According to Diken and Laustsen (2005, par.1):

In war rape the soldier attacks a civilian (not a fellow combatant) and a woman (not another male soldier), and does this only indirectly with the aim of holding or taking a territory. The primary target here is to inflict trauma and through this to destroy family ties and group solidarity within the enemy camp (...) rape is the mark of sovereignty stamped directly on the body, that is, it is essentially a bio-political strategy using (or better, abusing) the distinction between the self and the body (...) the penetration of the woman's body works as a metaphor for the penetration of enemy lines.

Another study by Ayele (2011), works on the consequences of mass rape as a weapon of war. In her studies, she found that this practice brings a lot of

Grave physical consequences including injury to body parts and organs, unwanted pregnancy, contraction of HIV and STDs, and death. The mental ramifications which often go unrecognized include loss of dignity, depression, loss of family and community support, isolation and shunning. (Ayele, 2011, p. 1).

Also, the author brings us two tables with some interesting data about mass rape in recent modern conflicts that we will reproduce here by Ayele (2011, p.4-5):

Table 1. Locations of mass rapes in recent conflicts

Sub-Saharan Africa	Asia	Americas (Central/South)	Europe	Middle-East & North Africa
Burundi	Afghanistan	Argentina	Bosnia	Algeria
Chad	Bangladesh	Brazil	Chechnya	Kuwait
Congo (Zaire)	Myanmar	El Salvador	Croatia	
Cote D Ivora	Cambodia	Guatemala	Cyprus	
Liberia	East Timor	Nicaragua	Kosovo	
Mozambique	India	Peru	Sebia	
Rwanda	Indonesia	Haiti*	Turkey	
Sierra Leone	Pakistan			
Somalia	Sri Lanka			
Sudan	Vietnam			
Uganda				
Zimbabwe				

* Considered part of North America

Table 2. Prevalence of rape in recent conflicts

Uganda (1980-1986)	70% of women in the Luwero District reported being raped by soldiers. A large proportion of the survivors were assaulted by as many as 10 soldiers in a single episode of gang rape.
Liberia (1989-1994)	15% of women interviewed reported being the victim of rape, attempted rape of sexual coercion.
	A world Health Organization study found 33% of women reported rapes. More than one attacker was present in over half of the incidents, and weapons were used in the great majority (90%)
Rwanda (1994)	Overall estimates on the number of rapes range from 15700 (Rwandan Government) to 500000 (UNSpecial Representative). These rapes were committed in less than 100 days.
	In april 2004, a local organization, Windows of the Genocide, polled and tested 1200 of its 25000 members and found that 80% had been raped and 66% were Hiv-positive.
Sierra Leone (1991-1999)	In a Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) survey, 13% of households reported some form of war related sexual violence. The prevalence rate during the ten-year civil war was equal to the lifetime prevalence of non-war related sexual violence among the study participants.
	53% of respondents in the PHR study who had "face to face" contact with the rebel forces experienced some form of sexual violence 33% of the rape victims were gang raped.

D.R Congo (1992-1995)	Human Righth Watch estimates that as many as 33% of the women in the country were raped, including up to 80% in any given community
	The International Rescue Committee (IRC) estimates that for every rape reported, 30 are not.
Bosnia (1993-1995)	While the figures are in dispute, it is estimated that between 20000 and 50000 women were raped, most of them Muslims.
	NGOs have alleged that more than 35000 women and children were held in Serb-run rape/death camps, where women 10-30 years of age were raped daily by 40-50.
Kosovo (1999)	In some villages in Kosovo, 30-50% of women of child-bearing age were raped by Serbian forces

Note: “The use of rape as a weapon of war in the conflict in Dafur, Sudan” Program on Humanitarian Crises and Human Rights, François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights

Ayele (2011) presents a feminist theory about the phenomenon of mass rape, explaining that by a *Feminist Theory’s view*, the female’s domination is the main agent of mass rape, and she argues that most of those territories in which mass rape occurs are culturally patriarchic, which explains the use of female bodies as their own masculine territory to exercise domination.

The feminist view is that mass rape occurs because of man’s desire to exert dominance over woman and that the woman body is another territory or property to be gained from the enemy. Historically, many of the communities in which mass rape has occurred have been communities that base high value on honor, virginity, chastity, marriage and kinship¹⁰ (Ayele, 2011, p.6).

There are at least four types of theory that are used to explain the massive rape phenomenon: The Feminist Theory (explained above), the Cultural Pathology Theory, the Genocidal Rape Theory and the Strategic Rape Theory (Ayele, 2011).

In general lines, the Cultural Pathology Theory explains that historical and

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sociocultural facts influence the psychosocial analysis of a society's mass rape behavior during conflicts (example: the excessive militarization of the society lead to more brutality and the disrespect of women – Japanese society is one example pointed by the author). The Genocidal Rape Theory is that theory in which you substitute an entire population by fertilizing their women and girls through massive rape to dilute that blood into another one, replacing that society for another one. This can be used as a kind of ethnical cleansing, for example. The Strategic Rape Theory deals with the fact that mass rape is a war strategy: “rape during war creates fear, shame and demoralization not only to the individual but also the family and community at large.” (Ayele, 2011, p. 7). Most important is that the fear caused by the threat of mass rape of a community tends to evacuate its members, and also prevents those members from fighting against rebel/soldier groups (Ayele, 2011).

Proponents of strategic rape theory argue that wartime rapists do not rape because they hate the victims as suggested by the genocidal rape theory but rather to make the victims hate them enough not to want to return. In essence, mass rape becomes a form of communication using the woman's body to send a message to the community or the men on the opposing side of the conflict that life together or coexistence is no longer possible. This form of communication is only necessary where territorial boundaries have not been put in place and are still being contested. Mass rape ensures that the victims if still alive after the conflict ends will not return to the territory where the rape occurred and the enemy will easily claim the land, such would be the case in Yugoslavia.(Ayele, 2011, p.8).

Ayele (2011) argues that in spite of economic effects of mass rape violence that affects poor countries and villages in which women and girls work actively to their own subsistence, and in those countries in which virginity is still a valued symbol of economic charges between patriarchic families, the psychological effects are the most complicated because it can lead to suicidal efforts by women and girls. Again, Ayele (2011, p.26) presents one more table

that is useful to see the reach of this healthy problem that is the mass rape in conflicts:

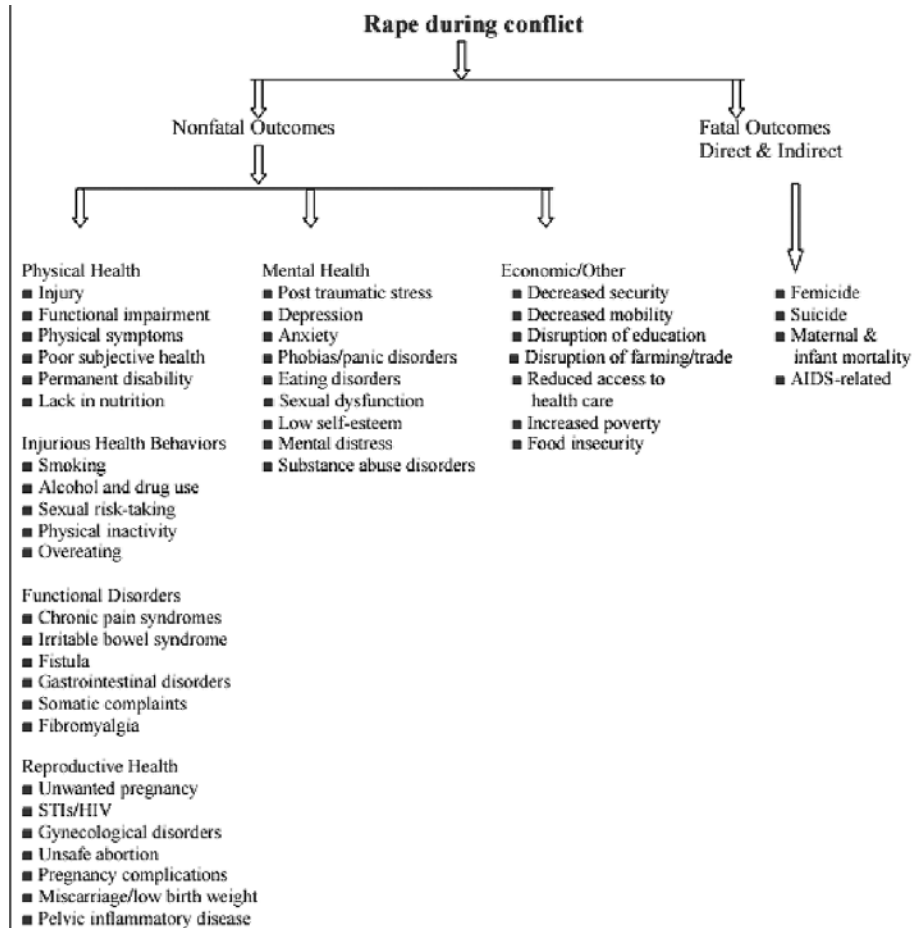


Figure 2. Health Outcomes of Mass Rape during Conflict
Adopted from Ellsberg et al. (2005)

Besides all of these traumas, there are a lot more physical traumas like vaginal and rectal trauma and the risk of increasing HIV and other Sexually Transmitted Diseases infection into girls, women and even boys. In spite of all the risks and the traumas, Ayele (2011, p.51) affirms that these women: “affected by violence (...) are not waiting to be saved. They continue to struggle to gain

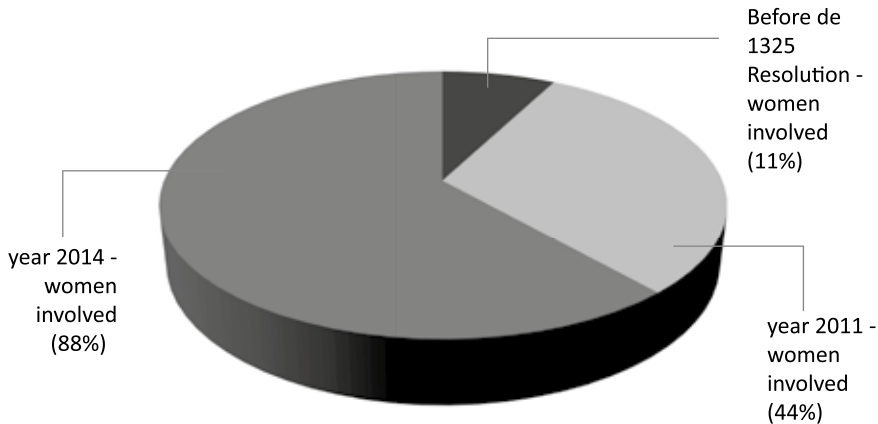
control over their lives and strive to bring peace (...) to their communities and homes”.

D.3. Women and conflict resolution

According to a note from United Nations (Junior, 2015), the executive director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka said that women are being called to take part into post-conflict situations in a moment in which the Resolution 1325 completes 15 years. This resolution recognized the importance of women in conflict resolutions:

The Security Council adopted resolution (S/RES/1325) on women and peace and security on 31 October 2000. The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Resolution 1325 urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts. It also calls on all parties to conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict. The resolution provides a number of important operational mandates, with implications for Member States and the entities of the United Nations system (United Nations, 2000, parr.1).

In this way, Junior (2015) affirms that a global research (in which UN coordinated) showed that peace is stronger in countries in which those women are on the frontline to achieve peace, and in a very important moment in which women are used as violent tool from extremists. According to UN (Junior, 2015) the costs of the violence and conflicts are more than US\$ 14 trillion to the planet. And, before the Resolution 1325 only 11% of the peace agreements involved women. By 2014 it reaches 88%, which means 50% plus of 2011, as we can see in the graphic below:



Graphic 3. Women involved or referenced into peace agreements around the world

Resource: UN Data (Junior, 2015).

However, in spite of this increase in women, 75% of the peace agreements of the last 15 years did not mention women (Junior, 2015) into their resolutions.

D.4. Gender and feminist theories on peace studies

Catia Confortini (2006) claims a feminist approach about peace theories. The author develops a rapprochement between two important authors of peace studies, trying to bring together a peace theory by the violence studies of Johan Galtung with feminist theoretical contributions creating in this way a feminist peace theory. Its importance, according to Confortini (2006), remains on the following:

These contributions have important implications for peace studies: only by taking gender seriously as a category of analysis, can prescriptions for a violence-free society be more than temporary solutions to deeply ingrained attitudes to accept violence as “natural.” (Confortini, 2006, p.333).

It is also important to remember that some elder theories indicate that women were peacemakers by nature, and this is a subject that we still face nowadays

in the twenty-first century when women as peacemakers comes to discussion. It is said that because women can give birth and so create children they are naturally peace activists, because their biological body made them the right ones to peace. And in a sequence of international war/conflicts by World War II, women are being called to take part in the peace process only in the twenty-first century and still under a biological stereotype which causes a refutation by feminist theory.

The association of femininity with peace lends support to an idealized masculinity that depends on constructing women as passive victims in need of protection. It also contributes to the claim that women are naïve in matters relating to international politics. An enriched, less militarized notion of citizenship cannot be built on such a weak foundation. (Tickner *apud* Confortini, 2006, p.334).

Supported by a discourse analysis, Milliken and Sylvan (*apud* Confortini, 2006) studied how U.S high level officials that planned the Vietnam War strategies worked with gender stereotypes. For those officials gender played an important paper, because it defined its foreign policy by targeting women as bodies to be dominated. Female South Vietnamese were subordinated to them, so it was easy to be dominated while male North Vietnamese were competing with them (so, much more dangerous), so they must be annihilated. So, by this observation of gender relations and powers inside Vietnamese society, the high level officials could plan their attacks; the “strategists were also recreating the existing gender order” (Confortini, 2006, p. 351).

Another reference to a sexist discourse in war strategies is given by Carol Cohn (*apud* Confortini, 2006, p.352) that reports a defense analyst discourse about “weapons and war strategies with domestic metaphors” reproduced here:

[i]n the ever-friendly, even romantic world of nuclear weaponry, enemies “exchange” warheads; one missile “takes out” another; weapons systems can “marry up”; “coupling” is sometimes used to refer to the wiring between mechanisms of warning and response, or to the psycho-political links between strategic (intercontinental) and theater (European-based) weapons. (Cohn *apud* Confortini, 2006, p.352).

This discourse has the power to diminish the importance to discuss weapons and war strategies (including nuclear weapons), making it a very domestic issue that people/society didn’t need to think about, just left to those responsible for doing so. And most important as Cohn (*apud* Confortini, 2006, p.352) observed, those metaphors were useful to “act like a contorted replacement of the power to create with the power to destroy”. In other words, it acts “based on the suppression, silencing, and delegitimation of all that is feminine” (Cohn *apud* Confortini, 2006, p.352).

For many academic feminists the association with gender and peace is very delicate and more complex than it could seem. On one hand there is a dangerous theoretical way in which the “association of women with peace is disempowering and harmful for both women and peace” and also for women and their constructed masculinity that can prevent them from working as peacemakers and achieving peace (Confortini, 2006, p. 356), and at the other hand Confortini (2006) argues that it is important to bring feminist theories to peace theories because the gender as a category of analysis is crucial to work on a peace project strategy:

By viewing gender as a social construct, a gender-sensitive theory of violence dispels the myth of a peaceful or peace-prone femininity (and correspondingly a warrior, or war-prone masculinity). We are then able to see that a variety of masculinities and femininities exist, which experience violence in different terms and from different positions of power.(Confortini, 2006, p. 356).

The feminist and gender studies contribute to peace studies by the deconstruction of naturalized relations regarding power and biology, as well as the myth of women as natural peacemakers and man as natural warriors/soldiers. Otherwise “Gender as a symbolic construct allows us to break down gendered dichotomies such as violence/peace”, for example (Confortini, 2006, p.356).

But in spite of this, Sharoni (1994) argued that the beginning of the feminist concern about gender, war and peace was questioning “where are the women?” This simple question revealed the absence of women from social and political instances, even on the battlefields to the negotiation tables. According to Sharoni (1994, p.10):

According to feminist standpoint literature the dominant meanings of peace and security are informed primarily by strategic discourses and military terminology which quite often restrict the understanding of peace to the absence of war and the meaning of security to imperatives of “national security.”

By the time the author wrote her article (1994) she did not find more specialized literature about conflict resolutions and gender studies, so as we can perceive this to be a brand new gender issue to deal with once these conflicts did not seem to have an end on the next generation, and it seems to be important to use feminist and gender theories to not just explain conflicts and war (based on violence to control something) but to give responses and appoint some interesting ways to work on a post conflict scenery and bring peace.

Only few scholars considered the contribution of gender -- both as a category of analysis and as a relational process -- to the study and practice of conflict resolution. This problem is not unique to the field of conflict resolution; gendered relationships and categories of analysis have been taken for granted in almost all academic disciplines as well as by policy makers, diplomats and media analysts around the world. Feminists have demonstrated how ignoring

or marginalizing women's voices and perspectives often results in theories and methods that are partial in that they exclude crucial viewpoints from the processes and theories through which knowledge is sought and constituted (...) To make gender visible in conflict resolution one must raise questions about the often taken-for-granted assumptions which underlie the intellectual and practical foundations of the field. These assumptions ought to be treated as gendered assumptions which have been constructed and mediated through prevailing power relations. (Sharoni, 1994, p. 11).

Sharoni (1994) defends that future feminist interventions have an important role on the intellectual level; they must work about gender and conflict resolutions not just repeating the question about where the women are but incorporating the men, and analyzing the dominant conceptions of masculinity and femininity and how each one is implied in conflict resolutions.

E. Recommendations

As a way to contribute more to the issue worked here, we intend to make some notes to bring peace to the post conflict structural politics.

1. It is urgent that UN-Women became more autonomous and receive the UN status not as just a merely organism inside UN, but as another independent UN institution.
2. It is urgent to have a UNSC – Women to prioritize issues like mass rape, femicide, etc. with independence to act directly on conflict situations with all the structural body and economical support like a UNSC.
3. It is necessary to realize an economic study about the amount of subsidies to the UN-Women in comparison to other UN-organisms to have a real panorama of the amounts given to UN-Women to face gender problems like the ones indicated at this text. By this way we can see if and how (post) conflict and women/gender are on the UN agenda.
4. And, finally, it is necessary to realize more studies bringing gender theory into peace theory and conflict resolutions.

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CHAPTER 3

Conflict and post conflict: women as strategic bodies. The cases of Colombia

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Context of the conflict

The armed conflict in Colombia has its origin long before the appearance of the guerrilla forces in the 1960's. Violent confrontations occurred between the two main political parties liberals (*liberales*) and conservatives (*conservadores*) starting from the nineteenth⁴ century up to the times of the bipartisan

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4 David Bushnell (1986) states that at the end of the decade 1840-1850 the origin of political parties was established in Colombia, it was born a two party system (liberals and conservatives) even before we could talk about a national market or a national culture. Neither their origins nor their ideologies are clear about the political parties in Colombia, some analysts seek their roots as far as Independence days, bringing the ideologies of Bolívar and Santander, economic topics did not affect taking one side or the other, and divisions between the administrative powers (Centralism and Federalism) brought early separations that lasted only for a short time.

At the end of the XIX century the clearest distinguishing mark between the two parties was the relationship they held with the Church. For the conservatives, the Church was a symbol of authority and order, they were for it and defended it strongly, while liberals looked the Church as a centralized power with class privileges which undermined any efforts to modernize the state due to its influence over the people and the control it had on education.

What results incomprehensible in the history of violence in Colombia is the fact that the differences between the two parties do not explain, by themselves, the dimension of violence that actually occurred. The thesis worked by Pearce (1992) is that the insight of political parties in popular conscience has brought about nonexistent divisions, through popular perception people started to believe that differences really existed, and that belief engendered disputes. Peasants in the countryside and poor people in cities were recruited by each side. Death of relatives and friends increased hatred, leaving undesir-

agreement of the National Front (1958-1978) added to the repression against any other government political choice.

In Colombia, political power only served the interests of high classes, excluding the poor, along with a weak democratic opposition, this may explain the appearance of the guerrilla groups FARC (Colombian Armed Revolutionary Forces) and ELN (National Liberation Armed Forces) during the 1960's and 1970's.

At the beginning of the 1980's, violence is intensified with the rise of paramilitaries (private forces created to defend civilians from the guerrillas), the main paramilitary group AUC (the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia) was specially created to fight the guerrilla, and was demobilized between 2003 and 2006.

Apart from the general violence derived from such confrontations, a new concept is to be added to the conflict: drug dealing, and the appearance of new paramilitary structures linked to drug trafficking, this aspect has made the conflict even more complex, leaving civilians as great victims.

The firm "Concepts and Ciphers" in its report *an abducted truth: forty years of statistics about kidnappings 1970-2010*, established in 2013, after more than five years of investigation, that in a lapse of 40 years, 39.000 Colombians were victims of kidnapping, with an impunity rate of 92%. Notably, 37% of the kidnappings were due to FARC and 30% to ELN (Concepts and Ciphers, 2015).

In a scenario marked by widespread violence, people have to flee and move elsewhere. This has meant that Colombia is one of the countries with the high-

able deep roots. Rothlisberger (1963), a witness of the 1885 civil war wrote that the majority of citizens did not fight in favor of one political party or the other but because they wanted to avenge an atrocity.

est number of displaced people. According to the report of the State of World Population 2015, *Shelter from the Storm. A transformative agenda for women and girls in a crisis-prone world*, presented by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) this country ranks second with 6,044,200 displaced persons, the highest in the Western hemisphere, ranking second in the world after Syria with 7,600,000 people (UNFPA, 2015).

On the other hand, the organization “We are defenders” stated in its report *The Nobodies*, that in the first semester 2015, an increase of 105% of violence against defenders related to the same period in 2014 was recorded. Between January and June 2014, the Informing System reported 194 assaulted defenders, while in the same period 2015, there were 399 cases. In relation to sexual assaults in 2015, 65% were men and 35% women. There has been an increase on attacks against female human rights defenders compared to 19% in 2014(We are Defenders Program, 2015).

In a report from the Center National of Historical Memory, called ¡Basta ya!, published in 2013, pursuant to the mandate of Law 975 of Justice and Peace, to prepare a story about the origin and evolution of illegal armed groups, it was established that between the years 1958 and 2012, the conflict was the cause of the death of 40.787 combatants and 177.307 civilians. The number of MIA’s (missing in action) between the years 1981 and 2010 was 25.000, the number of kidnappings rounded 27.023, and murders 150.000. 38.4 % of the latter was attributed to the responsibility of paramilitaries, while 16.8% to the guerrilla forces and 10.1% to the Colombian army. At the end of July 2013, facing the report, the president Juan Manuel Santos said that “it was necessary that the very State recognizes its own responsibility in the conflict in order to ‘turn over the page’ towards a Colombia without fear”. He added that it was necessary to judge the state actors that made alliances with illegal forces to sow violence in the country. It also admitted, however, that “the State was held responsible, either for passively non acting or having direct participation by some of its members, with grave human rights violations” (Center National of Historical Memory, 2013).

Dimension of sexual violence against those women related to the armed conflict in Colombia

When approaching the issue of women's bodies in the armed conflict in Colombia, it is necessary to include the concept of *increased vulnerability* by considering three elements in the analysis.

The first element: the predatory occupation of female bodies in the context of new wars. The second element: the use of women's bodies as weapons, without being considered as warriors. The third element: the psychopathic strokes used by the armed groups in sexual violence.

Relative to the first element, Rita Segato explains the existence of a paradigm in the war model where women's bodies take a predatory position where the State is the promoter and supporter of such an action. "The impression that comes from this new war action is that the aggression, domination and sexual predation are no longer war complements or collateral damage, but must be regarded as a main war strategy" (Segato, 2014: 343).

Women's bodies are a typical expression for writing, and are also documentary proofs and assume the control of war by inflicting moral impairment, the anatomy of women is the means to cipher territorial codes, with lethal capacities to make of their bodies the frame in which the war structure lies (Segato, 2003; Segato, 2011; Segato, 2013 and Segato, 2014).

The State being a promoter at participating in the last scales of violence progression, ignoring that when violence affects the body, it has already installed a complete control system, and it has also recorded a whole history of suffering (Gonzalez, Miranda & Rodríguez, 2015).

On the other side, Munkler (2005) states that it is possible to assert that we refer it as a foreseen and calculated violence that is part of a military strategy, and that is independent from traditional schemes of behavior. In other words,

it is not a “custom” that makes its own way in a war scenario, but a previously planned military strategy. As a consequence, “sexuality derived from violence is to be observed in practically all new type of wars” (Munkler,2005: 86). And following the same line of thought, Caldor (2012) states that mass rapes acquire a new code as a “deliberate war due to the systematic character assumed in detention centers and other determined areas”.

A way to confirm the State responsibility as a sex violence agent is demonstrated in the reports about the state of sexual violence within the frame of the armed conflict. The report *Women, Sexual Violence in the conflict and the Peace Process* (Sisma Woman, 2013) states that in the Colombian system of justice there are many factors that are conducive to sexual crime impunity: An overcharged and inefficient judiciary system, patriarchal attitudes, high levels of corruption, threats and intimidations toward judges, lawyers and witnesses.

The report also states that there is total impunity in most cases, including those crimes that have been the priority of the Colombian Constitutional Court of Law, an organism which has eventually devoted a lot of financial resources, specifically to cope with these crimes.

This impunity finally results in a lack of confidence in the judiciary system that, along with security risks and emotional costs for the survivor, operate as a source of discouragement for those women who want to report such crimes. It should be underlined that, about 18% of women in Colombia report sexually violent crimes. Other reasons that account for the lack of reports, focuses on the idea that women are not heard, and their accusations are not taken seriously, must be documented and duly proved before starting a police investigation. In general, women are not given the necessary support nor are sent to medical centers for due attention.

Their cases as there is poor coordination between these organizations, resulting in ill attention, all of which, is like a revictimization (SismaMujer,2013: 3).

The second element: Why is the woman's body used as a weapon, if they are not warriors?

Using the body as a strategy of war. It is today's battlefield, a body where social and territorial control is held above common women behavior and the community. The rape is referred to, in this context, as one of the many different ways of sexual violence. Aggression through sexual organs, sexual harassment, including sexual humiliation, forced marriages and forced unions, including under aged marriages, forced prostitution, and women trade and sexual abuse, forced nudity, forced pregnancy, forced miscarriage, denial of the right to avoid pregnancy, or to adopt protective measures against illnesses, or on the contrary, imposition of anti-birth methods, sexual violence threats, sexual blackmail, the acts of violence that affect the sexual integrity of women, such as female sexual organ mutilation, and checking to probe virginity (Group of Memory History, 2011: 214). Different acts of violence are committed against women due to their community and political work, to their sexual orientation, for having sexual relations or being related to members of the armed enemy groups, or because they carry the HIV or AIDS, as a warning mechanism, as a retaliation measure, as one way to show power and disrespect to the enemy, and finally as a torture resort.

Therefore, for the Working Group on Women and Armed Conflict (2010: 11), sexual violence is defined as “a polyfunctional war weapon. By using it, it is possible to reach different aims: dominate, regulate, be silent, obtain information, punish, expropriate and/or exterminate those who are considered enemies, reward or press the group that commits it”.

Additionally, in Colombia, sexual violence is used by armed groups, not only as a weapon but as a form of control, to “seek to discipline the behavior of women: the right to decide freely on their emotions and relationships, your body and your sexuality, and thereby strengthen traditional gender roles that increase inequality of power in relationships between men and women” (Working Group on Women and Armed Conflict, 2010: 11).

In Rita Segato's words, it is a "pedagogy of cruelty" (2014)

Presently, a change has occurred from the old role that the women body had in the war scenery. In informal wars that are expanding at present, women bodies are sexually tortured till death, and destruction is destined to it, through abuse and sexual attack for its profane character of what is to be kept safe. As we have said in other occasions: "women bodies, similar to a battlefield", since inside the body of a woman we can find aggression, demoralization, threatening, demobilization, and eventually incapability of the group of men in charge of their surveillance and protection, with hate against non-war victims that had never been known before (Segato, 2014: 364).

Diken and Bagge (cited by Bulent & Bagge, 2005) explain how sexual violence in the frame of the conflict shows the body of the victim as a metaphor that "passes through enemy lines". The use of human bodies through sexual aggression is a way to express and send a grieving message to the community, extract information, using it as a revenge weapon, dismantling social networks in order to regulate the lives of those who dwell under their possessions is the equivalent to enemy's destruction. "In women bodies victory signs are encrypted which mean physical and moral deploration of the people"(Segato,2014: 344).

In the semi state action of these groups is even more critical the need to demonstrate this absence of limits in the execution of cruel actions, since there are no other documents or insignia designating who holds the jurisdictional authority. On the one hand, the truculence is the only guarantee of the control on territories and bodies, and of bodies as territories, and, for other one, the pedagogy of the cruelty is the strategy of reproduction of the system. Cruelty applied to non-warrior bodies, especially, it isolates and promotes the properly expressive function of these crimes, function that [...] is inherent and inseparable in all types of gender violence (Segato,2014: 345).

The guide to carry sexual violence cases (Caicedo, Buenahora & Benjumea, 2009) and the report *Women, War Victims and Resistance in the Colombian Caribbean* (Group of Memory History, 2011) describe the different dominion scenarios or coordinated actions, planned by armed groups to use violations as a strategy of territorial control and as a justifiable tool in the war context that are determined according to the strategy of war and its intentionality:

1. ***Rape as a message and as a System of communication***: It is registered in the war communicating process to send encoded messages in the body of women but addressed to entire declared enemy populations. These violations pretend to gain territorial control, extract information, take revenge, dismantle nets to regulate the lives of those who inhabit under their territories and determine territorial command.
2. ***Rape seen as a community and ethnic exterminator***: This kind of violence has been used to persecute and annihilate afro-descendant and Indian groups in the armed conflict in Colombia, looking with this to go beyond the symbolic dimension of the community. When the armed actors violate women of different ethnicities, they are attacking not only the individuals but also the community they represent, as women are important, cohesive, and emblematic parts of the ethnicities they belong to (Human Corporations, 2009).
3. ***Rape as an internal strategy to maintain cohesion within the armed groups***: Violence is used as “blood rites” within the armed groups to promote cohesion internally within the group, these are strategies used to generate fraternities, internal agreements and prepare the forces to commit sadistic acts.
4. ***Violations as Sexual Consumption and Reward***: Rape acquires a planned perception, that although is not ordered, it certainly attempts to see it as a reward for those military feats, the reward is the body of local women. These results are crystallized in practices of forced prostitution or forced slavery. In the words of Boesten (2010), the opportunities the war combined with masculinity magnified exacerbate the supposed “natural” consumption of forced sex.

5. *Rape as a dominium and the construction of a particular social order.*

Rape is used to punish particular women or local communities through their women, because these types of local societies do not follow, according to the armed groups point of view, any of the rules they demand, and it is through rape that armed groups can show their undeniable authority in the area.

6. *Rape as a spoils strategy and a coordinated attack:* They are the violations that happen in the middle of massacres, forced displacements, exiles, carried out massively and ferociously.

The above mentioned description goes beyond the interpretation that women bodies must be seen as a space of war, or as a battlefield, it is necessary to get into a patriarchal strategy that uses a two-way form of marking and/or signing the body as well as the women's subjectivity.

The first mark, the body one, is explained by Segato (2013), rape is like a statement in which the rapist sends a message to the victim expressing his punishing intention, being the destiny of the woman to be disciplined, censored and diminished by the gesture of those who represent sovereignty through violence. On the other hand, there is a horizontal axis, in which through the sacrifice of violated women, the aggressor addresses to his pairs, showing with his aggressive acts and death empowerment, they deserve to occupy a place and get an outstanding position.

The second mark is the signature in which subjectivity is reflected, this fact is explained by Gonzalez & Pattaro (2014), who describe it as a Psychic guilt mechanism through the idea of regarding it as voluntary victims. This perception of guilt, according to Morales (2012) is more noticeable in women exposed to different forms of violence throughout their lives, and in such violence contexts are given priority according to the seriousness of the particular cases seen, all in function of categories such as the number of people affected by these facts, culpability fell on women, injuries or physical scars left, leav-

ing socio-economical tracks of private or community suffering, which women have to overcome in order to surpass the ordeal for their own good and their families. Freezing those emotional realities produced by violence, “waiting for the judicial outcomes and investigations, as long as justice and truth are found to gain peace of mind. When this does not happen, suffering remains in time, and not reaching the truth and justice seems to give the impression that nothing happened and they have to live with it”(Morales,2012: 4).

Impunity of judicial investigations is a model that encourages sexual aggression as a lethal war weapon producing cruelty, and in turn, acts as a mind resource that facilitates the evolution of crime inside of the victims with a guilty effect.

Culpability is expressed through a social stigma associated with sexual violence, it has been consolidated through a cultural brand, instrumented particularly for this purpose. In sexually violated women, the culpability is based on a social system that creates expectations on human bodies and women’s lives, and restricts their behaviors. Rejection of such expectations means, socially, the responsibility for suffered violence.

However, there are women who feel the need to denounce the violence of which they are victims, feeling subjects of right, because they can also get to determine who is not guilty and assign blame to the real culprits. Ivonne Wilches, Colombian psychologist with extensive experience working with women victims of sexual violence in the context of the Colombian armed conflict, said:

Some women - conscious of little probabilities-, in an almost heroic way, decide that to feel that they do something opposite to the fact of violence, that to sit down opposite to an authority to counting their histories feeling endorsed, that to put their signatures in an official document, turns out to be deeply significant because they transform in subjects of rights, because they take again

the control of their lives, because suddenly in the way some faults are fallen assigning them to whom it corresponds: to the aggressor. And also because many women know that if they denounce and there is justice, this will favor in order that other women are not victims of this crime. That one is the success with the one that can measure up a “case” of sexual violence (Wilches, 2010: 89).

The sexual violence against the women in Colombia: Figures

To approach the topic of sexual violence in Colombia, through figures and reports is to get near to incomprehension due to the high levels of sub-registered reports, with great obstacles to obtain justice and high impunity levels.

These obstacles, often insurmountable, together with the fact that women and children have little confidence that the system of justice be able to guarantee their safety and bring aggressors before the law, contributes to explain, in part, why the victims do not want to denounce these crimes. The silence that surrounds violent sexual crimes has many complex causes. Among them, are cultural factors, in which the shame is felt by the victim instead of the aggressor. These type of attitudes end in a judicial system that does not believe in the reports made by survivors, ignores violence by referring it as a “passionate crime” or condemns the survivor by saying it is her fault (Amnesty International, 2012: 16).

Accurate state data about sexual violence related to the armed conflict in Colombia does not exist.

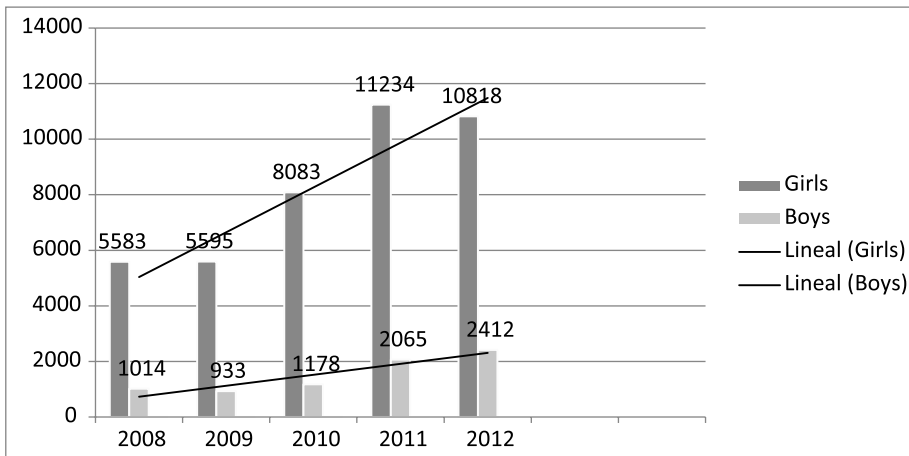
Backed documented data has been collected from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) of women studies. The most complete one up to date is the campaign *Violations and other violences: Get my body out of the War*, this study comprises a period of nine years (2001-2009) and finds that, on average, 54.410 women per year, 149 per day, or six every hour, have suffered sexual violence one way or the other in Colombia (Sánchez et al., 2011)

Table 1. Total number of women victims by type of sexual violence, percentage over total number of victims and percentage over total number of women

Type of sexual violence	Estimated number	% over total number of victims	% over total number of women
Violations	94.565	19,31	3,40
Forced Prostitution	7.754	1,58	0,28
Forced Pregnancy	26.353	5,38	0,95
Forced Abortion	27.058	5,53	0,97
Forced Sterilization	19.422	3,97	0,70
Sexual harassment	175.873	35,92	6,31
Forced Housework servility	48.554	9,92	1,74
Social Life Regulation	326.891	66,76	11,74
TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN VICTIMS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE	489.687	100	17,58

Source: Survey ENVISE Colombia 2001-2009. Calculations studies Sánchez et al., 2011.

These data show that from 2001 to 2009, according to data from 407 municipalities in Colombia with presence of security forces, guerrillas, paramilitaries or other armed groups, 489,687 women were direct victims of sexual violence, which represents 17.58% of all women.



Graphic 1. Girls and boys victims of sexual violence in Colombia in scene of armed conflict

Source: Hurtado, 2014.

Graphic 1 shows the results of a study entitled *Stop hunting for girls and boys! Report on sexual violence against children and adolescents in the armed conflict in Colombia*, which reflects that, in a period of 5 years, between 2008 and 2012, the number of boys and girls victims of sexual violence in the context of the armed conflict has doubled. It passed from a total of 6.597 in 2008 to 13.230 in 2012. Also it is observed that this type of violence is not neutral from the point of view of gender, but it affects in a disproportionate way the girls who represented 84,62 % of the total in 2008 and 81,77 % in 2012. The war takes place not only in the body of adult women, but also made in the body of girls, seen as a territory, as a form of control and subordination mechanism.

During the last few years the Colombian Fiscal General Department has improved the report systems that have been operating, and has started to gather information about the effects of sexual violence. But, this data base, that was created as a result of Resolution No 0266 of July 9th. 2008, is incomplete and has not been updated. According to a report of the Fiscalia General in May 2012, only 124 cases had been registered (from which 110 were reported in the Normative 092) classified by characteristics of gender, and ethnic of survivors (International Amnesty,2012).

In October 2013, just a year later, the fifth report following *Normative 092 of the Constitutional Court of Colombia: Access to Justice for Women Victims of Sexual Violence*, was presented by a Group of Work derived from Normative 092 of 2008 of the Constitutional Court of Colombia, presenting the following statistics:

Table 2

Case Situations of Normative 092	Total Human Rights Unit
Archived processed cases	76
Preliminary Phase cases	69
In process of investigation with an identified perpetrator or in trial	21
With a condemned sentence	11
Closed cases without a sentence-preliminary or definitive	14
Total	191

Source: Access to women victims of sexual violence, fifth report following Normative 092 of the Constitutional Court of Colombia, Work Group derived from Normative 092, year 2008 of the Constitutional Court- Confidential Attachment, October 2013.

Of the table 2 it is possible to conclude that of 191 cases, only 11 have concluded with condemnatory judgments and 76 are archived and 14 enclosures without preliminary or definitive judgment. Undoubtedly these statistics do not turn out to be encouraging for the women to accede to the courts in search of justice.

Faced with this serious situation of sexual violence against women and girls in the context of armed conflict, the CEDAW Committee has expressed concern. Thus, *Concluding observations on the combined seventh and eighth periodic reports of Colombia* noted:

The Committee notes the efforts of the State party to address conflict-related gender-based violence, including sexual violence, such as Law No. 1448 (2011). It also notes the measures taken by the Attorney General's Office to improve the methodology of investigation and treatment of victims of these crimes. However, it expresses its serious concern at the prevalence of sexual violence against women and girls, including rape, by all actors in the armed conflict, including by post demobilization armed groups. It is concerned at the significant underreporting of cases and at the widespread impunity with respect to the investigation, prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence against women and girls, which contribute to the victims' lack of confidence in the State response. In this context, it is particularly concerned at:

- a) The lack of adequate protection measures for women victims of gender-based violence, including sexual violence, as well as for witnesses and their families and communities, and the lack of an effective specific system of protection for Afro Colombian and indigenous women victims of violence;*
- b) The obstacles faced by women seeking access to justice, such as sex and gender discrimination against them by police officers and prosecutors, the lack of adequate training and sensitization for justice officials, the lack of*

legal aid and the limited health-care and psychosocial services for victims of sexual violence, including immediate access to forensic testing;

- c) The non-applicability of Law No. 1448 (2011) to victims of post demobilization armed groups, to which human rights violations are attributed, such as gender-based violence, in particular sexual violence, due to the non-recognition of the State party of these groups as parties in the conflict;*
- d) The absence of reparation measures seeking to transform the sex and gender structural inequalities which lead to gender-based violence, in order to prevent the recurrence of such violations, among other (CEDAW, 2013: 5-6).*

Profiles and patterns of Sexual Violence in the armed conflict in Colombia

What is clear is the fact that sexual violence in the armed conflict appoints to one particular profile, women.

Women become victims not because the armed forces decide to mark them as a target due to their social condition, or a particular political or cultural trend they may have, but because they have a condition in the context of patriarchal hierarchy that determines they, in any case, deserve to be sold, abused, violated and disrespected.

In Colombia apart from being a woman, there are some characteristics that contribute to a greater vulnerability in the face of sexual abuse and rape:

Vulnerability profiles of women in the armed conflict in Colombia	
The emblematic representatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indigenous women that occupy a place of authority and because of that leadership they represent the ethnic community. - Other Indigenous women, without having a leadership role, are violated due to the ethnic condition, because through them, the ethnic group is humiliated - Women leaders that represent a social group, a political force or play a main role in the performance of the community and its social life (midwives, health promoters, teachers).
The heirs	It refers to women victims as they are sisters, mothers, companions, or simply girlfriends of persecuted men. The victims have a loving or blood relationship with persecuted men.

The transgressive orignominious	It refers to those women that are victims because they break the rules of moral and cultural order previously set by the armed groups.
The stigmatized	It is applied to those women that are victimized by the armed groups, as they have been accused of belonging to enemy forces.

Source: Sisma Mujer, 2009.

Sexual Violence Patterns in the armed conflict in Colombia

It is shown below how sexual violence is a weapon used for intimidation, punishment, humiliation and terror application on victims, and evidence how in the social status in which the armed groups live, they use common patterns of violence:

Rape and violence of sexual order against women and girls is a common practice perpetrated by the armed groups, who also kidnap and recruit women and girls compelling them, in a later instance, to render “sexual services” or to rape them, besides abortion and forced sterilization were part of these practices of violence.

Sexual life control. Controlling women’s behavior, particularly about sex, is another way of exerting a violation of women’s rights, trying to unify a women fashion pattern and to forbid female clothes considered daring and provocative, is an imposition of a rule of conduct.

Impositions of rules of conduct in private spaces has been a way of controlling the intimate life of the population in paramilitary and guerrilla controlled areas. This control means what paramilitaries call “social cleaning”, such as homicides of minor crime offenders, prostitutes and people considered “socially undesirable”.

Sexual slavery. Forced prostitution of women related to the conflict has been exerted from controlled organizations by paramilitaries, who also have ties with a complex net of organized crime.

This complexity was recognized in 2013 by the United Nations, who identifies correlations between an illegal extraction of natural resources, the results of sexual violence and military activity.

Pregnancy control and forced abortion. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) have a special policy for soldiers. According to the Humanitarian Attention Group to the Demobilized from the Ministry of Defense, between years 2012 and 2013, 43 out of 244 demobilized combatant women declared having been forced to have abortions. The guerrilla also uses sexual violence when forcefully recruiting children, the use of anti-pregnancy pills and forced abortions: with the aim of rendering sexual services to combatants and as a “payment” to protect other members of their families.

Notably, although sexual violence is perpetrated by all armed groups, state and non-state actors, the impact of the involvement of the Security Forces of the State in sexual violence has a devastating effect on leaving without an authority to provide justice, precisely because of their function of protection to civilians, implanting fear and terror, being the same justice authorities which are exercising the violation of rights demonstrating the absence of the rule of law.

The Ombudsman's Office of Colombia reported that in Cartagena 'cases of violence against women by the security forces supposedly [belonged] to a strategy of war (...) if (constituted) a widespread practice that (valued) of the conditions of historical subordination of women, poor economic conditions product of unprotection from the State and naturalization of ideas embedded in the culture, like the body of women (was) an object that (belonged) to men' (Sisma Mujer, 2013: 3).

The testimonies of psychopathic traits used by armed groups on sexual violence in Colombia

The body of women as a training ground of cruelty has today psychopath-

ic mutations, “destruction with excessive cruelty, their exploitation in every vestige of life, torture to death. The violence that breaks out of the feminine is manifested in forms of unprecedented corporal destruction, forms of trafficking and sale of what these bodies can offer, until the last limit” (Segato, 2014: 342).

The practices used in sexual abuse of women within the Colombian armed conflict documented by the Center of Historical Memory accounts for the failure of armed groups to control their emotions, the texts give the psychotic features of slippage operation, leading to unimaginable cruelty practicing sadistic acts deriving in material and moral damage beyond repair (Historical Memory Group, 2011).

These testimonies show how much of the different forms such as sexual abuse with psychopathic traits was used as a central war strategy.

a) The rape as a message and a system of communication:

Then they threw me on the floor and held my arms, legs open and raped me, three different men, they tore my clothes, I was struck repeatedly with something sharp, apparently a razor blade while everyone kicked me. They cut my mouth, breasts, thighs, buttocks. They pulled my hair again and again, one of them grabbed my forearm and apparently with a knife they marked the initials AUC. Then suddenly they put me on my feet, I fell, and then they dragged me by the hair (Sisma Mujer, 2009: 85)

b) The rape as identity spread and ethnic extermination:

National Army troops, posing as paramilitaries killed four Guahibo indigenous and wounded two others. They also raped four girls; 11, 12, 15 and 16 years old. One of the girls was Omaira Fernández who was raped at 16 years of age and got pregnant. While the community observed with horror, the men opened the belly of the Young woman, they removed the fetus totally dismembered, put the pieces in a plastic bag and threw them into the river along with

the mother. She was six months pregnant (Council of Women, Families and Generations of the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia, 2012: 106).

c) Sexual violence aimed at generating cohesion among members of paramilitary groups and the strengthening of their violent identities:

I was left almost next to the bathroom, when suddenly arrived a paramilitary nurse named Maria, bingo!, she said pointing a gun at me , she took me to a hill where there were about 10 paramilitaries soldiers, she brought me right back grabbing my arm and told me they were going to burn the village and how much the guerrilla paid me to collaborate with them ... that old woman lifted me to slaps and told me “bitch, slut, now you will know what is good, have you ever been in the end of the world before?, how many times have you made love?”, then they called her on the radio and told her that “el mono” was hurt, whoever cut his hand. came down with the team and left me there with those paramilitaries... Maria the nurse came in, I asked for water and she said she was not going to give me anything, that if I wanted I could eat a cactus or a thistle, she started touching me, told me to remove my clothes, but in order to do it slowly, we had to see a show or something, I began to move the way they told me to [...] they passed me the thistles through the body, Maria (the nurse) began to fumble my breasts, then I saw Carlos, he pulled my hair back, kissed me all over, and that old woman Maria laughed , and as she laughed Carlos was touching me [...] after that he raped me in front of them [...] after that Maria beat me in my behind with a pocket knife she had , and he continued abusing me (National Center of Historic Memory, 2013: 82-83).

d) Consumer violations:

He took me to a house in “El Placer” [alias El Indio]. When I entered I found four women of different ages, some very young and others were adults. The house was cream color, it was big, there were four rooms, a sandlot, a kitchen, two bathrooms (one private for them) and a hole. When we were being violated they told us “if you don’t want to go to the hole, shut up!”. That visible and threatening space was with me all year that I lasted locked in that house.

They arrived drunk and drugged, they took us out into the patio, they pointed handguns and rifles at us, and they locked us by force in the room they chose... Once, I had to be with three men at once. But most times they came into the house and slamming doors they entered the room where wanted to stay. They left after having sex. It was very hard, we could not go anywhere, we spent the day by washing uniforms, cleaning the house and cooking for them ... as "their women". I remember one 15-year-old girl who committed suicide. She couldn't take it anymore. The older woman was the one who gave us courage, was the only one who was allowed to leave the house (National Center of Historic Memory, 2013:81).

e) Rape as a domain and the construction of a particular social order:

A girl from Berrugas once got raped and got her mouth sewed with barbed wire [...] another body appeared somewhere around, who got shot in the eye and was left on the road naked, the sun burned her all until the skin got all swollen, anybody could find a dead body on the side of the road (Historical Memory Group, 2011: 148).

Sex workers ... one of them was killed, she was from a town in Cordoba, she got her mouth sewed with barbed wire and was found dead, tied and naked. (Historical Memory Group, 2011: 148).

f) Rape as a strategy of dispossession and coordinated attack:

One story reported the slaughter of Salado said:

An 18 year old girl with pregnancy, they stuck a stick by her noble parts and it came out on the upper part of the body, they dismembered her [...] the women were stripped naked and danced in front of their husbands. Several were raped. From a ranch near El Salado (...) the screams were heard (Amnesty International, 2004: 9).

Women and Peace Perspective thinking of a post-conflict in Colombia

The conceptualization of peace has generally been linked to armed conflict

and war, in that sense, it is considered that there is peace when there is no war. However, the definition of peace should start considering that peace does not mean only the absence of armed conflict, as it is linked to other problems that can lead to various forms of violence such as the absence of democracy; poverty; scarcity of natural resources; violation of human rights; ethnic conflicts; any type of discrimination, racial, gender, religious, among others, and of course, violence against women based on gender.

The pioneering work of Johan Galtung (1985) allowed a minimum of conceptual rigor of what is meant by peace-related violence and has meant a fundamental reference in the so-called Peace Research. For him peace was defined in terms of the absence of violence, “violence is present when human beings are influenced so that their actual achievements, somatic and mental, they are below their potential realizations” (International Research and Information Centre for Peace, 2000: 21),

The definition of indicated violence has the power to cover a wide range of phenomena in which people are unable to perform at the different levels of development of their individuality by visible or structural and cultural violence, in close relation with the satisfaction of basic human needs (International Research and Information Centre for Peace, 2000: 21).

In that sense, the structural violence against women that pervades all human action in complex societies like Colombia and rooted in a culture that displayed women as subordinate and subject to patriarchal control, is a clear obstacle to the fulfillment of basic needs and individual development of women, constituting an obstacle to the peace process.

Thus, the Galtung definition of peace escapes a linear and one-dimensional conception of it. It is not about whether societies approach more or less an ideal type of peace as a final position or state, but to discern how they identify and solve the kinds of violence they may generate or face. Peace, therefore,

is constructed; it is a permanent social process. The empirical study of peace means abandoning any concept involving an ideal of a peaceful state. On the other hand, it also tries to identify the areas of violence that have been presented historically and constructed by societies (International Centre of Research and Information on Peace, 2000).

Peace is recognized in international terms, in this sense, the Declaration of the rights of people to peace, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 39/11 of 12 November 1984, human rights states:

Recognizing that fact, ensures that people when living in peace, is the most sacred duty of all States,

- 1. Solemnly proclaims that the people of our planet have the sacred right to peace;*
- 2. Solemnly declares that protecting the right of people to peace and the promotion of its implementation constitute a fundamental obligation of each State;*

Thus, it establishes the obligation of all States to ensure the right of peace to the people and to achieve this, the removal of barriers and obstacles to exert other human rights and fundamental freedom requirements, among other things to include the rights of women to a life free of violence.

From the signature of the International Convention for the Elimination of all the Forms of Discrimination against the Woman (CEDAW), the universal system of human rights has repeated the importance of the participation of the women in the peace. In fact, in the preamble of the CEDAW it is found that “the maximum participation of the woman, in equality of conditions with the man, in all the fields, is indispensable for the full and complete development of a country, the well-being of the world and the reason of the peace”.

Similarly, in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted in 1995,

at the Fourth World Conference on Women, it was established that: “Local, national, regional and global peace is attainable and is inextricably linked with the advancement of women, which is a prerequisite for the management of community strength, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels” (United Nations, 1996, Declaration of Beijing: paragraph 18).

However, the most important recognition of the role of women in peace processes, was later given the crimes committed in the wars in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, when the traditional concept of security is transformed in order to address the experiences of women, and thus, a topic such as sexual violence becomes a problem that should be incorporated in the management of international security.

It is in this way that, in 2000, the United Nations Security Council marked a historic event with its resolution 1325, adopted at its 4213th meeting, October 31st, due to the need to ensure the participation of women in all states in the phases of the peace process and the inclusion of their voices and their problems in making decisions to ensure respect for their human rights on an equal footing with men. Resolution 1325 states that it is necessary to recognize and reaffirm:

[...] the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

[...] the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

[...] that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full par-

participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security(United Nations Security Council, 2000: 1-2).

The resolution calls for:

- Greater participation of women in all decision-making levels in the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts
- Supporting peace initiatives proposed by local women and autochthonous processes for conflict resolution
- Measures to support the participation of women in peace building processes and implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements
- Adopting a gender perspective, including, among other things, the special needs of women and girls during repatriation, resettlement, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction is adopted.
- That the protection and respect of human rights of women and girls are guaranteed, particularly with regard to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the justice system.

A study done by the Humana Corporation Colombia, entitled *The Thirteen of the 1325 in Colombia* (2013), various human rights organizations and women expressed their perception of the resolution to this effect noted that:

- a) It is a tool that provides opportunities of incidence for women and their organizations.
- b) The importance is the need to raise the participation of women in decision-making processes and peace scenarios and highlight such participation as required.
- c) The resolution is valued because its promulgation by the Security Council of the United Nations is the result of the impact that women held around the world.
- d) The decision is important for the recognition given by the role and importance of women in peace building.

- e) The requirement to respect and guarantee the rights of women in any context, without exception.
- f) It allows the impact of armed conflict on the lives of women to be made visible.
- g) It allows the inclusion of a gender perspective on the issues of conflict and peace.
- h) The resolution makes visible the peace proposals of women and gives them a frame of reference.

Note that after the resolution 1325, the Security Council has issued others concerning women and armed conflict. So we have resolution 1820 of 2008, referring to rape and other forms of sexual violence, which may constitute genocide, crimes of war and against humanity, also calls upon the Secretary-General of the UN, a set of measures to ensure zero tolerance with regard to sexual violence in the maintenance of peace and measures to raise awareness and prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and in subsequent to these situations.

Resolution 1960 of 2010 calls upon parties to armed conflict to fulfill commitments according to time limits to combat sexual violence and at the same time, requests that the Secretary-General of the United Nations monitor the fulfillment of these obligations by the parties that are subject to the consideration of the Security Council.

In 2013, two resolutions were issued concerning the situation of women and girls in the context of armed conflicts: the resolution 2106, which recognizes the need to investigate acts of sexual violence, not only to make the culprits answer for their acts, but also to guarantee victims access to justice, also noted the importance of adopting an approach to transitional justice, which incorporates judicial and non-judicial measures, among other considerations; and the resolution 2122, which focuses on women, peace and security agenda, promotes the participation of women in all stages of peace negotiations and the development of their leadership for the implementation of resolution 1325.

As part of the peace negotiations in Colombia, September 7, 2014, “the subcommittee on gender that seeks to make recommendations to the Bureau was installed to make possible an appropriate gender approach, particularly related to women and the LGBTI community. This subcommittee, formed by five members from each delegation, may have external advisors and meet, at least once, per cycle” (Joint Communiqué # 43, Havana, September 11, 2014, quoted by Human Colombia).

The delegations of the government and the FARC said in a joint statement:

The inclusion of a gender perspective in a peace process like this is unprecedented in the world and is a milestone in the construction of agreements reached and to be achieved. To attain this, the texts of the agreements should be analyzed and the necessary recommendations with the inclusion of a gender perspective must be reached. Also recommendations on items and issues remaining to discuss the Agenda will also be developed (Joint Communiqué # 43, Havana, September 11, 2014, quoted by Human Colombia).

The gender subcommittee of the peace negotiations between the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP held the second and third meeting with representatives of women’s organizations and LGBTI community. In February the visit of the second delegation, composed of representatives of the Alliance weavers of life, Affirmative Caribbean Corporation, Department of Women of the National Coordination of Displaced CND, ANMUSIC, Red Butterflies and the National Network of Women Veterans organizations held Insurgency. The third meeting, held in March, was attended by representatives of the Peasant Association of Catatumbo (Ascamcat), Association of Women Workers Araucanas (AMART), Colombia Diversa, Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) and a leader of a student university movement. As in the past, participating organizations called for negotiating parties’ agreements to a bilateral ceasefire and that there is an immediate de-escalation of the armed

conflict and an end to violence against women, along with a clear statement against discrimination against the LGBTI population.

In addition, after visits by representatives of civil society it was also a meeting of the subcommittee with expert Magalys Arocha, Mireia Cano and Hilde Salvesen, in order to make recommendations to ensure the inclusion of a gender perspective in the agreements already reached. In parallel, a number of representatives of women's organizations and LGBTI who participated in the Gender Subcommittee held a public event in Bogota to explain their experience of participating in the discussions and the various proposals and requirements have moved to the table of negotiations, among which include:

- Remaining at the table until an agreement is reached; bilateral ceasefire and reducing the intensity of the conflict.
- Promoting the equal participation of women with alternating measures and universality in all phases and mechanisms of the peace-building process.
- Inclusion in an eventual truth commission from the perspective of the rights of women in particular with regard to «sexual violence, political violence, the rights of human rights defenders and violence against LGBTI people; recognition of the diversity of identities of black, indigenous, peasant, rural, urban, young and LGTBI women.
- Guarantees about distribution of goods, services, resources and wealth for women on equal terms, including property and land ownership.
- Guaranteeing the rights of women victims of the conflict to truth, justice and guarantees of non-repetition.
- Increased representation of women in the FARC-EP and the Government as fully powered in the talks, such as affirmative action to make them visible as decisive political actors in the agreements and peace building process.
- Review of security policies to ensure the safety of women and their rights to truth, justice and reparation.
- Complete dismantling of paramilitarism in all its structures.

- Ensure standardization of ex-combatant women into civilian life in line with resolution 1325 taking into account the specificity of veteran women and consulting them for a process of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration.
- Support the strengthening of the peace initiatives of local women and guarantees for their participation in the mechanisms that develop the agreements.
- Ensure full protection of women's political rights contained in the Constitution, the electoral system and the judicial system in areas affected by the conflict.
- Fighting for impunity.

Proposals on truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition of sexual violence against women survivors of sexual violence in the peace process

The accumulated experience of women's organizations, feminists and surviving victims, who have worked over sexual violence in the context and during the armed conflict such as Sisma Mujer, Human Colombia and the National Network of Women have made a group effort in the posed five keys to a differential treatment of sexual violence in the agreements on transitional justice in the peace process (Human Colombia, 2015).

1. In terms of de-escalation, cessation of hostilities and cease-fire, immediate and explicit commitment to eradicating sexual violence
2. Regarding the right to the truth: An official commission of historical truth about sexual violence against women and the girls.
3. Regarding the right to justice: The agreement on special treatment of sexual violence about the remaining offenses
4. In terms of repair: Facing Repair, comprehensive and transformative, a special program for women and children survivors of sexual violence
5. In terms of non-repetition. Regarding the non-repetition, a plan that integrates concrete and structural measures that help ensure an inclusive and equal society for women and girls.

There is a long way to go and a lot of network unravels for the Colombian people to be able to effectively enjoy their right to peace. What is certain at the present moment is that women will not be passive observers of the process, however, they have much to tell, they are not willing to be invisible and expect their experiences to be taken into account.

If one thing is clear, it is that peace cannot be built with the silence of women and impunity for crimes of sexual violence of which they are the main victims.

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CHAPTER 4

Women's voices and living experiences through (post armed) conflict in Israel/Palestine, Africa, and India: routes and approaches of peace thinking

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Abstract

This text aims to bring information about how the peacekeeping process has been carried out by some women activists on Africa, India and Israel/Palestine, presenting their realities on the struggle for achieving peace. In a first moment we will use some interesting literature about peace to better understand what the women's voices and experiences are trying to tell us about making peace on their lands. In a second moment, we will hear those women's voices and their struggle for peace.

Key words: Conflict, Postconflict, Peace, Women.

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Introduction

Our intention with this chapter is to give voice to women peacemakers of four countries that suffered from conflicts and now are living into a post conflict panorama. By their voices and writings it is possible to understand how deep the conflict consequences can be to women and girls. These invited authors will write here about their own experiences through conflict resolutions or living in conflict. Women's memories will bring to us the real living of post-conflict zones. These memories enrich the text with emotions and feelings that help to contextualize the facts exposed before. As examples of the consequences of conflicts, four authors were invited to talk about their experiences from: Cameroon, DR. Congo, India and Israel/Palestine. The methodological approach used is the life story qualitative method and the narrative analysis combined with written and oral evidence.

Case studies provide information about individuals in greater depth than other methodologies. Life narratives improve on this method by providing women's analysis of their own situation rather than a chronology of events to be interpreted by others. (...) A single case may provide abundant examples and fertile interpretative ground". (Sosulsky, Bucanan & Donnel, 2010, p.38).

Routes and approaches of peace thinking

Galtung (1967) realized an effort to write a book about theory of peace that brings us some focal analytical points to develop our multiple voices perspective about post conflict and peacemaking or peacekeeping. However, Galtung gives advice that we think is important to reaffirm here with his own words:

To write about peace thinking is to write about everything and nothing; it is neither precise nor sufficiently vague to be discarded completely as a subject of serious inquiry; the closer one approaches it the more does it recede - and it is frighteningly important. But this is in the nature of human affairs: the more important the matter, the vaguer and the more difficult becomes the thinking about it - for if it had already been conquered intellectually and mastered tech-

nically, then it would no longer have been so important because it would no longer loom so high as a problem. Some other problem would have taken its place (Galtung, 1967, p.6).

So, taking this as a principle to guide our chapter, we will use Galtung's (1967) peace thinking with a gender perspective, something that he did not do when he wrote his book, because the context was far different from now in respect to gender studies as a scientific approach. First of all, peace thinking is not original and is vague and contradictory. Vague because peace thinking is like an "umbrella concept" which is a "general expression of human desires" (Galtung, 1967, p.6) that has the power to divide a thing into good and bad, just existing the duality, not the several scales of "good" and "bad". So, peace is not a singular concept but a general concept that requires more focus on using it. Also, the author works with the possibility of "peace" being the formal word used to initiate new conflicts to "achieve peace", or conflicts made in the name of "peace", but that deep inside there are other intentions than "bringing peace", like natural resources, like petroleum, water, etc.

Historically, peace was treated by the old times as two different systems of policy: the balance of power and the power monopoly, explained like the ones adapted by Rome with the *Pax Romana*, which worked horizontally with other states like Greek ones. And the other one is the *Pax Ecclesia*, which worked vertically from above having the Pope as the arbiter, going to a hierarchical power system (Galtung, 1967). As said by Galtung (1967, p. 8) this system "lead to a very monocentric Christian world", and the consequent religious reformations or revolutions that could lead to more conflict situations. The Italian city state system which surged in the Renaissance contributed to the peace thinking when the power philosophies were balancing toward a peace analysis found nowadays in modern strategic analysis. It is interesting to notice that some intellectuals have spent time to study and formulate an idea of how peace could be thought, like: Dubois (14th Century) who defended the *Pax Ecclesia* system, wanting a federation of Christians "with a council of nations

to decide”, the Pope as the maximum subject, and “boycott against aggressive nations” (Galtung, 1967, p.8), it seems a bit like the United Nations project, except the part of Christian and the Pope...perhaps the Pope nowadays are the most powerful states that compose the United Nations Security Council.

Dante (14th Century) imagined Europe taking part in a particular principedom in which *Pax Romana* was his inspiration (Galtung, 1967). This kind of thought considering Europe like a kind of “emperor” was on the center of the discussions from almost two centuries. Most thinkers were worried not with peace but with European unity. An interesting system is the following:

George Podebrad of Bohemia (1450): he wanted an international parliament where each nation had one vote, with both assembly and tribunal, and rotating meeting-places and staff to avoid domination by one power. One of his concerns was to limit the powers of the Pope, another to unite against the Turks. Cruce’ was the first to search for peace as the main goal, and characteristically he advocated the membership of all the nations of the known world: Turkey, Persia, China; Ethiopia, the East and the West Indies – in addition to the European countries (Galtung, 1967, p.9).

By the 18th Century the concern was to enable an international council with a federal approach, this international organization would have certain extensive authority, keeping in mind the maintenance of peace. But in the same 18th century (final) some philosophers like Rousseau (Galtung, 1967) affirmed that it was “absurd dream” thinking of a particular international organization, or this federal approach. Also Kant (Galtung, 1967) considered that the “law of nations” would be “based upon a federalism of free states”, but did not “accept any central authority of the [called] federation” (Galtung, 1967, pp.9-10).

By the 19th Century two models of peace thinking were being considered: one from the Anglo-Saxon thinkers and United States, and the other from the

Continent⁹. The conception of the Anglo-American thinkers were based on the liberalistic ideas, the main thought was:

They did not want any international organization at all, but believed free trade and free exchange of thoughts to be sufficient means for maintaining peace. It could be achieved by massing public opinion behind enlightened policies; political integration and international enforcement procedures need not be attempted (Galtung, 1967, p. 10).

On the other hand, the Continental proposal enforces the idea of a European federal organization, like a single parliament, and or single government, for example, for all Europe. According to Galtung (1967, p.10): “For many the United States of America was to be the model for Europe. The federation was not to be only a coalition of sovereigns, but aimed at a complete suppression of state sovereignties”.

But, at the same time it was known that this European federation was expecting more than just peace maintenance, because the proposal was a European federation based on Western Europe countries only.

The 19th century peace thinking was an idea of a confederal approach. It was designed to be a half way through the 17th century thinking and the 18th century's. According to Galtung (1967, p. 10): “The idea was to establish an international organization for purposes strictly limited to the peaceful settlement of international problems. (Cooperation between or an alliance of states would be a sufficient guarantee against war)”, which lead to the first Hague Conference by 1899.

By the 20th century with the occurrence of two World Wars it was necessary to establish an international organization based on a confederal idea to lead with

9 Europe.

the peace maintenance of the world (or part of it), the current United Nations (old League of Nations).

After this international historical context about peace thinking, we will work with life stories to emphasize how peacekeeping is being worked by women around the world with women's experiences in some countries of Africa, India, and Israel/Palestine.

1. Life stories: the women voices inside (post) conflicts – experiences from peace thinking and acting

Working with life stories is useful because they document facts of the history that, combined with other methodological techniques, give us more profound knowledge of the phenomenon analyzed, and it is an interesting way to collect data (Queiroz, 1987; Sosulsky, Bucanan & Donnel, 2010; Auzias, 2011). According to Sosulsky, Bucanan and Donnel (2010)

Life story techniques introduce the opportunity to collect rich data textured by the respondent's own interpretations of their experiences and the social circumstances in which their story has unfolded, and the ways in which they continue to be active agents (p.37).

Furthermore, a feminist approach will be used together with the life stories technique, turning it into a "feminist life story method" (Sosulsky, Bucanan & Donnel, 2010), which brings important issues as domination, oppression and resistance of women making them the protagonists of history. "An important feature of combining life story techniques with feminist narrative analysis is that it provides a vehicle to reflect the women's standpoints" (Sosulsky, Bucanan & Donnel, 2010, p.37).

The first life story relates the meaning of being a peacemaker on a very delicate conflict that is much more complex. The first case is about the Israel/Palestine conflict according to the experience of being a peace activist in both

territorial spaces. Then the second case is about women and India post-conflicts and how they are facing the consequences of that time of conflicts. The third and four cases are about the activism on women's rights in D.R Congo and Cameroon and some difficulties faced.

1.1. Israel/Palestine

To give a first glance at the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, we will recur to the studies of Ernudd (2007) who analyzed the impact of the conflict on women. She begins her paper by saying that most of the current literature about conflicts was made by men and on a male perspective, and that "Feminist scholars therefore argue that women's voices, experiences and perspectives have largely been and will continue to be excluded" (Ernudd, 2007, p. 1). The author explains that in both Israeli-Jewish-Palestinian societies the role of gender constructed the cultural sense that women are "reproducers of the nation" while men are protectors or liberator of the nation (Ernudd, 2007, p.1).

There has been a strong pressure on Palestinian women to bear many children for the sake of the national struggle. This reproductive aspect of women arguably has implications for the social positioning of women and for the construction of the nation (Yuval-Davis 1997:26-27). As suggested by Rosa Tsagarousianou, banning abortions as well as controlling other reproductive rights of women in some sense signals the treatment of women as state property. (Ernudd, 2007, p. 9).

According to Ernudd (2007), Israel as a sovereign state has the legal responsibility by international laws (like the Forth Geneva Convention) to the implementation of the Human Rights treaties on the Occupied Territories, but Israel keep on denying this obligation. Palestinian claims for their rights and for their territory as a Nation, but Israel rules West Bank and Gaza as a result of military occupation. The numbers about the conflict are:

Of the 3.39 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, almost 1.5 million

have been refugees since the 1948 war and more than 800,000 live in refugee camps scattered through the Territory. The vast majority of Palestinians, refugees and non-refugees, are stateless. Jewish Israeli settlers also live in the West Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem, but not under Palestinian jurisdiction. (Ernudd, 2007, p.10).

Furthermore, Israel wants to dispute the Palestinian territory that once was temporary occupied by Israeli, but Israel claims the territory based on a sentence that affirms that the beneficiary of human rights by international humanitarian law was just sovereign states, and not nations without a state or a legal land. So,

By interpreting international humanitarian laws as pertaining exclusively to sovereign states (High contracting parties), Israel was able to argue that stateless peoples are not the intended beneficiaries of the laws. Since there has never been an independent state of Palestine, Israel further argued, that the Palestinian people could not be the rightful sovereigns of the West Bank and Gaza, because there is nothing in international law that prescribes the recognition of sovereignty to a “non-state”.(Ernudd, 2007, p.11).

The author affirms that the moment of the two intifadas occurred in a very different social movement context. The first intifada (1987-1991), happen on a moment in which there was more than a decade of political activism, with the active participation of the women’s movement; “women participated in direct confrontations with the Israeli army”. The second intifada was the opposite. The al-Aqsa intifada happened on the border and crossing-point that were controlled by Israeli army; so women’s movement and participation on this direct confrontation was inexpressive because of the “impact of restrictions on mobility on women” (Ernudd, 2007, p. 11). Also, she emphasizes that it is possible to measure the women’s and community participation by the level of militarization. If the level of militarization and militarized violence is high so the women’s and community involvement will be less than could be expected.

Also, the women's consequences of a conflict like this affects directly those who are pregnant and cannot have secured the minimum conditions to have their babies on a secure and safe place, with medical assistance and tranquility. They give birth afraid, as mentioned by Ernudd (2007):

Another main implication for women is the restricted and sometimes denied access to medical care when in labor, as Israeli soldiers deny them passage through checkpoints, or delay in such a way that women are forced to give birth by the check point without any medical assistance sometimes with fatal consequences. As noted by Amnesty this clearly violates Article 38(2) of the Forth Geneva Convention, which stipulates that Israel has an obligation to ensure that Palestinians in the West bank and Gaza "receive medical attention and hospital treatment to the same extent" as do Israeli citizens. When considering that the fertility rate among Palestinian women in Gaza for instance is 4.410 these policies arguably have a particularly detrimental effect on women. The report also notes that the fear of not being able to reach hospital in time to give birth has "become a major source of anxiety and fear" for pregnant women within the Occupied Territories.(Ernudd, 2007, p.17).

1.1.1. Women in Conflict – Israel/Palestine

My name is Irit Hakim, I am from Israel. I am a peace activist and advocate for women's status. I am a Ceramic teacher, teaching at a Senior Citizens Residence.

I'd like to tell you about women in conflict zone. But before that, I need to give some background:

Israel, as an only non-Muslim state among several Arab ones, has been a complicated topic since its foundation in 1948. The region had been populated mostly by Arabs, and by minority of Jews who never left the region since ever. Since the Bible time, I would say. When the new state had been founded, and a very big part of the land was taken from Arab hands (by UN's decision), and

given to the new-comers from Europe, the ones who survived the Holocaust, obviously it made up objection and hate on the Arabs' side. For the Jews it had been their independence while for Palestinians it was the Nakba - the disaster.

It is now 68 years of a conflict, of 5 wars and of many smaller operations, not less harmful. The situation becomes extreme every now and then.

The '67 war has been a turning point from quite a quiet time to an unforgettable war – Israel conquered the West Bank, and the Arab – called Palestinians - had begun to live under occupation. Some of places had been annexed to Israel. Needs of the Palestinians who become citizens of the State of Israel have changed, and as a result has also changed the order of the requirements of women leaders.

The young state suppressed the Palestinian population, referred to a non-equal the Jewish population, and the social and economic needs have been neglected in structural and institutional terms. The Palestinian population has become a national minority with a marginal, economically and politically bankrupt, and no elites and leadership. This development has severely affected efforts to promote the status of Palestinian women.

The conflict got a permanent face, which influenced on everybody's life. Palestinians and Israelis. Occupied and Occupier.

The first Intifada – Palestinian uprising – broke in 1987, until 1993 with Oslo Accords. A second intifada started in 2000. It was a bloodshed time. Not like in war that mostly soldiers die, now citizens died. The Israeli army acted on the Palestinian streets, innocent citizens had been killed, and Palestinian suicide bombers came into Israel, killing innocent citizens of all ages It was a horrible time for both people.

It is clear that women and children are suffering the most during war and

conflict. In the Palestinian society, the oppression of the Israeli (and the British/Ottoman's before that) changed the structure of the family, and had a far-reaching effect on the lives and status of women, as part of the deep crisis of the Palestinians in general. Nakba resulted in the destruction of Palestinian cities and strategic and sabotaged the Palestinian social life in general.

As part of the Palestinian Nakba, cities vanished, where the woman kept organized. Political and social movements that formed a framework for social change activities, crushed. Emissions carried them to the Palestinian diaspora, they experienced social struggles and hopes, and then started the process again. In Mandatory Palestine, parts of which became the State of Israel remained mainly rural minority threatened and displaced persons. Needs of the Palestinians who have become citizens of the State of Israel have changed, and as a result has also changed the order of the requirements of women leaders.

Amnesty reports on the lives of Palestinian women during the intifada (2005), and states that women are injured from IDF and by increased levels of violence, especially domestic violence in Palestinian society. It also shows that the health services are poor, many of women give up their ambitions and do not keep on their study and work because of the dangers lurking on the road.

The women are between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, "There is no element in their lives, which was not directly and daily ongoingly violated by occupation and also human rights," on the other hand, "they are being violated by the rules and norms of the patriarchal Palestinian society."

On the Israeli side the situation is similar, but not that extreme. Here, too, the violence has vastly increased. Men as soldiers who easily shoot and beat Palestinian civilians, return home and easily beat their own women and children. The connection is clear.

1.2. India –systematic rape¹⁰

Although India has no armed conflicts, it has internal and external conflicts for cross border confrontations, “separatist identity based insurgencies, communal and sectarian strife, revolutionary struggles, ‘extremist’ violence and marginalized groups struggling for a more equitable distribution of resources” (Manchanda, s/f, p. 5). India has been known for its massive rape cases that got into media in the last years. Rape as a strategical weapon of war is used for decades in India and has become part of the Indian female resignation while the social construction is that women are subordinated to the male power. This social construction allowed Indian female bodies to belong to men and, consequently, to the state. According to a report by Human Rights Watch by 1994, the security forces used rape to control women that were considered sympathized with militants (Kashmiri insurgents) by 1990, what means a kind of institutionalized rape. A United Nations report in 1992, affirmed that 882 women were gang rape by security forces on the region of conflict. And another report by *Médecins Sans Frontière* in 2005, alleged that a totally of 11.6 percent of people interviewed has said that they were victims of sexual violence since 1989. This human rights violation in Kashmir is perpetrated by armed forces alleging national interest (Pervez, 2013), 98% of Kashmir citizens are of Muslim origin. “It is also how women are placed culturally in the social hierarchy which makes rape a much bigger stigma than in other parts of the state” Asia Watch & Physicians for Human Rights, 1993, p. 38).

According to a report by Asia Watch and Physicians for Human rights (2013) this sexual violence strategy is more common that imagined:

Rape by Indian police is common throughout India; the victims are generally poor women and those from vulnerable low-caste and tribal minority groups.⁹ In some cases, women are taken into custody as suspects in petty crime or on

10 Here is a link to the full document about the commitment to end sexual violence in conflict. This document was endorsed to more than 100 states by UK sponsored Declaration (India did not signed): <https://es.scribd.com/doc/170678527/A-Declaration-of-Commitment-to-End-Sexual-Violence-in-Conflict>

more serious charges; in others, women are detained as hostages for relatives wanted in criminal or political cases; in still others, women are detained simply so that the police can extort a bribe to secure their release. In all of these cases, women in the custody of security forces are at risk of rape. Rape has also been widely reported during counter-insurgency operations elsewhere in India, particularly in Assam and other areas of conflict in northeastern India.¹⁰ In both conflict and non-conflict situations, the central element of rape by the security forces is power. Soldiers and police use rape as a weapon: to punish, intimidate, coerce, humiliate and degrade. (Asia Watch & Physicians for Human Rights, 1993, p. 3).

The most common words said by officials when making an official search into citizens' house are political ones. They use them to get in the house (minimum of two to four officials), keep the house's men outside and rape the women. When women ask them to not touch them they only say "We have orders, what can we do?", or "I have orders" (Asia Watch & Physicians for Human Rights, 1993, p. 10-11). Those responsible from the Indian army did not refuse it but affirmed that some of those women are wives of terrorists (which means that their bodies must be dominated to provoke humiliation to the "terrorists").

In the statement provided to PHR/Asia Watch, Indian authorities have claimed that "the residents of the 7 houses identified and confirmed that the same 3 army persons had entered and searched each house and hence it is difficult to believe that the same persons could have indulged in acts of rape in different houses within an hour and 35 minutes."²⁶ The government statements adds that, "Two of the women who have been alleged to have been raped were wives of terrorists viz. Takub Hussain a Platoon Commander of Hizbul Mujahideen and Mohd. Yakub a Group Commander of the same militant group." (Asia Watch & Physicians for Human Rights, 1993, p.11).

Indian government doesn't seem to care about women's complaints about rape, and perhaps that's why the use of rape in India seems to be a very effi-

cient tool to keep fear and to control the micro societies belonging to Indian Territory.

1.3. The condition of rural and urban women in India

I am Simran. I am joining you from India to discuss with you the condition of Indian women.

In ancient India, women held a place of respect in the society, but because of the economic, social and political changes, women lost their status and were relegated to the background. Many evil customs stepped in which enslaved the women.

The official statistics show a declining rate of sex ratio, health status, & literacy rate. Social evils like dowry deaths, child marriage, domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, molestation, sex trade are rampant in different parts of the country.

Many of you may not be aware of the term dowry:

In Indian society when a girl gets married, her parents provide her with certain gifts in the form of cash, furniture, jewelry or any other valuable property. Though it used to be out of their free will, over the years, the boy's family forces the girl and her parents to give them expensive gifts and cash. This evil is shamelessly followed everywhere in the country.

When the girl's family shows their inability to meet these unlawful demands, the girl is either forced to return to her parents and worse she even gets murdered by the husband's family. Though we have very strict anti-dowry laws in place, these court cases take ages to resolve.

Illiteracy rates are much higher in rural India amongst women. They are not aware of their legal rights. Due to extreme poverty and lack of resources they are often forced into sex trade.

Young girls get kidnapped, deceived and even sold by their own family members just for few bucks. These poor girls get trapped in this vicious circle forever. Often illiterate, they have no clue of how to return home.

Rape is another evil which haunts the society. New Delhi has the highest number of rape reports among other Indian cities. But the fact is that rape cases in rural areas don't get reported much. They don't get any media attention. As I said earlier women are mostly uneducated, unaware of their rights and extremely poor. In addition to this, the pressure from family members doesn't let them report these incidents. They don't get any financial help from the government. They don't have the means and resources to take recourse to judicial system.

In my opinion the major reason for increase in incidents of rape is due to lack of sex education in the country. Sex education is considered as taboo in our country. You can't even discuss it openly. The lack of knowledge and understanding about this topic often leads to frustration and obsession, so men resort to rape and sexual assaults on women. Moreover women are considered as objects of sexual pleasure. The only work a woman is supposed to do is to bear children, cook food and satisfy men. This sick mentality makes these men indifferent towards the pain and plight of women.

I cannot say that we don't have legal rights in place for us but the problem lies with the implementation of these laws. Our constitution grants us equal status and gender equality is enshrined in Indian constitution. We have anti-dowry laws, strict penal provisions for illegal trafficking, rape, kidnapping abduction. We have welfare laws for women, maternity relief laws. After the Delhi rape case, there has been a major amendment in criminal law for offences against women. Very stringent provisions have been incorporated in the new rape laws.

But the problem lies in the fact that these laws do not benefit weaker sections

of the society, the judicial system is unaffordable for them. So what is the use of these laws which cannot secure justice to the poor?

Things are improving with time, but at a very slow pace. Women are getting education. People are realizing the importance of education of girls.

We have an altogether different scenario where women are holding key managerial positions in the industry; they have equal representation in government and administration. Women are developing as entrepreneurs at small scale industry level in a large number of villages and small towns. Self help groups allow women to tap their potential and skills and earn a livelihood and respectable living.

But the question which remains unanswered is that “are we really safe in here? Are we really safe here especially after the incident of Delhi gang rape?” A medical student gets raped inside a bus on the busy roads of our capital city... a photo journalist gets raped in Mumbai, which is the economic capital of India and is considered very safe for women. A politician and his consorts rape two young village girls and after killing them hang them to a tree?

Is this a civilized society?

Justice delayed is justice denied. When the judiciary fails to impart justice it leads to denial of justice. Courts are already overburdened with backlog of cases. Resolution of a case takes so much of time that the victim goes through a secondary victimization in the hands of judiciary. They get harassed in courts. With already limited means how would anyone think of resorting to judicial system in case of violation of their rights?

Ultimately, only legislation and law enforcement agencies cannot prevent the incidents of crime against women. There is a need of social awakening and change in the attitude of masses, so that due respect and equal status is given

to women. The awakening can be brought by education, enlightenment among youth, making them aware of the existing social evils. Mass media can play an active role in this. NGOs and women help groups should get full support from government.

But the final solution to these evils lies in the minds of the people themselves, the change should come within the mind and soul. The weaker sex should not be looked down upon but be taken care of as an equal partner in life. That is where we will build a better nation, a better society.

1.4. The struggle for empowerment, security and peace of Bihari women

Brief about the author's involvement with the issue

Before going deep into the topic here's an introduction about the author in brief as it will help understand the topic better and connect with the work she does. Rozina Khanam is a director of women welfare society of Patna, India. She spent her childhood and youth in Karachi, Pakistan. In 1990 she got married into a well educated moderate family and came to a city called Patna which was state capital of Bihar, India. After closely watching the condition of women in Bihar she started an NGO in 2000 with support of her family.

As a child only at the age of six she was a war sufferer. She felt what a child can possibly feel during war and such disasters. Being the sufferer of war she understands meaning of "Peace" the same as a prisoner can understand a meaning of "Freedom".

As mentioned earlier she was a prisoner of war in India during Bangladesh war 1971 at the age of 6. The terror and horror of war and specially the two years she spent as a prisoner of war, totally changed her life and her thought as it took away the essence of her childhood. She promised herself that she will be that one change that the society needs. She will be a Social Activist working on account of humanity and spreading peace message across the globe.

1.4.1. Condition of women in Bihar

Women in Bihar are consistently facing problems and struggling for their empowerment. Though the written laws to empower women are uniform throughout the country, in certain unwritten laws of customs the position of women is very unequal. There is a long list of problems that women face in Bihar. Some of them are – Lack of health facilities, poor literacy drive for women and girls, anti social practice like child marriage, female infanticide, Domestic Violence. Apart from these problems the major problem faced by women here in Bihar is Crime against women like rape, kidnapping, sexual harassment and atrocities for dowry. As per the figure collected by State Police headquarter the total number of cases registered against the women until November 2014 was 10,898 cases. These were the cases that were registered; there are so many cases that are never even registered. If we talk about the literacy rate, the figures are not very applauding especially in rural areas where the literacy rate among women is only 29.6% where as in the urban area of Bihar its 62.9%.

In India, women face lot of problems in their daily life. Some of them are rape victims, domestic laborers and the double standard applied to male and female.

If we talk about Patna –State, capital of Bihar, the place where the author resides. As you all know India is the country with various cultural diversifications and so is the case in Bihar. Here, several communities like the Hindu, the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Christians along with others reside together but the female members of these communities faces lots of problem in their daily routine life.

If we talk about rape cases In Bihar, 400 women would have “escaped” rape in 2012 if they had toilets in their homes. The rape takes place when women go outside to defecate early in morning and late evening. These “sanitation related rapes” make up nearly half of the more than 870 cases of rape in Bihar in 2012. In Bihar, 75.8% of homes have no toilet facilities according to census

2011. Some 49% of the households without a toilet wanted one for “safety and Security” for women and children. Some of these cases are

1. On May 5 2012 an 11 year old girl was raped in Mia village in Jehanabad district when she was going to the field at night
2. On 28 April, again a girl abducted and raped in Kalapur village Nubatpur 35 Km from the state capital Patna.
3. On 24th April. Another girl was raped in similar circumstances on a farm in Chaunniya village in Sheikpura district. She told the police that two villager followed and raped her. One of them has been arrested.

There are some other reasons also; some women are raped because they are from backwards cast etc.

A part from rape if we talk about Education again we see in different communities 75% girls are not enrolled in any school, the reasons are

- Children live in remotes area.
- Forced to work as domestic labor because of financial problems
- Double standard applied to male and female child.
- Early marriage between the ages of 15 to 19 years.
- Migratory children.

Above 60% of the women population here drop out of school before completing 5 years of Primary education. The following are the reasons:

- No proper school or centre in the locality.
- Feeling insecurity
- Poor supervision.
- Poor quality of teaching.
- No female teacher.
- No toilet and water facilities.
- Poor seating arrangement.

Now if we talk about the health condition the bulk of the female child and

teenager population is engaged in caring for younger siblings, cooking, cleaning, fetching water etc. This results in:

- Anaemia
- Posture defects of neck spine and pelvis. Fractures, slipped disks and paralysis.
- The smoke from household biomass creates eye problems, respiratory problems, chronic bronchitis and lung cancer. Etc.

The health and nutritional problems of different communities at various stages of development are full of obscurities and very little scientific information on dietary habits and nutrition available due to the lack of systematic and comprehensive research. Nutritional anemia is a major problem for women. It is estimated that at least half of non-pregnant and two third of the pregnant women are anemic. Most of the women do not have access to any health care.

The environment in which girls live, learn and grow frustrates attempts to have equal access to education. Continuing discrimination against the girls plays a crucial role in creating resistance around sending girls to school.

The violence against women is the cruelest expression of disparity in power equation between men and women in our society. It is the ultimate reflection of male domination and oppressive patriarchal values. And contrary to myth, resorting to violence against women cuts across class, caste and creed by males to silence, dominate and subjugate the women folk.

Violence against women is not a new phenomenon, but has existed in our society ever since the patriarchal values began to dominate social norms. It is a weapon used to maintain the unequal power dynamics between men and women. The modes of violence have changed but the aim remains the same. Recent research shows that approximately: Every 54 minutes a women is raped, every 51 minutes she is sexually harassed, and every 100 minutes there is a dowry death.

These are the estimates based on reported crimes whereas many of such cases do not even see the light of the day. The magnitude of the problem is very alarming.

Considering violence within family as a private affair of the family has its own backdrop. In the Indian society the existence of a female as an individual, independent entity is seldom imagined. They are most often considered as property of men in the forms of wives, daughters or sisters. So it becomes a private matter of the owners how they will treat their property. Secondly in our Indian culture the family has always been glorified although at times it is the most oppressive institution. Rarely are people ready to question it. This also leads to perpetuation and non-recognition of domestic violence as a social evil and is disastrous for individual growth and development. Yet whatever is the rationale, it is high time to acknowledge and respond to such issues and the sooner we understand this, the better.

1.4.2) Solution to solve this problem & Leading women toward Empowerment

What the author strongly believes is that calamities like wars, riots, natural disasters and so on can snatch away everything, leaving you in sheer misery, but the only thing that you are left with is your ability to make everything possible, your skill and most importantly your education. The feelings that lead you to a sense of having such precious things intact even after several calamities gives you confidence over any kind of trauma.

Other than this, some of the women also face some anti social incidents like rape, divorce etc. Thus, we should be strong enough to fight for our rights, for our freedom and for our livelihood no matter what. Responding to issues of violence against women (VAW) is difficult because of the mindsets, biases and non-cooperative societal attitudes towards this issue. The cases of atrocities on women are seldom reported because people fear that it will only bring dishonor to the family. In situations where the matter gets reported, the

possibility of getting justice remains dismal. This is because, like other forms of oppression, VAW is also a systemic violation of women's rights and dignity. With patriarchal values pervading all the spheres, walks and systems of the society, women end up being sidelined and marginalized.

Considering the exigency to respond to such issues our organization came forward to help these women. Our mission is to provide services and programming that support and accelerate women and strengthen their impact on the economy. As such our organization has taken up a program meant for the benefits of the women on one hand and for making small but important contributions in the big task of promoting the future of girls deprived of education. We are currently engaged in promoting education, self-employment, health and hygiene programs among women.

Being a housewife is not a major focus of concern; we must say women's priorities are more basic, like feeding their children, becoming literate and living free from violence. The length of skirt should not determine the worth of a woman--any woman--, but by the dedication, knowledge and skills she brings to the task at hand".

As said earlier that calamities like wars, riots, natural disasters and so on can snatch away everything leaving you in sheer misery but the only thing that you are left with is your ability to make everything possible, your skill and most importantly your education , and above all our confidence and our will power to survive.

The author encourages you to support all Women. Without your support, they won't exist, without your support we won't have a voice. Without a voice we will remain spectators to our own destiny. Now, more than ever, we need peace in our own media.

About Muslim women in India, Khanam gave this interview:

1.4.3. Rozina Khanam takes a leading role in the controversial struggle for expanded freedoms for Muslim women

Muslim women have become an absolute symbol of oppression, and distorted images of them permeate news coverage. Rozina Khanam refuses to wear the tudung, the scarf traditionally wrapped around Muslim women's heads. For that matter, the master lady refuses to do a lot of things. Tired of the constrained women's role in Muslim society, Rozina is baring her face – and leading for expanded freedoms for Muslim women.

Rozina– who is Master —has dedicated herself to fighting against this type of “control.” The Muslim social activist has been working for more than a decade to defend the human rights of Muslim women.

Rozina is a well know social worker and executive project director in a Non Govt. Reg. organization called Women Welfare Society Of Patna, whose programs focus on gender analysis, worker health and safety, awareness etc. She arrange different programs which promote women's leadership, micro-enterprise, and political participation, as well as provide training in conflict resolution skills and domestic violence prevention and new interpretation of Islam that includes more modern ideas about women's roles in Muslim society.

She also arranges different health awareness programs in slum areas with the help of UNICEF, ICDS and government health department like breast-feeding, Polio, Iodine, ORS, Nutrition awareness etc. Nowadays her society members are busy in breast feeding and different awareness campaigns in seven districts of Bihar.

She always helps and works to uplift the poor, downtrodden and needy women. She runs such programs that eradicate illiteracy among the masses, which is really a curse to the whole society. She encourage women and girls only for those things, which would help them build faith, trust and relation to their family members by whom they could make their own space in her family and society.

She has a passion for helping young women toward achieving their goals and dreams by teaching them how to have confidence and self-esteem.

Recently she helps Women Welfare Society of Patna in launching Patna Women clubs. This club promotes healthy lifestyles, stresses civic involvement and works towards world peace and understanding. The club is a mechanism through which information, ideas and inspiration are promoted and shared.

According to her, every young lady is a precious gem, each with her own special talents, gifts and intricate self worth. She feels a deep sense of responsibility and obligation towards young girls, to fine-tune them as precious gems. She proposed to expose them to those things that will stir up their gifts and then encourage them to use those talents and gifts to fulfill their purpose and destiny. The mission of Rozina is to help strengthen and foster cultural enrichment in young girls/women.

Through years of working with young Muslim girls she noticed that they are in need of a positive role model - someone who stands for morality, character, honesty, and integrity. As a woman, she desires to fulfill this role in life of these poor girls. Her goal is to train up Muslim women and girls to help them towards achieving their life's dreams and aspirations.

Rozina is well versed with the subject of social work. Her goal is to help women become passionate about life, and every lady can say "I am a woman with attitude and proud of it".

Because the media don't promote these types of Muslim Women and Govt education department and Bihar women welfare Dept. come forward to promote and help her organization financially to achieve these social causes. She has completed a survey on the Muslim women literacy rate in Bihar.

1.5. The women's rights in Cameroon

I am Zoneziwoh Mbongdulo-Wondieh and I would say when I received your invitation to speak on my experience as well as the status of women's rights in Cameroon and some of the principal violence women faced, I was very overwhelmed because I can ask myself seriously - are we progressing on women's issue? Can we see women's rights being met? Can we see women's rights being respected in Cameroon? Of course...NO! The answer is NO! I would like you to know that Cameroon is a home of over twenty million people and women constitute of over 50% of the total population. So, let us say this was an election, the candidate with more votes wins, but when it comes to women's issues there opposite is obvious. The big question is why? Cameroon has adhered to most of the international and regional treaties on protecting and ensuring gender equality. One of which is the CEDAW and its optional protocol, the Maputo Plan of Action, ICPD Program of Action, and many others yet 50% of women in the country has experienced at least a form of violence before the age of 15. We have 45% of girls forced into marriage before the age of 18. We have young girls also forced to undergo female genital mutilation or cutting as well as breast ironing.

So - with all of these can I comfortably say we are progressing or women's rights issue are being promoted or are being priorities? Of course no, because if I do so, we are progressing and or Cameroon is progressive on women's issue then I'm denying the fact that young women and girls are facing violence every day. I'm denying the fact that girl child are forced in to marriage every day; and our girls are dying every day as a result of complications due to pregnancies and child birth, and I'm denying the fact that widows are being discriminated and refused access of what is rightfully theirs, access to inheritance. Or I'm denying the fact that women of age are being called abusive names, and also experience violence by suffering of verbal and physical abuse.

So, all of this constitutes to the fact that women and women's rights in Cameroon are far from meeting to the promises and to me I strongly believe that

some of these inequalities, our leaders must take women's issues as a priority to address and end all forms of violence against women and girls. This can be realized given that government become pro-active address and ensure complete domestication of these treaties that they have committed to, while also providing gender sensitive policies and safe places for all. If no, women will continue to be denied their rights

As an activist when I talk about numbers of women who have being abused or are victims of one form or another of abuse, I always emphasize, that I'm not just giving numbers, I'm speaking of people and these people are persons who are related to me: It could be a neighbor, it could be a friend, it could be a friend's friend, it could be someone I know. And it could also be related to these people in power, it could be someone I see every day, and we talk, we drink, we share a taxi together, we share common spaces, these are people that are closely related to me, they are humans and then I watch them go through all this pain. This is very painful and frustrating to witness. When all you wish is just to contribute in saving and changing change lives.

1.6. COFAPRI and DR Congo: an activism experience

I'm Bahati, founder and executive secretary of the Congolese Females Action for Promoting Rights and Development - COFAPRI. We are a women's grass-roots organization in rural DR Congo.

In the villages of DR Congo, traditions discriminate women. This has become bad because of wars. DR Congo is the capital of rape. Many women and girls have been raped. They are abandoned to themselves and discriminated.

The wars have caused women and girls to be raped. Some of them got AIDS and others got pregnancies. They became rejected with their children they delivered.

COFAPRI has come to help these women and their children who suffer in the

DR Congo villages. Pregnant women delivered children who have no fathers. We help their children to go to school for education. We pay for their fees and school materials. We think education can help them make a good future, overcome trauma and poverty.

The women are involved in income generating activities of sewing, knitting, animal rearing and small business. In groups, they share experience and learn from one another.

COFAPRI motivates the women to work hard and develop and wants all the children to go to school to avoid the cycle of violence and other consequences.

Our means are very limited. We want people to support COFAPRI and so we can reach out all the women victims of war rape and victims of domestic violence and all the children can get education for better future. Unity is force.

Peace meaning – some words

When arguing about peace it is important to understand the different meanings that peace concepts can have. Galtung (1967) pointed out three different meanings of peace:

Peace as “a synonym for stability or equilibrium” having as a basic proposal the inner peace of human beings, and this concept of peace is a little controversial one because it may have violence to maintain peace; it works with “the idea of a predictable social order even if this order is brought about by means of force and the threat of force”. By the way, “this concept does not exclude violence, since the soldier can have peace with himself on the battlefield” (Galtung, 1967, p.12). The other concept is the idea that peace is a natural state in which there is an absence or a lack of “organized collective violence” by human groups or nations, it is also known as “negative peace”, not involving particular violent cases, because here the important fact is that

the violent act be perpetrated by human groups, or nations, involving ethnic conflicts, etc. The third one means a “cooperation and integration between human groups”, not worried too much with an absence of violence, known as “positive peace”. Although this idea excludes “major violence” it tolerates “occasional violence” (Galtung, 1967, p.12).

It is important to always remember that a historical context is fundamental to understand those ideas and concepts. García (2013) argues that ideas may engender by themselves the complexity of the misunderstood because of their own nature. She affirms that by using a certain argument that was borrowed from one place and using it all over the world may become a very complex trouble once that argument or concept was made upon certain cultural and linguistically characteristics that just cannot be used *ipsis literis* in every context. But anyway what is expected from intellectuals is this important work of study and adapting those interesting ideas to their own realities, their own contexts giving them a new interpretation according to a specific situation.

Historically women were tied with the idea of peace making¹¹; if we look for some archetypes of peace we would find at least in three different cultures goddesses that were linked with peace: Eirene (Greek mythology), Pax (Roman mythology) and Tara (White Tara and Green Tara) from Hinduism. So, peace has a woman’s face.

Women voices and experiences described at this chapter showed us that peace-building is a powerful meaning just if we include gender equity, and in spite of the lack of specific tools to properly work on it, those women took the first step to change their realities and gradually pass over the conflict consequences into their own societies.

11 Just the idea.

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CHAPTER 5

“Memorycide” and gender violence in a Society of Eastern Europe

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Abstract

This research proposes to explore the nexus between “denied memory” or “wounded memory” and gender violence normalized in a symbolic level of production of meaning.

For this respect, the following points will be analyzed: a) the perception of violence in intimate relationships of second generations post-conflict ; b) the impact of the “memory of war” on “cultural perception of violence” among generations of younger, adults and elder and between women and men of same generation.

The central thesis of this essay is that in a post-war Serbian society, the memory is collectively “denied” because of Serbs’ stigmatization, and an increase of violent behavior and a greater incorporation of symbolic violence is favored. My observations will focus on cases where denied memory is at work and, on the memory practices, define a way of normalized perception of violence and in some cases, as we shall see, how some practices become real rituals.

Key words: Denied memory, Serbia, Gender, Post-war, Memory of war.

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1. Introduction

Currently sociological studies about gender violence overlook the interdependence between “actualized violence” in gender relationships and a “denied memory” of a past collective violence caused, for example, by a war. My contribution will regard changes involving this relation/twin in Serbia, at a time of the general growth of gender violence. The hypothesis from which I intend to begin is that “denied memory” at a cultural, collective level, has an important role in the phenomenology of gender violence today and this aspect of twin denied memory-actualized violence has, to a large extent, been ignored up to now. This interconnection between “denied memory” or “wounded memory” of a collective past experiences and violent behavior in daily live becomes evident in those populations that have been recently involved in a war and a mass murder of civilians. But, above all, the concept of “denied memory” becomes crucial at the level of culture and production of meaning and of a more general embodiment of symbolic forms of gender violence interjected collectively and individually.

In Eastern Europe, the Serbian state had a fundamental role in ‘90s Yugoslavian war and suffered for some years a cultural and economic forced isolation from Euro-Atlantic institutions.

This research proposes to explore the nexus between “denied memory” or “wounded memory” and gender violence normalized in a symbolic level of production of meaning.

For this respect, the following points will be analyzed:

1. the perception of violence in intimate relationships of second generations post-conflict ;
2. the impact of the “memory of war” on “cultural perception of violence” among generations of younger, adults and elder and between women and men of same generation.

The central thesis of this essay is that in a post-war Serbian society, the memory collectively “denied” because of Serbs’ stigmatization, favored an increase of violent behavior and a greater incorporation of symbolic violence. My observations will focus on cases where denied memory is at work and on the memory practices define a way of normalized perception of violence and in some cases, as we shall see, how some practices become real rituals. A kind of action spread in their everyday life (intra-policy) and within groups (inter-group) that constitutes the same generational cohort and which has a preferred target in women.

2. Serbian society between past and present

2.1. The effects of recent war in the present

Currently, Serbian society can be described as anomic, post-war, post-conflict and in a political and economic transition.

Nevertheless, numerous research studies have shown that the debate regarding what actually transpired in the wars of the 1990s, and by Serbia’s role therein, has essentially never even been initiated by the state despite the Europeanisation process which started in 2000 (Gordy, 2013; Subotic’, 2009).

This transition, “proclaimed” officially and effectively not-realized, puts the Serbian citizenship in an ambiguous condition. On the one hand, the transition should move the Serbian people into the future, establishing a separation with a past that has made the Serbs the enemies of the Yugoslav federation, on the other hand the efforts made by post-Milosevic governments did not produce the anticipated effects of European integration. “Transition” is an ideological construct of western domination, based on the narrative of an integration of Yugoslav countries into the Western core (Horvat & Štiks, 2012).

All post-Yugoslav governments have had to filter and decontextualize certain adverse memory contents to better their chances of being accepted into the European Union. These dual negotiations over visions of the past, between the

state and civil society, on the one hand, and between the state and the international community, on the other hand, generate the process of denied memory in all post-conflict Yugoslav spaces (David, 2014).

Since 2000 to date – Serbia is going through a “delayed transformation” phase (post-Milosevic era) that is characterized by a macroeconomic stabilization, a political democratization, an accelerating privatization, but also by the new increase in unemployment and disillusionment of the population about a democratic and economic change also as a result of a cultural and economic forced isolation from Euro-Atlantic institutions.

2.2. Family life in Serbia

Family life in Serbia in the first 15 years since the beginning of transformation processes post war has been characterized by (Stanojević, 2009): a) shortage of resources (material and non-material), b) slow changes or preservation of the overtaken family forms, relations and values, c) privatization of family life; d) special strategies for coping with transformation risks. “Under the influence of negative global structural factors, in the Serbian families a re-traditionalization and post-patriarchalization process of their gender relations and a more general revanche of masculine identity through the implementation of violent behaviors within their families is evident.” (Bartholini & Jugovic, 2014, p. 27) The majority of families show in their behavior as well as in expectations some mix of modern and post-modern habits, which are grounded in many cases on a very traditional structural and functional base of household practices of families living in them. This mixture of structure, values and habitual practice makes family life more complex and potentially more risky, which can result in not so rare disturbances in family life and in social surroundings (Subotić, 2009).

2.3. Violence against women and the criminalization of society

Today, Serbia is a country with high rates of gender violence: recent research spread from Observatory on Violence Against Women (March 2015) describes

how in the period 2011-2014, 37.5% of women in Serbia had suffered family violence, in levels that 54% suffered violence in everyday life; that the most common form between these is psychological violence, present in 48.7% of cases, followed by physical violence with a percentage of 21.6%. Calls recorded by the police, regarding the request for help for episodes of obvious violence or serious threats against women (especially wives and daughters), were about 20,000.

In a more general context, it can be distinguished by the criminalization of society, a promotion of hedonistic values, which is supported by “easy” enrichment and rejecting the importance of the value of work and education; negative social stratification; expansion of “patriotic mysticism”; structural violence with the threat to human potential economic and political structures; a media “idolization” of known criminals as “warrior patriots”. (Jugovic, 2014). Violence among partners of the second generations post-conflict above all interconnects nationalism, gendered-body and sexuality.

The question that I am attempting to answer through the observation of places and through a telephone survey among different generations of Serbian people is whether and how the coupling of individual and collective memories (consciences) - events such as the war of the years ‘90 for the Serb people - produces changes in forms of remembering and forgetting, which themselves have implications at the intra- and intergeneration level and at the level of collective culture at large. In order to attempt this, I have identified several preliminary questions which I feel will be crucial to address in future research on denied memory and gender violence in Serbia. My starting point is a constructivist conception of memory as a selective structure operating in relation to the distinction between remembering and forgetting. Within this framework, I also start from the hypothesis that the encounter between past events and collective memory takes the form of a mutual shaping, the outcome of which it is impossible to foresee.

A contextualization of risk factors in coherent and homogeneous sets with other relevant variables becomes important for rendering meaningful the analysis of the embodiment of violence. For example: when a predictive analysis is performed, the distinction between those variables considered endogenous causes (Kline, 2011) and those which are moderators or mediators (Baron & Kenny, 1986) is an important step in the right direction.

In other words, some behavior may be representative of an embodiment of violence by themselves, but if combined in a sequential manner with other occurring factors, their predictive strength may be much stronger.

3. “Denied memory”, “wounded memory” and “social and symbolic embodiment of violence”

In recent years, sociological studies defined “past” as an open account with our recent past - lived or “reported” – and therefore must – “come to terms with the past” (Misztal, 2003, p. 147). So it becomes important that collective memory can achieve framing of memoirs in a desirable fashion. This term – “coming to terms with the past” – is used to refer to processes of remembrance and the construction of a repository of public knowledge about traumatic past, also including discourses and popular memory

The term memory is used to describe a selective process that allows us to distinguish between things to be remembered and things to be forgotten. A “denied memory” plays a role no less crucial than that of remembering (Connerton, 2008). Forgetting has an essential function in that it eliminates aspects which if remembered could be damaging both for individuals and for society (Bartoletti, 2009).

Time in human relations is not a mathematical concept and as such does not have an abstract, neutral validity, but it is a subjective and inter-subjective concept coinciding with the duration of experiential perception (Bergson, 1922). Memory is a plural concept if we consider the different planes on which this

continuous work of selection takes place: at the level of single individuals, concrete groups (families, friends, social and political groups) and society as social system. In these three different arenas, a distinction is made between individual memory, collective memory and social memory. At the first two levels, the work of memory is linked to meaning and identity: individual memory is linked to the construction of reality, of sense of self (autobiographical memory) and of a connection to others, while collective memory is the memory of a concrete group that roots its identity also in its memories of a shared past to which the group ascribes significance, not only giving sense to the present and open to the future, but also allowing the construction of differences between us/them (Assmann, 2002). The approach of “memory of time” as *durée* of “wounded memory” or “memorycide” for the Serbian generations would be a complementary approach for studying the effects of the “social and symbolic embodiment of violence” in the second generations post war.

“Denied memory” means a collective experience that “cannot easily be integrated into coherent and constructive narratives” (Olick, 1999, p. 344). In the specific case of Serbian population, this concept highlights an unwillingness to speak about the 1990s war and, more often, an inability to do so because “atrocities are both acknowledged and denied; or (...) regret or knowledge are expressed but responsibility by a person or persons is doubted” (Obradovic, 2015, p. 19). Nevertheless instead of leading to a rethinking of the Serbian war crimes, the “Stigma” that the Hague tribunal has given to offenders of barbaric rapes and massacres, the international public opinion has indirectly given it to the whole Serbian population, provoking in them a wide hostility toward the Hague tribunal and a deeper shame that only an operation of cancellation of the memory (“denied memory” or “memorycide”) can balance.

However the effect of this operation creates a great “attitude” towards gender violence and violence against themselves.

“Denied memory” is not only a topic of psychological studies – already wide-

ly conducted of many researchers. Its effects of memory contents' decontextualization also concern sociological studies because they are reflected in the daily life's balance, manipulating not only the present but the gender relationships and also the "normal" daily life that is expressed in relationships and bonds. However, in our opinion, a "denied memory" as an effect of a "stigma" performs in any case the "female" and the "male" identity, over the perception of "Who I am" and "as I have seen from other" for a people with such a tragic experience in recent past. If the internal time concerns the subjective *durée* of a concrete experience, civil time refers to all of the inter-*durée* in a common environment (*Lebenswelt*) and through the "wounded memory" of singular people incorporates symbolic violence. The degree of "social symbolic embodiment" determines the possibility of making violence a normal occurrence, both individually and collectively. The question is instead related to the changes that are involving embodied memories: that is, the effects of the relationship between current relationships in intimate sphere and memories with regard to the remembering of individuals and their way of constructing the present, past and future. Finally, shifting from the issue of embodied memories and culture to the level of the social system, we should ask ourselves if we can really speak of a specific way of "denied memory", with respect to social perception of gender violence in Serbia.

Paul Ricoeur in *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (2000) talks about "wounded memory", referring to the use and abuse of memory. In fact, it could talk about diseases of memory because the identity is always marked by extreme fragility. The notion of "wounded memory" accurately identifies how humiliation leads to silence.

On the other hand, the concept of "wounded memory" identifies precisely how a state can humiliate its victims, leading to silence although it is optimistically believed to have cured these people from their wounded memory. Vamik Volkan (2003) calls this phenomenon the "traumatized people memorycide". The key concepts are trauma and the effect of unbearability that

become, in our opinion, “memorycide” or “wounded memory” of people with the stigma of “Cain”².

The continuity between “social and symbolic embodiment of violence” and “wounded memory” permits a different definition of categories and “action fields” of violence and to specify the effects of “wounded memory” as *durée* (diachronic time) and the crystallization of “social and symbolic embodiment of violence” in gender (adults and young people) relationships is a key for the analysis of currently phenomenology of embodiment of violence. The interconnection of the two concepts allows us to indicate the wounded memory of the first generation of 90s war in Balkans as a complementary tool for more wider understanding of phenomenology of violence.

4. A telephone survey among different generations of Serbian people

The goals of our research project “Denied memory and gender violence in Serbia” have been:

- a) to ascertain how different generations and social groups in Serbia differ in terms of resources of memory on the basis of survey data; b) to reconstruct the strategies which the citizens of Serbia use in every daily life (relying on a combination of resources available to them) – for embedding the gender violence; and c) to analyze the social and symbolic struggles of the holders of different types of memory in everyday life in Serbian society and at the institutional level.

A telephone survey within the project “Social memory and Denied memory” has been designed as a national proportional stratified probability sample of 2000 respondents.

Data on the population are taking over from official statistical publications

2 Biblical character of the Old Testament, who kill his brother Abel.

The sample frame was made of people who were of age, permanent residents of Serbia, available at the time of the survey and able to provide answers to the questions in the survey. The survey took place in two waves (October to December 2014 and February to March 2015). The number of respondents who took part was 889, which is in accordance with the usual response rate (44.5%) for telephone surveys. A standardized questionnaire with 24 questions was used in the telephone survey and required about 15 minutes for its realization. The questionnaire included six questions intended for the identification of embodied, institutionalized and objectified denied memory, nine questions on gender violence and four questions for establishing social and cultural capital available to respondents. The remaining five questions were used to gather standard socio-demographic data such as gender, ages, place of birth, parents' occupations, respondents' occupation, etc.

Respondents' socio-demographic data are given in Tables 1 – 4 below.

Table 1. Respondent gender

Gender	No	%
Female	502	56,5%
Male	387	43,5%
Total	889	100%

Table 2. Respondent groups according to age

Respondent groups according to age	No	%
from 18 to 30 years of age	206	23,2%
from 31 to 45 years of age	236	26,4%
from 46 to 65 years of age	322	36,3%
over 65 years of age	125	14,1%
Total	889	100%

What is valued in Serbia today? The past experience of a people or the actual economic condition? And what ought to be valued, in your opinion?

- Who is well off today? Who are people who are satisfied in the present circumstances? More women or men? More younger or adults or elderly?

- Who is a “veteran”? What does “Cain” stigma mean? Do you think that who fought the war is more aggressive with their partner in daily life?
- Why is gender violence a phenomenon of all social classes?
- Is it possible to think that the past war makes Serbian people a violent people also even in their intimate relationships?
- What is the recipe for normality in Serbia after ‘90s war? What is normality, after all? Is it defined in the same way here as in other countries, or not?
- What are you ready to do in order to achieve a good identity? And what is it that you’d never do?
- What have been the main obstacles in your life? And what has helped you?
- What sort of people you feel to be “your kind of folks”? What are their characteristics? Why do you feel close to them?
- What sort of people would you never cooperate with? What do you do if you’re forced to deal with them?
- What sort of people would you never socialize with? What are these people like? What is it that bothers you the most in them?
- In today’s Serbia, how should kids be brought up? What is it that they should be taught? If you have kids, who should be their role model, and why?
- How would EU accession affect life in Serbia, in your opinion? What would its benefits and costs be?

Data from the survey were used for the reconstruction of social space and field of cultural memory in Serbia – that is, of social structure and structure of patterns of cultural practices in Serbia. In other words, we attempted to put together a puzzle of different types of denied memory, embodiment of violence, perception of gender violence and identity.

The results based on the telephone survey data are ambiguous. The main opposition in the field of cultural memory appears to be the opposition between “denied memory” and “actualized violence”, although present along this axis

are also traces of the opposition between local-post-patriarchal values and global culture. The meaning of the second axis is also ambivalent. On the one hand, the opposition between traditional culture and contemporary popular culture is present. On the other hand, a contrast between classes of adults and younger and elder which made up the second dimension of the cultural perception of gender violence

However, in both cases, when indicators of socio-demographic factors (age, education, occupation, income, wealth, place of residence) were projected as supplementary variables in the cultural maps thus constructed, their distribution showed close links to certain types of cultural recognition of gender violence as an effect of past collective experience of war. This indicates that the cultural practices of citizens of Serbia are also socially structured and that different cultural and age resources are available to different social groups.

In Serbia it is possible to assume that the adult generation, who experienced, in the recent past, the inter-ethnic war and violence of 90s conflict, has unwittingly incorporated and conveyed violent attitudes that are reflected in gender relationships between partners.

We identify this process as a “social embodiment of gender violence” (Bartholini, 2013) as an indirect effect of a “denied memory” and consequentially as “suffered Cain stigma”.

Indeed, it is possible to suppose that adult generations and young people, who have experienced the war effects in a recent past (instead of experiencing now the war as in other countries of Mediterranean area), are unconsciously experiencing violence in their gender relations as a collective effect of a memory of a recent war past and are experiencing the violence as an everyday condition of existence. The symbolic and material violence in its micro-structural aspects (in intimate relationships) has replaced the conflict in those ex Yugoslavian States that have been recently traversed by the 1990s conflicts

(Woodward, 1995; Rieff, 1996; Marzo Magno, 2001; Seculić, 2006). The gender prejudice that has replaced the prejudices of ethnic, religious and cultural trends in Serbian society and are in a general condition of social poverty, increases the number of incidents of violence within intimate relationships. These prove the substantial inability of men to redefine its identity in parallel with the cultural and economic factors such as war and globalization have contributed to defining.

5. Conclusion

In our opinion, the Serbian society is characterized by a “social symbolic embodiment” of violence that depends on precise connectivity patterns with representations of gender prejudices” in individual and collective behavior and the level of consciousness-unconsciousness of embodiment determines the same possibility that the “embedded male violence” turns into violent behavior – unaware and “creeping” in the second generation of ex-Yugoslavia.

According to our hypothesis, the opposition between post-patriarchal values and post-Modernist values that are “super-connected” in a fast transmission of information leads to gender violence. This last is a result of a general lack of strong references and a values orientation that satisfies the men and women of the contemporary Serbia society.

In Serbia, the embodiment of violence could be analyzed as processes that result in a “concretization” of denied memories because the capacities to perceive and comprehend of Serbian people are “shaped by their inescapable histories and location and culture” (Radstone, 2011, p. 11) The relationships in the family are understood as a kind of hinge or relaying mechanism between individual remembrance and public (in particular, national) memory. According with Malešević (2013) when asserts: “No human being lightly tolerates unfair and non-reciprocal relationships. Any marked and prolonged social injustice requires an elaborate and believable process of legitimization. This is particularly the case with the extreme forms of essentially one-sided

relationships that constitute violence” (Malešević, 2013, p. 219). Therefore, a denied memory can represent for them the very core of their existence. But Serbs don't recognize this relation between “actualized violence” in gender relationships and a “denied memory” of a past collective violence, or in other words, between “memorycide” and perception of violence as a normal event in different aspect of their daily life.

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CHAPTER 6

Status and condition of indian women

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Abstract

As quoted by Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru (First Prime Minister of Independent India), “One can tell the condition of a nation by looking at the status of its women”.

In Ancient India, women held a very respectable position in the society. But with the passage of time many evil customs stepped in. The Indian Constitution grants equal rights and privileges to women. Gender equality is enshrined in our Constitution. But these legal protections have limited effect. Though India offers many opportunities for women, oppression and discrimination is still prevalent in rural areas as well as in urban areas. In order to bring in equality, evils like Dowry, child marriages, domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, sex trade, illiteracy, economic slavery etc. have to be fully removed. The final solution to these evils lies in the minds of the people themselves, the change should come from the mind and soul. With the improvement in situation of women, we will build a better nation, a better society.

Key words: Women’s status in India, Condition of women.

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1. Position of women in Ancient India:

Although this topic has been a subject of controversies for a very long time, there are many scholars who believe that the respect and honour which India gave to women was not enjoyed by them in any other part of the world. Indian women held a very respectable position in the past. The guidelines provided by Vedas and other sacred texts clearly show that women held a very virtuous and upright position in ancient India. They even enjoyed property rights in ancestral property (Kapoor, 2010). Although the opinions of historians are at variance with each other, we have mixed bag of thoughts on this subject. Some of them are of opinion that the women never shared rights with men on the basis of equality.

India is an ancient country with a long history. The political and economic conditions of the country have been changing, so has been the status of women in the country. The position of women in different parts of the country has been affected differently by the economic conditions, religious traditions and thinking patterns of the people living in those regions (Luthra, 2006).

With the foundation of Mughal Empire in the second half of 16th Century, a political and cultural watershed was reached. After Mughals, the British ruled India. This period, often referred to as medieval period, was considered as a 'Dark Age' for Indian women. The foreign conquests brought entirely different cultures and values, which resulted in the decline in the status of Indian women. Due to social, economic and political unrest many social evils crept into Indian Society. In the colonial period, there was a profound loss of women's economic power and social worth. Even after many efforts by our social reformers, these social evils are still clinging to our society.

Indian Constitution provides equal rights and privileges to women. They are equal in the eyes of law and are not subjugated. Besides so much of legal protection provided by the law, the situation of women in India is far from satisfactory. The official statistics show a declining rate of sex ratio, health

status and literacy rate. Social evils like Dowry deaths, child marriage, domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, molestation, sex trade are rampant in different parts of the country.

The term 'Dowry' may not sound familiar to someone from outside this country. But this evil tradition has claimed the lives of many innocent women. In Indian Society when a girl gets married, her parents provide her with certain gifts in the form of cash, furniture, jewellery or any other valuable property. Though it used to be out of the free will of girl's parents, but over the years this tradition took an ugly turn wherein the boy's family force the girl and her parents to give them expensive gifts and cash. This custom is shamelessly followed everywhere in the country. When the girl's family show their inability to meet these unlawful demands, the girl is either forced to return to her parents and worse she even gets murdered by her husband's family.

National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) figures states that 8233 dowry deaths were reported in 2012 in various states. The statistics work out to one death per hour. According to a report of *The Times of India* (Leading National Daily Newspaper), one women dies every hour due to dowry related reasons on an average in the country. There has been a steady rise in such cases as per official data. The figures are shockingly high. What does it suggest about a society where one innocent women gets killed every hour.

This problem is not only limited to lower or middle class; higher socio-economic strata is equally involved in such practices. ("Dowry Deaths: One woman dies every hour," 2013). The problem of does not lie with being rich or poor, educated or uneducated; it lies deep inside the psyche of the society. People are shamelessly involved in such heinous crimes.

We have very stringent Anti-dowry laws in the country. Indian Penal code provides very strict punishment for dowry deaths. We have Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961; which prohibits to give or take dowry. We need quick convictions

in such cases. But it is very unfortunate that these cases take ages to resolve. There is no deterrence for wrong doers. Improper investigations by the police at the initial stage of a case slow down the process of judicial proceedings.

The Dowry system is also seen as an explanation for some others evils too; which have cropped up from dowry system only (Oldenburg, 2002). People do not want to have a female child because they can not afford to pay huge chunks of their income at the time of their daughter's marriage. Their wish to have a male child leads to another evil practice of female infanticide. Deliberate killing of a newborn female child is called female infanticide. The patriarchal nature of our society has caused this evil to continue since centuries. Selective abortion of female foetuses is another issue of concern in India. Sex ratio in India shows a steadily declining trend. Current sex ration of India is 943 females for every thousand males. The declining ratio in India has reached emergency proportions and urgent actions must be taken to alleviate this problem. How ironic and tragic is the fact that one who creates life is herself denied the right to be born. Imbalance in the sex ratio will further aggravate the violence against women and it may lead to further decline in the status of women in this country (Sharma, 2014). The gender of a child plays a significant role in its socializing process. Male children are permitted far greater economic and social freedom. Indulged and pampered male child can just get away virtually with anything he does. On the other hand female child is strictly tutored to conform to behavioural norms and dress codes, to be patient, tolerant, obedient and virtuous (Bhattacharya, 2004).

Domestic violence is already a major cause for concern in this country. It is another serious problem which is often linked to the disadvantageous position of Indian women in the society. The disparagement and downgrading of women is an essential aspect of patriarchal form of our society. The roots of women's oppression are an outcome of their social status, more appropriately stated, it is a result of their *absence of status*. If figures are to be believed overall one-third of women have experienced physical violence and about 1 in 10

has experienced sexual violence. These figures translate to millions of women who have suffered, and continue to suffer, in the hands of husbands and other family members. They are physically and mentally tortured by their husbands and family members. There is another form of domestic violence prevalent in our country in the form of honour killing. These are acts of vengeance, usually death, committed by male family members against female family members, who are held to have brought dishonour upon the family. The perceived dishonour is usually the result of these behaviours like dressing in a manner, unacceptable to the family, marrying outside caste/religion, having relationship outside one's marriage. People kill their daughters in the name of preserving the honour of the family. The reason this practice to continue in India, at a much faster rate and almost on daily basis, is because of the fact that the cast system continues to be at its rigid best and people from rural area are often reluctant to change their thinking with respect to their religion, caste and general societal norms.

Domestic violence and Rape are among the most unreported crimes because of the social stigma attached to the nature of the crime. In India, the social and economic costs of reporting such incidents are very high. Due to economic dependence and fear of ostracization, these cases usually go unreported. The women, especially illiterate rural women, suffer silently in the hands of their abuser.

Rape is another evil which haunts the society. Latest statistics of Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) shows that every day, 93 women are being raped in the country. It is also revealed that most of the victims are aged between 18 to 30 years. The most horrifying fact is that majority of the offenders are known to the victims (Philip,2014). New Delhi, our Capital city, has the highest number of Rape reports among other Indian cities. This issue was brought to the forefront after the brutal gang rape of a 23 year old medical student in Delhi on 16th December 2012. This incident led to the sudden outpouring of anger and frustration about the situation that allow such incidents to take place. Peo-

ple took to the streets in large numbers calling for change. After this incident there was an amendment in the Criminal Law of the country relating to sexual offences. New offences like acid attacks, sexual harassment, Voyeurism, stalking have been incorporated in the Indian Penal Code. Stringent punishments have been provided under the new amendments.

The actual fact is that rape cases in rural areas do not get reported much. They don't get any media attention. Rural women are mostly uneducated, unaware of their rights and extremely poor. In addition to this, the pressure from the family members doesn't let them report these incidents. They don't get any financial help from the government. Notwithstanding the fact that we have very stringent anti-rape laws in our country, these poor women do not have the means and resources to take recourse to the judicial system. For poor folks in India, Judicial system is like a luxury which can not be afforded by them. These Stringent laws do not benefit the weaker sections of the society. So what is the use of these laws which can not secure justice to the poor and needy? Conviction rates are also very low. A strict penal provision is supposed to provide deterrence in the mind of the society. A case is lingered on for years and years in the court. *"If he can get away with the punishment, so can I"*; this is usually the mindset of people. Justice delayed is justice denied; when judiciary fails to impart justice it leads to denial of justice. While accused is usually set free on bail, it is the victim who goes through the entire social stigma. She gets harassed in courts, grilled by defence lawyers with all those inappropriate questions on her character. She suffers a secondary victimization in the hands of judiciary. With already limited means how would anyone think of resorting to judicial system in case of violation of their rights? So the victims prefer to stay quiet and suffer silently.

In my opinion the major reason for increase in incidents of rape is due to the lack of sex education in the country. Sex education is considered as taboo in our country. You can't even discuss it openly. The lack of knowledge and understanding about this topic often leads to frustration and obsession, so men

resort to rape and sexual assaults on women. Moreover women are considered as objects of sexual pleasure. All she is supposed to do is to bear children, cook food and satisfy men. This sick mentality makes these men indifferent towards the pain and plight of women.

Illiteracy amongst people is another major problem especially in rural India. High rate of illiteracy is a matter of deep national concern. Though literacy rates are improving with each passing year, but the pace is slow. The last decade has shown a considerable improvement in literacy rates but it is still too low to be considered as satisfactory. Urban population has realized the importance of education in one's life, urban women are better placed than rural women. When a woman is illiterate, she is totally unaware of her legal rights. Being unaware of their rights and privileges they often fall prey to these evil practices.

One of the Today's biggest human right crises is Human Trafficking. India being high on population provides a very favourable ground for traffickers. Young girls and children are their soft targets. Thousands of girls are trafficked every year from remote villages to large cities and sold as domestic workers or sex slaves. They are sold to brothels where they are abused physically and mentally. Extreme poverty, lack of education and poor implementation of Government's minimum wage system in rural India make girls more vulnerable to being trafficked (Sur, 2013). It has become an organized billion dollar industry. Young girls get kidnapped, deceived and even sold by their own family members just for few bucks. Poor parents desperate to pay their debts, sell their girls to brothel owners in return for a paltry sum. Due to poverty, these girls and their families look up to big cities for employment. These poor girls get lured by trafficking lords with false promises. In this way they get trapped in this vicious circle forever. Often illiterate, they have no clue of how to return home. The girls, many between ages 10 to 12, go through a rigorous training process, involving starvation, being burnt with cigarettes and beatings. The traffickers know pretty well how to break their spirit to the

point where they totally surrender themselves. Many amongst these girls are HIV positive. India's high instance for human trafficking has led them to be a nation with one of the highest rates of HIV/AIDS.

If these girls ever get rescued, they are usually repatriated to their home of origin or they are placed in a Protective Home or a Hostel, owned privately or by the government. They are often ostracised by their own family members. The social stigma attached with being a sex worker does not let their families to welcome back their own child. The Protective homes too are not considered as safe for these women. These Protective homes are in a very deplorable condition in which girls are physically, mentally and sexually maltreated. State run protective homes are designed to accommodate and rehabilitate these neglected girls, but most of them are not prepared to take any responsibility for the girls who are HIV positive or drug addicted. They do not offer any psychological support or counselling for these girls. It is like shifting them from one hell to another. The Supreme Court of India has directed the Central and State Governments to prepare rehabilitation schemes all over the country. We already have Anti-trafficking laws in place, but a lot is still to be done to curb this menace.

Though poverty stricken communities are more likely to face crime, unemployment, and other vices that create a Trafficking prone environment, poverty does not alone explain the occurrence of trafficking. Poverty can increase one's vulnerability to become a victim, but even if poverty is eradicated, trafficking will remain a problem as long as the industry is one of low risk and high profits for the traffickers themselves. This is a major threat because the traffickers face rapidly increasing demand as both the commercial sex industry and the industry for cheap labour are growing around the world. Therefore governmental and non-governmental initiatives should, in addition to implementing poverty alleviation measures, focus on enforcing strict prosecution of the perpetrators of human trafficking ("Human Trafficking - STOP Trafficking and Oppression of Women & Children," n.d.)

Child Marriages have been performed in India since medieval times. Though, social reformers have taken very strong steps to curb the bad practice of child marriages, still in certain remote parts of the country, parents get their children married at a very small age. Barely adolescent, girls marry before they have even seen themselves grow into young women. This leads to pregnancies at young ages, many of which are not able to survive the physical imbalances at this tender age. Law does not permit marriage of girls below 18 years of age and for men below 21 years. However, these matters get unnoticed unless some individual or organization working for the upliftment of the society brings such matter to the fore.

The socio-cultural tradition of our society treats women subordinate to men. It is widely accepted that man is the master of the family and woman is the inferior and subordinate partner. The practice of woman eating last in the family has a direct bearing on her health. She is supposed to feed the whole family first. This has eminent effect on her health especially if it is a family of low economic status. Most direct effects of poor health and nutrition among Indian women are; high mortality rates among young children and women of child bearing age. Adequate nutrition is a fundamental cornerstone in one's health. It is very essential for women, because malnutrition not only affects a women herself but also the health of her children.

Women have always held a certain paradoxical position in our country but it is pertinent to take notice of the fact that the country has seen an increase in the literacy among women. The transition of women from past to present is worth mentioning. They can now be seen working on par with men in every field. Modern Indian women have honed their skills and jumped into a battlefield of life fighting against social restrictions, emotional ties, religious boundaries and cultural clutches. Though the patriarchal ideology of the home being her real domain and marriage being her ultimate destiny hasn't changed much yet there is no arena which remains unconquered by Indian women. This path is full of roadblocks. Women still have to travel a long way to get the status they

actually deserve in the society. Things are improving for them, but at a very slow pace. This journey is not an easy one, rather full of potholes. Gender equality in practice is far more complex than it is in the words.

When our country got Independence, the participation of women nationalists was widely acknowledged. When Indian Constitution was formulated, it gave equal rights to the women considering them equal to men in terms of freedom and opportunity. In the post-independence India series of laws were passed for the upliftment of women. These laws were passed to eliminate discriminations and inequality, to remove external barriers coming in the way of self-realization and development. We have laws which secure property and succession rights of women, right of maintenance, right to equal remuneration & maternity relief etc. Besides legislation, education is an important factor in raising the status of women in the society. An educated woman can take the benefits of these rights and protections guaranteed by our legislature. Various Committees and commissions emphasized the need for equalization of educational opportunities. There is a gradual change in the thinking of women that in order to make a decent living and to assert their rights and privileges and to become economically independent, they must acquire proper skills through education. There has been a constant rise of women ratio in the field of higher education (Mondal, n.d.)

There has been a remarkable increase in the number of women getting out of the four walls of household and becoming economically independent. In the political field also, women enjoy equal rights. After Independence more women are joining political parties. Many of them are holding powerful political offices as Chief Ministers, Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Ministers of State. Now all the political parties have separate women cells/wings. Women of different parties are actively participating in campaigning and organizing meetings at the time of elections. Now the politics is not the exclusive domain of men. We had Mrs. *Pratibha Patil* as our former President. The highest Constitutional Office in our country was held by a woman.

In the Corporate world also, women have carved a niche for themselves. They are holding key managerial positions in the Industry. Women are developing as entrepreneurs at small scale industry level in large number of villages and towns. Self-help groups allow women to tap their potential and skills and earn respectable living. Slowly and steadily their numbers are growing and their efforts are more visible. Women are holding influential positions in every field be it Media & Advertising, Publishing, Entrepreneurs, Research, Engineering, Family Business, Finance, Film Production, Sports, Space, Medicine or Legal consultancy.

If we compare the percentage of educated and independent women with rural uneducated women, it comes out to be a very small proportion. Most of our rural women are still underprivileged, destitute, unprotected and vulnerable to these evil social customs and practices. Most of the rural women are still illiterate and dependent. They do not participate in political, social and economic life of the nation. Emancipation of women in rural India is an essential prerequisite for social progress of the country. Over the years women have made great strides in many areas with notable progress in reducing gender inequalities. Yet realities of domestic violence, sexual exploitation, dowry deaths, trafficking, hit hard against all the development that has taken place. The claims of development and gender equalities are punctured by the ever increasing rates of crime against women. They are still being brutalized, commoditized, materialized and subject to inhuman treatment. Women may have left the secured domains of their home, but a harsh and cruel world awaits them, where they have to prove their worth and talent against the society who see them as mere child producing machines. She has to fight against all the social prejudices against her.

There is a wide gulf between the goals enunciated in the Constitution, Legislation, Policies and Plans on the one hand and situational reality, on the other hand. Though government, administration, legislature and judiciary are doing their best to improve the situation, but still a lot more is yet to be done. Our

courts are already overburdened; the cases linger on for years. Delay, laches and corruption jeopardize the administration of justice to the women. Women education and empowerment along with strict penal actions against the wrongdoer can definitely help in improving the situation. Only legislation and law enforcement agencies cannot prevent the incidents of crime against women. There is a need for social awakening and change in the attitude of masses, so that due respect and equal status is given to women. The awakening can be brought by education, enlightenment among youth and making them aware of the existing social evils. Mass Media and NGOs can play an active role in this. NGOs and women help groups should get full support from the government. Media has a greater impact on young generation. It should endeavor to bring about a positive change in the mindset of the youth; which is the future of any nation. Youth can break the shackles of old age stereotype thinking and can set themselves free from those notions.

We cannot just blame lack of governmental efforts, when we as Citizens, are equally responsible. The final solution to these evils lies in the mindset of people themselves, the change should come within the mind and soul. The weaker sex should not be looked down upon, but be taken care of as an equal partner in life. That is where we will build a better society, a better nation and a better world.

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CHAPTER 7

COFAPRI¹ empowers DR Congo rural women and children of war, rape, and domestic violence to remake their lives peacefully

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Abstract

This article delves into the different ways that Congolese Females Action for Promoting Rights and Development (COFAPRI) is empowering rural women and children of war, rape, and domestic violence. The aim of this endeavor is to help these victims remake their lives in a peaceful way, for a better future.

Key words: Empower, Rural, Rape victims, DR Congo.

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Introduction

COFAPRI is a rural women's grassroots organization operating in the villages of the Eastern DR Congo. It works with women who are often victims of rape during the consecutive wars the country has experienced, and local discriminatory traditions that are harsh for women. The situation of these women has worsened with the advent of unending warfare since 1996, adding to their natural, cultural plights. The women have been raped, sometimes in the presence of their relatives, children, husbands, friends, and neighbors. Rape is rampant in this part of the world. To Baderhe (2010), in war torn countries, rape is unavoidable and it is the way all fighters, rebels and national soldiers, and sometimes UN units involve in. The same writer mentions that 70% of women and girls have been raped Lwero Uganda between 1980 and 1986 during the war; in Liberia, between 1984 and 1994, 15% of women agreed to have been once raped in their life and that some got HIV; in Kosovo, in 1999, between 30 and 50% of women have been raped by Serbian soldiers. These few examples show how rape is appalling for women.

In the context of the DR Congo, the context is not different since rape has been used as a weapon of war. According to Baderhe (2010), Human Rights Watch (HRW) found that between 1998 and 2003, 33% of women were raped in the country. In addition, International Rescue Committee (IRC) found that among all the women raped in the DR Congo, many never reported the abuse, and in every rape, 30 are not reported. Rape is mainly directed toward women and girls of all ages with the main objective of dehumanizing the victim – detaching her from her family. This aims at weakening the victim, her family, and her community, and causing unbearable shame and moral death to her. Some of the women have been contaminated with HIV and STDs (sexually transmitted diseases); many others became pregnant, giving birth to fatherless children.

In order to support these victims, COFAPRI has been involving them in some income-generating activities such as sewing, animal rearing, knitting, beading, learning basic reading and writing and small business, and many others. They perform these activities in teams. After each activity, they share different

issues regarding their lives in their different groups. In these teams, everyone is both a student and a teacher, aiming to promote the rights of women and children, as well as supporting them in their new life, overcoming trauma and poverty.

The children born of rape also suffer discrimination within their families. Because they are fatherless, they are considered to be a social outcast. This must be stopped, as they may choose to seek revenge by joining the militia and repeating the actions of their unknown fathers. It is in this context that COFAPRI is helping them to get school education.

The information presented in this paper was gathered via desk research along with data from the organization. The article details a video conference the Co-founder and Executive Secretary of COFAPRI presented to Red HILA, (a research organization about social sciences and gender) in their last meeting in Colombia. In order to support the story, some quotes from the women have been inserted, along with some of their pictures. Full permission was given by them to use their photos and quotes.

The organization is also committed to educating the population-at-large about scaling down the effects of traditional, discriminatory rules and improving their hygiene that have negatively affected the population, importantly the women and the children in these areas. It focuses on building their confidence, and remaking their lives after the violence of warfare endured within themselves, their homes, their families, and in the wider community. Through a range of educative activities, we believe a new horizon can be reached. The power of education can rebuild broken hearts by making women and children pillars of their families, communities, and the nation in the future.

Background

Due to illegal exploitation of minerals in the Eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo), wars have often been waged on the population. In 1996, these wars began ravaging the country, victimizing women

and girls the most. Being the main target of the fighters, women and children have seen the most awful of ordeals on their land; they have been dehumanized through rape, and other forms of sexual abuse. This is a war on women, using rape as a cheap arm for their physical and moral destruction.

In 2009, taking into account the way that victims have been neglected, Congolese Females Action for Promoting Rights and Development, COFAPRI, was begun by the husband and wife team of Mugisho Theophile and Bahati Valerie.

COFAPRI is located in South Province of the DR Congo and now works in two areas, Nyangezi and Katana, both covering 47 villages. Our goal is to cover the entire country, even the Great Lakes Region (GLR). The women are involved in income-generating activities that we hope, in both short and long term, will help them overcome the trauma inflicted upon them. We strongly believe in the power of education; thus, the children born of raped mothers are provided with school equipment and fees, and get basic education on their hygiene.

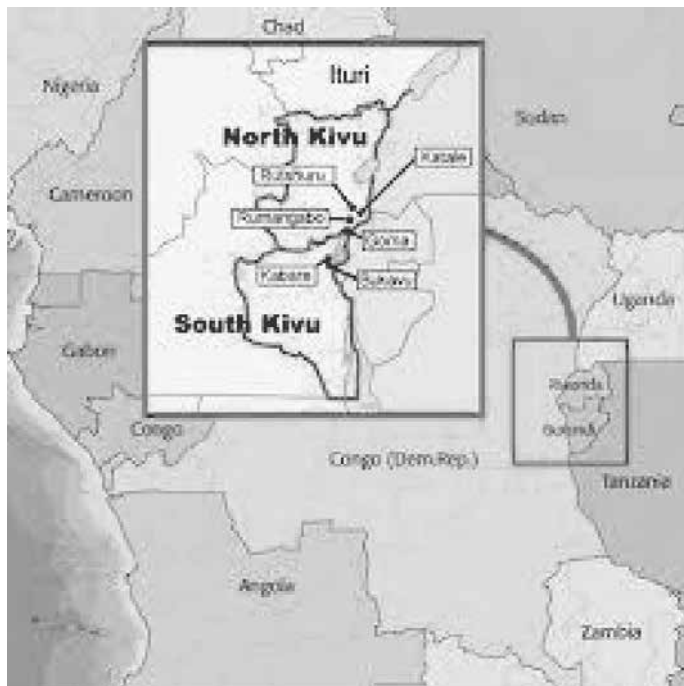
The organization faces many challenges. In fact, one being a sense of insecurity and total lack of peace, felt by the women and their children because the area is still inhabited by perpetrators of violence. Next, comes the increasing number of victims, which reaches beyond our expectations, therefore, creating difficulty in assisting all of those in need. Currently, the organization's financial means are very limited. Different activities are being supported by our generous friends, and the founders' personal meager financial contribution.

The culture and traditions of the DR Congo also present a big challenge. Women here continue to internalize feelings of inferiority to men and do not feel free to speak in public, mostly about sexual issues for fear of being repudiated. Moreover, justice remains also another issue that makes rape scale up because most victims never report their cases to justice; and the few who do so are never given justice. Not listening to these victims of rape generates more insecurity in their hearts and land. We are working towards scaling down

such beliefs and attitudes. It is a long process, but we are determined to reach our goal.

COFAPRI believes that women's empowerment is a strong tool that can help them remake their lives in a peaceful way, by building on self-confidence and mutual support. It is in this way that the organization encourages women to become actively involved in income-generating activities, such as small business, sewing, beading and knitting projects, and the rearing of livestock. These endeavors remain a great adventure, requiring clear vision.

COFAPRI hopes to reduce, if not remove, the cycle of violence in DR Congo, and the stigma and silence associated with it. Its mission is seeing all women, mostly in villages, empowered through education of human rights and developmental skills. This will prepare them to defend those rights and help develop the Eastern DR Congo, the country, and the GLR.



Source: the map of South Kivu <https://www.google.rw/search?q=South+Kivu+in+DR+Congo>

Research Methods

The researchers of this article used desk research combined with data from COFAPRI, the organization that is under study. Since the writers of this article are also the Co-founders of the organization, it became easier for them to trace the data they needed. The article is a detailed text of a video conference that the Co-founder and Executive Secretary of COFAPRI presented to Red Hila, in their last meeting in Colombia. The conference detailed some important themes from a gender perspective in Social Sciences⁴.

In addition, quotes from the women of the organization have been inserted in the story, along with some of their pictures. The researchers received full permission to use these photos and quotes.

Additionally, the researchers perused existing documents regarding the topic under discussion. To Charles (1994), writers often choose the desk research method because they find it very effective, as through its global essence it can be applied in the starting phase of research. Moreover, it is clear that most of the basic information could be easily gathered through the organization under discussion. The use of this method offers many important advantages to the researchers. This infers that the method is free, easier to do and quicker to apply than primary research, also called field research.

Women in the Rural DR Congo Society

Like the majority of the women in villages all over the world, the women in the rural DR Congo have always felt the weight of local culture and traditions that are very discriminatory, giving preference to men. The customs assure the women will be considered as objects, second class people, who have no voice in their households, communities, or, even in the country as a whole. In most parts of the DR Congo, importantly in the villages, women are fully dependent on men, confined to the kitchen and suffer a multitude of traditions. To

4 The full video story can be watched at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-D_y33m200A

illustrate this, Mugisho (2011) underscores that, in the rural DR Congo there are foods that women are not allowed to eat, despite their importance for a woman's health. The approved food for women and children does not contain as much protein as those available to men. Men can eat eggs, milk, and the meat of goats, and chickens, etc. Any woman or child who would dare break this rule has been considered stubborn and, therefore, has committed a taboo, which often ends with severe punishment, such as repudiation for a woman, and flagellation for a child.

Moreover, gender discrimination has equally lead to activities that are purely typical for men and boys (cow keeping, climbing trees, building houses, etc.), and girls and women are not allowed to do (sitting on a mortar, climbing a tree, whistling, sleeping behind the husband in bed, refusing sex to the husband, etc.). This said, the girls are not given the same chance for education as boys, because their futures are divergent. A boy is trained to become a respectable man, i.e., a man women and girls will fear. A girl is prepared to be an obedient woman whose life is shaped in the kitchen and in her compound. This is how inequality is built and nurtured in the rural DR Congo. Ultimately, this is the result of a strong, patriarchal system that dehumanizes women in every aspect of life. In rural villages, where women are naturally illiterate and men are makers and implementers of the harsh law, man is protected by the law, but the woman is endangered. This status of the rural woman is entrenched in the home-grown, social structure that is unquestionably rooted in the colonial era, and, in spite of everything, flourishes today. This has pushed Nangolo and Peltzer (2003) to conclude that general lack of respect for and negligence toward women, who are the mothers of everyone, has lead to atrocious forms of abuse.

In the education context, women and girls have no right to get school education. This builds on discriminatory beliefs and traditions that stipulate that women and girls are second class people and are less intelligent compared to men. Thus, boys will be sent to school, but girls deal with house chores. In line

with Baderhe (2010), the roots of not sending girls to school lie in the local social beliefs that once a girl gets married, she will leave her family to join her husband's, and this creates a gap in the family. Furthermore, she will be helpful and productive for the husband's family and not her own. However, for the boy, it is not the case, because even if he is married, he remains in his family and brings them any support possible he can. So, for the parents there is no need to spend on a girl.

This is in fact due to the widespread belief that women are useless, which often culminates in considering them as objects, and the use of rape as a true arm to destroy them, both morally and physically.

Effects of War on Women in Villages

The cyclic wars in the DR Congo have horribly impacted the lives of women in rural areas. In line with Mullins et al. (2012), the DR Congo warfare has been one of the longest and most damaging, for both humans and the ecosystem, in the contemporary history of Africa. Looking at how women have been affected by the unending wars the country has been experiencing, Francine M'Shangi relates:

My family and I have suffered a lot. We were obliged to leave our small hut, our village, and our friends to seek where to hide as the war was intensifying. Our family got shattered; each of us went to different direction, not thinking of the future. In the forest where I was hidden with other people, I got raped. This tore my body and my heart. I was dying alive, not knowing what the fate of my children and my husband was. I was dead. I was lucky I was not pregnant, and when I returned back home, all our property and houses were looted, houses set to fire. More died in the forests where they went to hide, because they could not have access to medical care.

The unending wars the country has known since 2006 have made researchers coin the concept of the Great War of Africa (World War of Africa) because

nine countries (Angola, Uganda, DR Congo, Chad, Namibia, Rwanda, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe) on the continent have been implicated in the fighting (Mullins et al, 2012). Their involvement was built on the legitimate interests they had in the DR Congo, either mineral, timber, or revenge. In fact, this led Wilondja (2010) to confirm that fighters' interests have drastically affected over 50 million Congolese lives, especially women and

As a coalition was built to hunt the fighters in the mountains of the DR Congo, wars intensified. Wars occurred, stopped and reoccurred. The intermittence of the wars impacted terribly the women, the girls and the children. As the fighters had settled in areas rich in minerals, they had to seek manpower; and women, girls and children became their cheap workers. Once villages were assaulted, people were taken war slaves, the women were captured, raped and then some were forced to become sex slaves and unpaid workers in mines. They experienced horrible moral and physical suffering outside their families.

Considering the vast negative effects of these wars on the people, and mostly on the women, many families became shattered. The women who had been toiling hard in order to make their families healthier became deported. This situation awfully affected many families. The DR Congo has a large number of ethnicities, leading to a variety of traditions. Based on these traditions, raped women became automatically repudiated, either by their husbands or by the husband's families in case the husband was reluctant to follow these discriminatory norms. The advanced reason was that a woman who has been entered by an enemy becomes also an enemy. In fact, this became serious as, instead of protecting the woman victim, they unanimously blame her, and so send her out of the family. It is in this vein that Mbusa (2008) concluded that DR Congo diversity in cultures and traditions has also nurtured the continuation of violence on women, families' disunity and conflict inside the country.

This said, the expelled victim in most cases has had children with the husband who is chasing her now. Yet in the rural DR Congo, women totally depend on

the husband who is the daily bread winner; and moreover, the women are not allowed to have any personal property, like owning land, or cattle. Everything belongs to the husband or his family. Now once a woman is expelled, she goes bare handed, while she has children. The question remains how these children will survive, as the mother has nothing at all to help them. In line with Mugisho (2011), such situation has often been one of the main causes why children involve in insane activities; the boys join rebels and the girls involve in untimely sexual activity, not thinking of the consequences this might generate, which in the long run becomes both a social burden and threat.

In 1994, the Rwandan genocide occurred, and most of the perpetrators fled to the DR Congo with all of their arms. When the liberation war started in 1996, it reached its objective by ousting Dictator Mobutu, who accommodated the Rwandan genocidaires in the country. This situation has caused generalized mayhem, and since then, the different militias that operate in the rich mineral areas are mostly involved in destabilizing the area and inflicting violence. The militias include the Interahamwe (whose majority is of ethnic Hutus from Rwanda), the Mai-Mai (a loose association of traditional Congolese local defense forces, who fought the influx of Rwandan immigrants), and the Alliance of Democratic Forces (ADF, made up of Ugandan expatriates and supported by the government of Sudan, which fought the government of Uganda). Finally, rape has also been committed by civilians. The statement of Nzigire Eulalie does not differ from the details here above:

Our fate started with the war of liberation, in 1996. As the war was building, we became more and more victims, and our daughters were not safe. The wars were creating militias, and without the wars we would not suffer as we have been. The rapists were of different categories and used various awful ways of raping. It is very sad to retell but I have to, I want you to tell the world on our behalf, of what has happened to us. Among those evil doers, we could not exactly know who is who, but we could see some in uniforms, and others looked like civilians. The common thing among them is that they had guns with them.

Some women victims could recognize some of the rapists, as they were neighbors, Interahamwe or even some of the Congolese army. The language they spoke helped us to think of their origins.

The warfare drove women and girls from their homes, seeking refuge in unlivable places, such as forests, swamps, mountains, etc. This is where most of them have been raped, while venturing out, night or day, seeking food or water. As these places are unlivable, many people died due to the absence of basic hygienic conditions, and lack of medicine once they fell sick. The women and children who took refuge here did so because their husbands had been killed or taken as war hostages. Naturally, it is the man who is in charge of the family in the eastern DR Congo. But due to warfare, women have become responsible for their families. This depicts the highly dangerous situation of being a woman in this part of the world. The children born of rape are discriminated against by some family members.

Rape in the eastern DR Congo occurs in different contexts and locations, and has no regard for the age or status of the victims. Men and women, mature people and children have been raped, sometimes in horrific situations and in the presence of family members, friends or relatives. One woman rape survivor said:

They did it to me. It was at night as they entered our house while my husband and our children were asleep. They broke into the house, took my husband and tied him by the legs and arms, they told me to remove my clothes, and they did it to me in the eyes of my husband and our four children... (Personal testimony to COFAPRI)

The country, DR Congo, has been raped along with its people. Women have been dehumanized and shamed as a result. Killing the women of a community infers destruction of that community. Accordingly, women's status made them more vulnerable than the soldiers who are fighting at the front line. Rapists in-

cluded civilians, rebels, and soldiers alike, and they have been using a weapon that punctures far deeper than physical wounds; rape. To Sathiparsad (2006), those abusers who always choose rape want to destroy the women and their communities. They seek to detach them from their relatives and families, humiliate, and invoke fear within the victims. By propagating rape-based fear among the victims in their communities, the abusers become more powerful; thus, they have full control over the minds of the local population. Congruent with Baderhe (2010), such situations not only become horrendous, but mostly they cause long lasting physical, material, and moral damage that all culminate in perpetual trauma, emotional and psychological destructions in the mind of the victim, who is a woman. Rape was often done publicly as well as privately as it is the quickest and most effective way to terrorize an entire community with no discrimination of age, or gender. Despite this, and this seems ironic and mocking, the majority of women are held responsible for what has been done to them. They become alienated by their families, obsessed with fears of contracting HIV, and never become eligible for marriage. Some raped women were contaminated by AIDS and other STDs, others became pregnant and delivered fatherless children; the latter bringing shame to families and communities. In essence, the victims lost their womanhood due to rape. They became valueless objects. Husbands repudiated their raped wives, and fathers expelled children from homes, causing other victims to hide the truth for fear of being alienated from their communities, or shamed. Some people believe the women and children wanted to be raped. One woman victim said:

I was raped three times and I got pregnant, and my child from it is now in school. Other children laugh at him as they know how he was born. When he tells me this I feel discouraged, I feel like killing myself. The rape we were inflicted to was done by soldiers, our neighbors, and even militia men; sometimes in the eyes of other people we know. I was killed while alive; it killed my children; the rapists know this well, it is the reason why they do it to us. I got badly hurt physically and morally, which makes me become like a butterfly; I am living but my womanhood and womanhood have gone. The rapist knows

that by raping us, our families and communities will discredit and reject us, and even we will be held responsible for the rape. This is why rape by rapist is their non-expensive weapon they damage us and our communities with (Personal testimony to COFAPRI, by Nanjuci Adolphine)

Although some people blame the victims, on the other hand statistics speak for themselves as they have spoken louder than words in this context. In line with Wilondja (2008), the figures released on DR Congo are shocking; most rapes happened at night and they were sometimes done in the presence of family members, or neighbors, at gunpoint. Thus, 200,000 women and girls have been raped in Eastern Congo since 1998, and the majority are adolescent girls, aged 12-14 years old. In South Kivu province, it has been estimated that 40 women are raped in the region every day. Moreover, the non-governmental organization *Medecins Sans Frontieres* (Doctors without Borders) reported that 75% of all rape cases it dealt with worldwide were in the eastern Congo (MSF, 2009). According to Mukwege and Mays (2009), the statistics of Panzi Hospital (the only hospital operating raped women in the Eastern DR Congo) clearly show that the oldest rape victim was 75 years old and the youngest 3 years old. The women who are mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters saw an incredible story of their lives changing in a moment, due to these unending wars. Despite this horrendous situation, things can still change if the victims are given assistance.

COFAPRI's Endeavor of Helping Survivors of Rape

Since its inception in 2009, the Congolese Females Action for Promoting Rights and Development (COFAPRI) has been toiling hard to make sure women and children receive educational and developmental assistance and are informed about their rights. Accordingly, the members of this grassroots organization are committed to renew the strata of their families and communities they have lost due to rape through warfare. In order to overcome trauma and build a new way of life, COFAPRI strives to build a well-united community, whose members are helping one another, making them feel they are not

alone, but rather, more united. After their activities, they meet to share life experiences. It is here that they learn from one another, are motivated, and develop an understanding that their suffering does not have to mean the end of their lives. The experience of one member can assist many in recovering from trauma. This work shows everyone is participating and that hiding the truth of the violence they have endured only leads to self-destruction. Openly sharing it with others, in a supportive environment, is helpful to the community and the victim as well; as they feel somewhat released from the heavy burden they have been carrying inside.

The Congolese government has been showing little will or capability to deal with the bulk of rape cases, numerous and ongoing in the villages of the country. COFAPRI is involved in various activities in order to help the women who were raped and discriminated against to rebuild their lives, and assist the children born of rape, to acquire a school education. The activities include:

Animal rearing

The animal rearing project began early in 2010 with just one pig and three rabbits.

Each COFAPRI member who participates in this project is provided with a piglet. When this pig begins to reproduce, the same the process with other animals, the women can sell the offspring. Thus, the animals that the women breed provide an income. The rearing of animals has allowed these women to contribute financially to their households, and also towards their children's school fees. For these women, such contributions are evidence of their independence.

In addition, animal dung is utilized as fertilizer for crops such as bananas, potatoes, beans, maize, sorghum, soya, and cassava. The crop harvest then increases and the women are able to receive an income. Animals are also used for meat, either to eat or sell; hens are also used for their eggs.

There is currently still no farm for the placement of the animals, so they are reared at the beneficiaries' compounds.

Sewing Activities

In August 2013, COFAPRI initiated a Sewing Skills Program, which trains women and girls from rural areas in sewing and knitting activities. Very recently, beading skills was initiated with the same members.

The number of women in training is increasing. In the beginning, there were 30 women and girls who were ready to begin training - six groups of five. The number of women and girls who are learning this skill has now already increased to more than 60 and continues to grow. COFAPRI is currently unable to assist such a large number due to the lack of machines and trainers. However, we have promised these women that they will be involved at some point in the future.

The participants are rural women, who may be victims of rape, subjected to domestic violence, single mothers, orphaned girls, or women who have been widowed by the DR Congo's ongoing civil conflict.

At this time, COFAPRI has six sewing machines in its sewing center that is located in Munya. Women come from the surrounding communities to be trained. The villages are around 4 to 5 kilometers away, along rough, mountainous paths, as there are no roads. The organization has employed one permanent tailor to train the women in sewing skills.

Last year we had three volunteer trainers, but they have shifted their locations, moving far away. These women have been trained by Bahati (Cofounder and Executive Secretary of COFAPRI), who herself was trained in sewing skills before setting up the project. The women and girls who learn at the center will, in turn, be able to move forward and train others.

Recently, we have introduced the teaching of knitting and beading skills, which are also very popular. The women are only able to meet twice a week for training, because they have other responsibilities. This lengthens the period of time required to sufficiently train them. These activities help the women work in teams where they learn a lot from each other. They also sell their products and receive some cash to help in their homes.

Currently, some of the materials that COFAPRI needs are purchased from Kigali (in neighboring Rwanda), and are then taken to the DRC. The materials bought from Kigali tend to be cheaper than in Bukavu. Sewing machines are an exception and they are purchased in Bukavu. Acquiring materials is time-consuming, as COFAPRI coordinators must search for affordable materials.

The sewing center is in Munya. It is about 40 kilometers from Bukavu, the capital city of the Province of South Kivu. The journey is difficult, even more so during the rainy season as the road becomes slippery and hazardous; the road has many holes filled with water and sometimes mud. The journey from Bukavu to Munya village is generally made on trucks, which are typically also full of goods being transported (including food and materials such as bricks, wood, and stone). The journey can take up to 4 hours. From here, COFAPRI pays people to transport the materials (on their heads) by foot to the villages where the materials will be used. There are no roads in these villages; the journey is mountainous, and can take between one and two hours.

The women participating in the sewing program are beginning to generate a small income from the sale of children's clothes in Munya's market, and also selling to friends. In addition, they are also often paid to mend people's torn clothing.

Education project

COFAPRI insists on education for both women and children. Currently, the

organization is training more than 60 women and girls in sewing, knitting and beading skills. In addition, it is sponsoring the school education (fees and school materials) of 92 children whose majority are girls.

We believe that by providing children with education, outside opportunities become available as tools for development and self-dependence⁵. The organization has ambitions about education to start schools in the villages in order to engage youth. It also aims to reconstruct the cultural attitudes present in the DR Congo that have had negative results. We believe that children with an education gain self-confidence, internalize gender equality and build peaceful. The latter would imply making an environment where people of all walks of life can live without the perpetration of discrimination and hatred.

However, the DR Congo education system is facing serious challenges today. The DRC government has done little to help the children born of rape; these children have been discriminated against and have been abandoned. This situation has the potential to dangerously escalate as these children may later join armed groups; thus, continuing the cycle of conflict and sexual violence towards women. The mothers of these children remain neglected, and are not involved in any education (formal or informal). The result is the inability to rebuild their lives following the adverse effects of the DRC's ongoing conflict and domestic violence.

Education in the DRC is experiencing little momentum because it is parents who are charged with the responsibility of providing teacher salaries, both in public and private education.

Most of the children in rural areas cannot attend school, as some families live with such high levels of poverty that they cannot afford the school fees. In

⁵ (<http://www.asafeworldforwomen.org/fp-drc/cofapri/cofapri-updates/4797-supporting-grassroots.html>).

other instances, parents refuse to send their daughters to school due to the traditional belief that they will simply not perform well, providing their parents with an unwanted financial burden.

Another category of education COFAPRI is using concerns the use of educative DVDs. Through watching these videos, the children learn about basic hygiene. The DVDs are provided by Thare Machi Education (TME). The DVDs are very popular in local schools, where children, teachers and school heads gather to watch them. The children who do not attend school also often watch them. After screening, the audience is given a quiz and are encouraged to ask questions. The screening is bringing positive change in the lives of the children, and in the population around. Stories from the people who have watched these DVDs say it all; this is a testimony of a teacher from Bushuke Primary School:

At the beginning, we could not understand what this was. Then when we watched the DVDs, we found that they are very helpful, not only to us but to the children and the population here around. The lessons in the videos are very helpful; they teach us about different ways we can avoid diseases and keep good health. They teach women and girls how to be hygienic, how to avoid some dirty diseases and so on. In one word, they are really nice to watch.

Furthermore, women and girls are not left behind in education. In fact, this is a specific and focused education that addresses issues of rural women and girls. This is about helping women and girls to improve their hygienic conditions, regarding their periods. We are providing them with FemPads that are periodically sent to us by Sharon through *It's a Girl's Thing*. Our women have also planned to be making their own. It has been noticed that women and girls in rural villages of the DR Congo have been suffering the lack of tampons to use when they are in their periods. Tampons are expensive for these women and girls, since most of them have no job. They often use pieces of their old torn clothes as tampon, which is not really hygienic. The teenage girls at school

often miss classes and examinations, leading to repeating the class, when they are in their periods. This happens because they cannot tell anyone about their health status. The women and the girls are very proud of the pads. Here are some testimonies:

This is something I am really proud of. I have been suffering for ages as I had nothing to use when I was in that condition. Can you imagine missing quizzes, exams and courses because of that? That is something you cannot send someone to tell the teacher. So we decide to keep quiet and accept the consequences. These things are helping us a lot. Some of us have never seen these things, others have never used them, but now it is good. You have shown us how to use them. They are nice because we can wash them, and use again next time.

Empowering widows

COFAPRI aims to empower widows, and vulnerable widows and women, of rape with self-reliance. This said, some members who are war-widows, mold bricks to build their houses, or to sell for getting cash. The organization provides the widows with tools to help in the brick-making process such as hoes, wheelbarrows, machetes, containers for fetching water, pickaxes and molders, which they share. The youth of the organization then help them build their houses. COFAPRI never teaches them to make bricks, they learn it from others. Widows are also involved in cultivation and crop-growing, for which the organization also provides tools.

In addition, these women brew traditional beer, 'kasiksi', selling it or using it as incentive for community work. Members of the same village work in each villager's field and in turn, and they are given this beer as motivation. As far as tradition is concerned in this area, when people meet, not only they share ideas, but also they share a drink. They often drink using the same straw or the same bowl to show love, unity and mutual support.

Another activity the women are involved in is charcoal-making. This is a ma-

job income-generating activity of rural people in DR Congo. We are exploring ways that charcoal-making could become more sustainable, reducing damage to the environment.

Widows of warfare are young women, as well as older widows, who are feeling the weight of local cultures that discriminate and hinder their development. The number of these women remains high in the rural DR Congo and today, most of them have become heads of their families and they need to work. If they do not work, their children will have nowhere to sleep, or nothing to eat. So they break with the culture in order for their families to survive.

They say that ‘if no husband is alive, can we wait for the one who does not exist anymore?’ Here is a testimony of one of those women:

As you can see all of us here, we are widows and others were taken by force by fighters [raped]. Our husbands have been killed during the repeated wars this country has been experiencing since a long time. We now being empowered; we have been lucky enough to have your organization come in these villages where we live. You [your organization] are helping us in many ways here, and we really appreciate that. Our children are now going to school because of you; we are doing different activities to help us gain some money that is helping us also. Again, you teach us how to live in unity, and with love by helping us to forgive those who broke our hearts. What you are teaching us is very helpful for us today, and for the future. It is also helpful for our children.

The women whose husbands are alive never do such work. In the DR Congo, culture has created gender-driven activities and work. There is work suitable for men and work suitable for women. A woman doing a man’s job is said to wish bad luck [death] for her husband. This may cause her to be abused within her own home. Children are educated accordingly, so they grow up knowing that activities are gender-related. COFAPRI is addressing these issues at family and community levels.

Small business

COFAPRI members are also involved in small business in order to address poverty. Thanks to the support we got from the prestigious Kelley School of Business at Indiana University, in the USA, the women and girls are involved in growing small businesses. The women in the DR Congo are totally dependent on their husbands, who sometimes also have no job. Thanks to this business activity, the women will contribute a great deal to their family's welfare. If these women can become more financially independent of their husbands, this can lessen violence committed to them in the homes of the rural DR Congo. With more financial support, all interested women can become involved in the COFAPRI business programs, and have the opportunity to step out of poverty and heal from the trauma.

Conclusion

Congolese Females Action for Promoting Rights and Development COFAPRI is a rural grassroots women and girls' organization that is based in the rural Eastern DR Congo. It was created after seeing how terribly raped women and children born of rape were suffering in the villages. It aims to promote the rights of women and children, as well as supporting them in their new lives in order to overcome trauma and poverty.

The organization is also committed to educate the population on ways to scale down the effects of traditional discriminatory rules that have negatively affected women and children. In the same vein, it focuses on making the victims of rape and domestic violence remake their lives after the plight of warfare they have endured within themselves, in their homes and families, and in the wider community. Through education, we believe a new horizon for the women and children can still be created.

As a matter of fact, the women are involved in income-generating activities. The women work in teams and this helps to better share the experience of each team member. Thus, each member of a team is both a teacher and a student.

The children born of raped mothers are fatherless, which makes them be discriminated against in their communities. This must not continue, otherwise they may seek revenge by joining the militia, and then do as their unknown fathers did.

Moreover, helping women and girls to have access to Fem pads is another kind of education that allows them to really feel feminine. It does not stop there because there are also DVDs that are helping the people learn a lot about diseases, hygiene and birth control.

We also focus on gaining access to school education for the children, in order to break the cycle of violence. Education is a powerful force that can rebuild broken hearts by making them pillars of the future.

Support our initiatives

Donate to the Congolese Females Action for Promoting Rights and Development as we strive to guarantee women and children victims of rape in the rural DR Congo access to income-generating activities such as animal rearing, sewing, beading, knitting, and small business for self-empowerment and poverty eradication, and access to school education for the children.

We are at:

<http://www.cofapri.org>

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APPENDIX:
PHOTOS OF SOME OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN WE WORK WITH IN RURAL DR CONGO (all photos copyrights@COFAPRI)



COFAPRI empowers DR Congo rural women and children of war, rape, and domestic violence to remake their lives peacefully





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CHAPTER 8

Communication for development with gender perspective: a tool to promote peace and empowerment of women

Raquel Ramirez Salgado¹

Abstract

In this paper the role of communication for development with a gender perspective in the promotion of peace and the empowerment of women is examined. First, the document discusses communication for development and its action lines; subsequently, it presents the communication link between development and the paradigm of the human rights of women, which support empowerment as a tool and as a goal. Finally, the article presents the case study of three initiatives through communication for development to promote the empowerment of women: the work of the organization Calandria (Peru), the campaign “Yo Soy Mi Cuerpo” and the project “Voces de Mujeres” (both in Mexico). It is noteworthy that while these countries don’t officially faced an armed conflict, the proliferation of organized crime, inequality and the presence of a patriarchal State have generated a climate of violence, injustice and vulnerability, especially for women and girls, and that is why it is important to study visible proposals from various fields to promote peace and empowerment.

Key words: Gender, Communication for development, Women’s empowerment, Human rights.

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1. What is communication for development?

Luis Ramiro Beltran, a Bolivian researcher and writer, defines communication as “the process of democratic social interaction that is based on the exchange of symbols by which humans voluntarily share their experiences under free and equal access, dialogue and participation “(2005, p. 21), however, that exchange of symbols is not made voluntarily. Free and equal actions are to be implemented in the face of structural and historical inequalities.

In this context of inequality, communication for development is also defined by Beltran, one of the most recognized representatives of matter, as:

“The expansion and balanced access of people to the communication process and their participation in it using the mass, interpersonal and mixed media, to ensure, in addition to technological advancement and material prosperity, social justice, freedom for all and the rule of the majority “ (Beltran, 2005, p. 21).

But how did communication for development arise? In 1947, Sutatenza, Colombia, radio schools were created, where issues and programs of health, education, rural development and religion were addressed. A group of people gathered to listen to the radio and heard and made decisions about their own problems (Lorenzo Cardenas, 2009, p. 23). Thus, the media contributed to dialogue and collective consensus, a fact that is valued as one of the histories of communication for development worldwide.

In 1947 another forerunner of communication for development also arose. In the district of Catavi, an initiative of Indian miners in the region, a radio station was installed, which used the strategy of “open microphone” for residents to voice their concerns and needs. This station tried to raise awareness about exploitation and oppression. Mining radios became popular in Bolivia and it is estimated that in 15 years, after 1947, a total of 33 stations were established in various districts (Lorenzo Cardenas, 2009, p. 24).

In parallel with the post-war context, approaches that problematize the social role of the mass media arise, but it is important to note that many of these approaches are hegemonic, because, from a Western perspective they intended to analyze the media experience in Latin America. In 1980 UNESCO published the report “Multiple Voices, One World” coordinated by Sean McBride, in which inequality was evident from mass communication and the importance of the media around the promotion of peace and freedom of expression. Despite the publication of the report, little action around proposed in the document was generated.

Rosa Maria Alfaro (2000) assesses some ethical and pragmatic contributions from citizen participation in communication for development:

1. The role of people as subjects of communication is recognized.
2. The citizen participation was thought as synonymous with democratic participation.
3. It was important to “give voice to those who did not have it.”
4. Changing the individualistic vision of communication.
5. The promotion of popular media, which criticized the mass media.
6. The educational intention of communication was underlined, mainly based on the proposal of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire.
7. Communication for development must contemplate not only the analysis of media messages, but also the promotion of dialogue and intercommunication.
8. Therefore, it was crucial to remove the essentialist understandings of identity, both class, ethnicity, gender, age and related to nationality.

Let’s see how communication for development is linked with human rights and women’s empowerment, in order to provide a definition of communication for development with gender perspective.

2. Human rights of women and its relation to communication development

In 1995 the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing. Top-

ics like environment, decision-making and political participation, economics, poverty, violence, human rights of women and girls, education, advancement of women and mechanisms from institutions were treated. As a result of this meeting the Platform for Action, divided into strategic issues, was published. Women and mass media topic were located in Chapter J of the Platform.

Chapter J points to the urgency of transforming the representation of women and girls in media content. Likewise, it references that women should be trained to appropriate technology and produce their own content is made. Although the chapter refers to mass media, it recognizes the role of women as subjects of communication, with the right to communicate (freedom) and to build new universes of meaning.

Chapter J of the Platform for Action would not have been possible without an eloquent background: the Regional Meeting on Gender Communications (Ecuador, 1994), the World Meeting “Communication as a source of power for women” (Bangkok, 1994) and the Symposium “Women and Media” (organized by UNESCO in Toronto, 1995).

Montserrat Boix notes the importance of each of these actions for the promotion of human rights of women from the media:

- Regional Meeting on Gender Communications: made visible other forms of communication beyond the mass.
- World Meeting “Communication as a source of power for women”: it is important to decentralize the hegemonic media and to strengthen the media created by women.
- Symposium “Women and the media”: referred that women have to receive training for the appropriation of technology and media.

In all three events, also underlined was the urgency that communication for development generated progress, and women spearhead these changes, but not to idealize the condition of women, but to try to eradicate this condition

based on inequality, inaction and submission, i.e. that women position themselves as agents of social change and initiate a process of empowerment.

We should make a parenthesis to cite some definitions of women's empowerment:

- Nelly Stromquist (1997, p. 78): "a process of changing the distribution of power, both in interpersonal relations and institutions."
- Kumud Sharma: "... a range of activities ranging from individual self-assertion to collective resistance, protest and mobilization to challenge power relations. For individuals and groups where class, race, ethnicity and gender determine their access to resources and power, empowerment begins when they recognize the systemic forces that oppress them, and when they act to change relations Existing power. Empowerment, therefore, is aimed at changing the nature and direction of systemic forces that marginalize women and other disadvantaged sectors in a given context process "(Sharma, 1991-1992, cited by Batliwala, 1997 p. 193).
- Lagarde: "Empowerment is the set of vital processes defined by the acquisition or invention and inferiority of powers that allow each woman or group of women to face forms of oppression force in their lives (exclusion, discrimination, exploitation, abuse, harassment , infidelity or betrayal, depression, anxiety, lack of opportunities, etc.). (2013, p. 167).
- Irene Lopez Mendez: "... a process where women, individually and collectively, become aware of how power relations operate in their lives and gain self-confidence and experience needed to change gender inequalities at home strength, community and national, regional and international levels. This process represents a gain for the community in general and not a loss in contrast for those who want to maintain their position of privilege and domination" (2006, pp. 103-104).

As already was noted, Luis Ramiro Beltran emphasizes that communication for development should promote collective and democratic progress, and if we look at the definitions of empowerment, we will discover that it implies

that women have to be transformed to impact at personal, collective and community levels. This is a very important convergence.

Thus, communication for development with gender perspective is to carry out actions to support women during the process in which they define themselves as being able to make choices and to transform their lives and the conditions of their communities and it has the following characteristics:

- Promotes the empowerment of women and girls working in the processes of transformation of power relations.
- Must cooperate in dismantling pejorative representations of women, girls and female.
- It is crucial to start processes of redefinition.
- Must take into account inequality as a structural and historical phenomenon.
- Assesses communication as the basis of human interaction, but without forgetting that this is mediated by unequal power relations.
- Thinks technology and the media as pathways for women and girls acquire authority and their voices will be heard.
- Promotes education and training processes in horizontal contexts in which the knowledge of all persons involved are valuable.
- Understands that empowering women and girls strengthens a community and egalitarian relationships are built, which means living in contexts of peace and prosperity.

Now, three experiences that exemplify how communication for development contributes to the empowerment of women and the culture of peace will be reviewed.

3. Some proposals of communication for development with gender perspective

The Association of Social Communicators “Calandria” was founded in 1983 in Lima, Peru by Rosa Maria Alfaro and is an example of how the agenda of

human rights can be promoted through some topics such as: media, gender, youth cultures, HIV / AIDS and sexuality, and the environment. “Calandria” has concrete proposals on gender and communication.

In 2006, “Calandria” with the organization “International Solidarity”, signed the “Convention for the empowerment of women in Peru and Bolivia.” This program was aimed to women over 16 years in vulnerable social conditions, such as migrants, victims of domestic violence, low educational level, etc. The theater was used, creating audiovisual, social photography, the methodology of local community radios for participants to narrate how their empowerment process had been, ie, how they had become aware of their gender and how it as well as other social and cultural conditions affected their access to material and symbolic resources.

During this experience, the short film “Diana en el espejo” was produced, which problematizes the reproduction and legitimation of violence against women in relationships. Likewise, “Calandria” has created training materials to create communication products such as soap operas, videos, from a community school context and thereby not only do citizens become literate about the use of media, but also alternative narratives are created, where he reflects on identity and collective action.

In line with the creation of alternative communication products with gender perspective, we highlight two projects in Mexico: “Voces de Mujeres”, led by various organizations and feminist activists, and the campaign “Yo Soy Mi Cuerpo”, the Agency “Comunicación e información de la Mujer, A.C.” (CIMAC).

“Voces de Mujeres” is a project organized by Luchadoras TV, La Sandía digital, SocialTIC, WITNESS y Subversiones. The objectives were to “change the representation of women in the media, as well as enhance the transformative role of women in their communities by building their own stories.”

Products made include photography, video, installation art and development of web content, addressing ancestral knowledge, human rights, gender violence, community development, culture of peace, self-care, social mobilization, and other topics.

The campaign “Yo Soy Mi Cuerpo” is an initiative of “Comunicación e información de la Mujer, A.C.” (CIMAC), a news agency with a gender perspective born in 1988. The aim of this campaign is to promote the empowerment of indigenous and rural young women in the exercise of their sexual and reproductive rights. The methodology used in “Yo Soy Mi Cuerpo” was the creation of content by self-portrait and video art. An important fact is that in the workshops of the campaign also involved young men, allowing them to question the social and cultural construction of masculinity and how it affects the relations between women and men.

4. Conclusions: Why do these projects make communication converge for the development and empowerment of women? Why they are important?

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Latin America is not the poorest region in the world, but where there is greater inequality, which is just the “tip of the iceberg” of the complex structure of social relations, norms, among other conditions by gender. Thus, in the framework of inequalities, women and girls experience specific forms of violence, exclusion and discrimination.

Recall that during the armed conflict in Peru between 1980 and the mid-nineties, torture and rape were committed by both military and subversive forces². Other expressions of hate and violence against women were forced abortions

2 According to the Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación de Perú (CVR), 83% of cases of sexual torture are attributable to the State, while 11% subversive groups (Project Counselling Services, 2005, p. 23).

and pregnancy, sexual slavery, forced public stripping and mutilation with sexual content (Project Counselling Services, 2005, p. 26)³.

In this context the organization “Calandria” emerged, three years into the conflict, trying to make communication visible through the social issues, urging citizens, in this case, women and girls, to position themselves as agents of transformation and avoid re-victimization.

Mexico’s case is dramatic. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), between 2013 and 2014, an estimated seven women and girls were killed daily. The National Institute for Women noted that between 2007 and 2012, the murder of women and girls soared 155%. Despite not having lived through a dictatorship, unlike many countries in Latin America, in Mexico human rights violations have been documented, for example, rape and sexual torture exercised by military. In this sense, not only torture and rape have been used as violations of human rights of women, but also the criminalization of the right of women to decide about their bodies and motherhood, despite being guaranteed in Article 4 of the Constitution of the United Mexican States⁴.

Because of all the above, initiatives like “Voces de Mujeres” and “Yo Soy Mi Cuerpo” are relevant and necessary in Mexico.

3 It is worth to emphasize once again the importance of transforming the representation of women in media products, for example, in 2009 the film “La teta asustada” directed by Claudia Llosa, which addresses sexual torture against women was released Peru during the armed conflict. Approached from the perspective of gender violence against women the film contributes to value the violence against women as a political instrument of domination.

4 In 2007, the Legislature of former Distrito Federal, decriminalize pregnancy termination during the first 12 weeks of gestation. From this fact, conservative group suggested forms on protecting life from the conception and currently 18 states of the Mexican Republic criminalizes the right to decide for women. In 2012, the Committee on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) recommended that the Mexican State harmonize laws so that there were discriminatory and infringed upon sexual and reproductive rights of women.

The three projects mentioned in this text are examples of communication for development with gender perspective because:

- They give companionship to women during their own process of redefinition, both of the world and themselves.
- They offered technical and theoretical training.
- They collaborated on the transformation of power relations between women and men, that is, without the help of men, empowerment of women is impossible or nearly impossible.
- There was also a main objective to promote collective dialogue and community development.
- They take issues on the agenda of human rights of women and girls.
- The products were exhibited publicly and there was collective feedback.
- Women positioned themselves as agents of social change and acknowledged their own authority as communicators.
- Alternative narratives were built in contrast with hegemonic media discourse.
- To promote processes of reflection and redefinition, they are invited to build new socio-cultural dynamics that promote peace and well-being when a conflict or a problem is identified and recognized to be solved.

Obviously, the results of the communication projects for development cannot be quantified arbitrarily, but rather the processes are required to be monitored. The truth is that we have to make public initiatives that encourage other groups to generate their own projects and methodologies of transformation and emancipation. We must continue to insist that in the midst of conflicts, armed or not, women and girls face specific forms of violence because of their gender condition, therefore, specific actions should also be addressed to them. We cannot expect to achieve a state of well-being and peace if half of humanity is still undervalued and not authorized to communicate and transform.

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For know more about the proposals mentioned in this article, see:

<http://calandria.org.pe>

<http://vocesdemujeres.tumblr.com/>

<https://www.youtube.com/user/tvcimac>