

FOKUS

KVINNER SAMMEN

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Vold mot kvinner

FED UP!
of violence
against Women
and Children



■ DAGLIG LEDER HAR ORDET

■ FORSIDEFOTO:

Veronica Melå



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FOKUS – Forum for Kvinner og Utviklingsspørsmål er et kompetanse- og ressursenter i internasjonale kvinnersperspmål. Gjennom bistands- og prosjekt-arbeid skal FOKUS medvirke til å bedre kvinnens sosiale, økonomiske og politiske situasjon internasjonalt med hovedvekt på landene i Sør. Gjennom informasjonsvirksomhet skal FOKUS medvirke til økt kunnskap om og forståelse i det norske samfunn for kvinnens situasjon og rolle i et utviklingsperspektiv.

VOLDSPANDEMI UTEN KUR?

Norge og andre rike land gir store pengesummer til vaksiner som kan dempe utvikling av epidemier og pandemier. Vold mot kvinner har pandemiske proporsjoner. Volden er syk, og lett å diagnostisere, men hvor dypt stikker egentlig nålen i kampen mot vold?



I forslaget til statsbudsjett 2013 dobler Norge sin støtte til den globale vaksinealliansen (GAVI) i et forsøk på å forebygge 3,9 millioner dødsfall innen 2015. Hvor mange dødsfall som følge av vold mot kvinner vil Norge sette seg som mål å forebygge innenfor samme periode?

FNs kvinneorganisasjon, UN Women, gjorde i 2011 en undersøkelse hvor de blant annet dokumenterer at opp mot 70 prosent av kvinner opplever fysisk eller seksuell vold fra menn i løpet av livet. Majoriteten av de som utøver vold er ektefeller, partnere eller noen de kjenner. Blant kvinner mellom 15 og 44 fører denne volden til flere dødsfall enn kreft, malaria, trafikkulykker og krig kombinert. Vold mot kvinner er muligens det største brudd på menneskerettigheter vi vet om. Vold mot kvinner ødelegger liv, skaper splid i lokalsamfunn og hindrer utvikling. Vold mot kvinner er universelt og kriminel.

Norske myndigheter går høyt på banen når de snakker om viktigheten av å bekjempe vold mot kvinner, både nasjonalt og internasjonalt. Tidligere miljø- og utviklingsminister Erik Solheim uttalte på vegne av regjeringen at – «Regjeringen vil være en pådriver i arbeidet mot kjønnslemlestelse og tvangsekteskap, og bidra til å bekjempe vold mot kvinner.» Spørsmålet er om innsatsen er i tråd med ordene?

FOKUS har, så langt som mulig, foretatt en systematisk gjennomgang av statsbudsjettene for de tre siste årene, for å se på hvor mye midler som bevilges til arbeidet med å bekjempe vold mot kvinner internasjonalt via budsjettene til Utenriksdepartementet og Justisdepartementet. Der er den store norske innsatsen vanskelig å finne igjen. Noen temaer fremheves mer enn andre, som menneskehandel, kjønnslemlestelse og seksualisert vold i krig. Spørsmålet er om innsatsen gjennom tildelinger av penger er like tilfeldig som det utvalget av voldsrelaterte tema som løftes frem?

Av det som presenteres av tall, og en sjeldent gang resultater, er det altså umulig å vite hvor innsatsen er størst. På nettsiden til Utenriksdepartementet og Norad er det heller ingen systematikk i hva som formidles av resultater av Norges innsats internasjonalt. Rapporteringen på hvordan norske penger brukes i arbeidet mot vold er generelt enten traværende eller svært vanskelig tilgjengelig. Betyr det at tilfeldighetene rår?

At bruken av penger på temaet vold mot kvinner er vanskelig å spore, gjør at det ikke er mulig å holde myndighetene ansvarlig. Vi spør oss om det er noen som egentlig har oversikt?

FOKUS mener at vold mot kvinner ikke er en pandemi uten kur. Også vold mot kvinner kan kureres, men det krever en langsiktig og stor innsats, og ikke minst åpne og tilgjengelige rapporteringssystemer, slik at vi ser hvordan midlene brukes.

Gro Lindstad
Daglig leder FOKUS

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What's in a Name?

TEXT: ANTON POPIC, FOKUS

This issue of Women United is dedicated to violence against women. Or is it men's violence against women? Or gender-based violence? There is certainly no lack of terminological confusion when it comes to this topic. So, what are we to call this phenomenon? And does it matter?

To answer these questions, we need to take a closer look at the three mentioned terms

Violence against women, whether physical, sexual, psychological or economic, is violence perpetrated against women. Perpetrators may include family members, acquaintances, community members, and those acting on behalf of cultural, religious or state institutions. Seemingly, the term encompasses all acts of violence, regardless of the intention of the perpetrator or the perpetrator's perception of the victim. However, the United Nations defines violence against women as "any act of **gender-based violence**¹ that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."

In this definition, violence against women is limited to acts of gender-based violence against women. This specification implies that for an act to be defined as violence against women, it needs to fulfill certain criteria. It cannot be any violent act that simply happens to harm a woman, such as a robbery coupled with physical assault, or a shooting at a movie theater that injures or kills female movie goers in addition to the male ones. For an act to be classified as violence against women, it needs to be gender-based. Let's unpack this construction.

Simplified, gender refers to the socially-constructed differences and relations between men and women, and is not to be confused with sex, which refers to biological differences between men and women. A woman (a female human) needs to be targeted for her (perceived) gender in order to be called a victim of violence against women. Gender-based violence is, thus, violence perpetrated in order to assure women's inferior position in society.

The violence is often perpetrated due to a woman's violation of socially accepted gender norms; because she has violated

an (un)written codex of what is considered appropriate for women. Perhaps she dared to speak back to her husband or his mother, left the house without his approval, burned a meal, dared to exchange eye contact with another man on the street, refused to get married to the man the father chose for her, didn't bring in as much dowry as the husband's family wanted, refused to get pregnant one more time after the birth of the third baby, wanted to get paid work or start a business, terminated a relationship, or she fell in love with another woman. These are but a few examples of gender norm transgressions women are often punished for.

Sometimes, women become victims of gender-based violence simply by virtue of being women. Female genital mutilation (FGM) and trafficking in women are

turn pimps. In the case of FGM, almost all excisers—persons performing female genital mutilation—are women, though they do so in order to maintain patriarchal values and structures which exert control over women and their bodies and they do so in consultation with men. When it comes to (sex) trafficking in women, an overwhelming majority of traffickers and pimps are male, as is the case with most

other types of violence against women. This is why many women's rights organizations prefer the term **men's violence against women**, in order to make visible the genders of both the victim and the perpetrator. While this term describes the statistically most prevalent form of violence against women, it ignores quite a few cases of gender-based violence which do not fit in this binary frame.

Violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT) individuals is the case in point. These individuals are often subjected to gender-based violence due to their transgression of dominant gender norms, such as their choice of partner or their gender expression. Violence, in this case, is often performed with the aim of "correcting" the perceived deviance, and it can be perpetrated by men against men.

by men against women, by women against women, and extremely rarely by women against men. To further complicate matters, where do we place transgendered individuals within the dichotomous male-female axis? Some of them do not feel comfortable in either category. For these reasons, men's violence against women can obviously not be an appropriate term for all violence based on gender.

Which term do we choose, then?

Understood broadly, the term gender-based violence refers to all acts of violence rooted in some form of patriarchal ideology and committed with the purpose of maintaining social power for (heterosexual) men. While inclusive to the point of being catch-all, this term can obscure the fact that women are the ones who suffer the bulk of this violence.

The term violence against women, on the other hand, explicitly puts emphasis on the victim's gender and at the same time implies that violence is gender-based. One could further emphasize this clarification (that the violence is gender-based) by merging the two terms into one: gender-based violence against women.

Finally, men's violence against women is a term which limits the topic to the statistically most prevalent form of gender-based violence and draws attention to the gender of most perpetrators. It, however, excludes some very serious and prevalent forms of violence against women, such as female genital mutilation or selective abortions of female fetuses.

What implications do these distinctions have?

None of the terms are wrong or unacceptable, but they are not interchangeable either. Which term one should use depends on the context and on how one wants to frame the debate. Different frames define the problem in different ways and will most likely elicit different responses. Although it is important to be strategic, it is equally important to be precise. □

¹ Generally speaking, gender-based violence can also be violence perpetrated against men (typically against gay men). In the context of this article, however, emphasis is on gender-based violence against women.



Face to face

What's in a name continues: Q&A on corrective rape

TEXT/PHOTO: ODA GILLEBERG, FOKUS



Dipika Nath works with One in Nine Campaign in Johannesburg, South Africa, one of FOKUS' partner organisations seeking to improve the rights of women and sexual minorities. Nath wants to move away from using the term "corrective rape," as she finds the differentiation between "corrective" and "ordinary" rape harmful.

Why is the term "corrective rape" contested?

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) groups and advocates wanted to draw

attention to a specific kind of violence. "Corrective" rape refers to the fact that people are targeted because of their gender expression or sexual orientation,

but because the term became so widely circulated it became possible for people to use it without really knowing what it meant.

But isn't the term quite descriptive?

The term creates a hierarchy of violence, differentiating between "corrective" and "ordinary" rape, insinuating that the latter is less serious.

The notion that it is worse for a lesbian to be raped, because straight women sleep with men anyway, is reflected in court judgments, on the street, and at policy level. "Corrective" rape reinforces this hierarchy.

Additionally, the term creates blinders. Firstly, it blinds us to the kind of sexual violence that straight women might face. Secondly, it blinds us to other kinds of violence that lesbians might face. The hierarchy differentiates not only between straight and lesbian women who are raped, but also operates within a lesbian woman's life, making rape the only serious kind of violence. The fact that a lesbian is regularly followed, that six years ago a guy threatened to rape her, and that she lives in constant fear becomes normalised and is downplayed.

The term has caught on internationally, and may have contributed to increased international attention to sexual violence against lesbians. Isn't that a good thing in some ways?

My critique is a political position. In my opinion, the term reinforces the idea that lesbian issues are different from women's issues. Increased funding and international attention isolated the LGBT-sector in South Africa from engaging with women's rights groups and visa versa.

The violence that lesbians, bisexual women and transmen are facing is gender-based violence. One gets threatened, intimidated, raped and killed because one is not fulfilling certain expectations to one's gender. Likewise, if a straight woman declines a guy's proposal, she will get raped. Men in this society are trained to see all women as sexually available. When a woman becomes sexually unavailable, whether gay or straight, she gets punished. I'm not saying that all rapes are the same, but the motivation for the attacks is the same, and rape is gender based.

Still, if you don't differentiate, don't you ignore that lesbians are targeted not only because they are women, but additionally because they break with accepted gender norms?

I am not saying that there is not something specific. The specificity makes the term "corrective rape" resonate, but I think there is a negative outcome of using it.

The question at hand is: should we base our response on a perpetrator's intentions? If we say that some men are only willing to and capable of raping the women they perceive to be lesbian, aren't we saying that they can't rape other women? If we say that lesbians are specifically targeted due to sexual orientation, we direct our focus away from the fact that the perpetrator is a rapist, and that he probably is raping his girlfriend too.

« we want to be recognised as lesbians, but I feel we lose out when we cut ourselves from the broader gender-based violence discourse. »

This dilemma becomes especially explicit when we apply it to the life of a seemingly gender conforming lesbian. Is she at less risk? What happens when she gets raped? Do we see that as corrective rape too? People tend to use "corrective" only when butch lesbians get raped. Let's specify every rape. Every instance of rape is horrific and needs to be examined and prevented.

How can the rape rampage against lesbians be curbed?

In my opinion, the things you need to do to stop corrective rape are exactly the things you need to do to address rape generally.

It is easy to jump from corrective rape to say we need hate crime legislations. Yet, all over the world, we have seen that the introduction of hate crime legislation causes a decrease in the number of cases that one can prosecute. It puts the burden on the complainant, who has to prove she was raped because she is a lesbian.

Hate crime legislation is thought to be preventive and to enhance sentencing. In practice, however, it enforces the same kind of hierarchy I talked about before. It sends a message to the rapist that he will get an enhanced sentence only if it can be proved he raped a lesbian; if it cannot be proved, he will get what rapists committing "ordinary" rapes get, which is very often nothing. Basically, we tell him to go ahead and rape his wife.

What I'm trying to say is that we want to be recognised as lesbians, but I feel we lose out when we cut ourselves from the broader gender-based violence discourse.

What has to happen to reduce the number of rapes in South Africa?

I don't think the violence in this country is a consequence of ignorance, but of history. People have lost land, they are poor and many receive inadequate education. Both

in the past and in present, communities continue to be disempowered. I think the profound effect this had on masculinity, on gender, is at the root of the violence that we see.

At the end of the formal apartheid, the elites kept their power. Poor people in South Africa are poorer today than they were in 1994. Everything in this country is geared toward rich people's convenience. Of course there is anger and hatred!

There is need for a revolution, to overthrow the elites, but instead we have violence. □

Dipika Nath is a former member of the Task Team on Sexual Offences and Gender-Based Violence in South Africa. She is the researcher and author behind the Human Rights Watch study "We'll Show You You're a Woman" that was published in December 2011.



TEXT: LARA FERGUS
PHOTO: THINKSTOCK

What Causes Violence against Women?

The upcoming Commission on the Status of Women in March 2013 will focus on prevention of violence against women and girls – that is, the transformation of the social environment so that new incidences of violence become less frequent and ultimately no longer occur.

Such a transformative agenda is by no means impossible – history has seen greater shifts – but it does require change at all levels of the socio-political system, along with holistic and sustained approaches from governments. Identifying and addressing the underlying causes of violence is central to this endeavour – and at once a simple and complex exercise.

'Simple' because the ultimate cause of violence against women is always clear – a perpetrator who believes he (as they are mostly men) has a right to abuse. He may also believe, or know, that he can get away with it – that no police officer will arrest him, that no justice system will hold him accountable. This is why an effective legislative and justice response is the 'foundation stone' of preventing violence. But even where good response systems are in place,

many perpetrators continue to feel justified or permitted in abusing women. If we are to prevent violence against women, we need to interrogate how this permission or justification is transmitted, across the different 'layers' of society. And this is where the complexity comes in.

The 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women recognised violence against women as a manifestation

of historically unequal power relations between men and women, both arising from and reinforcing gender inequality and discrimination. But the development of prevention programmes requires an unpacking of just how this unequal power manifests in different contexts and on different scales – from individual relationships to global negotiations – in order to effectively target interventions.

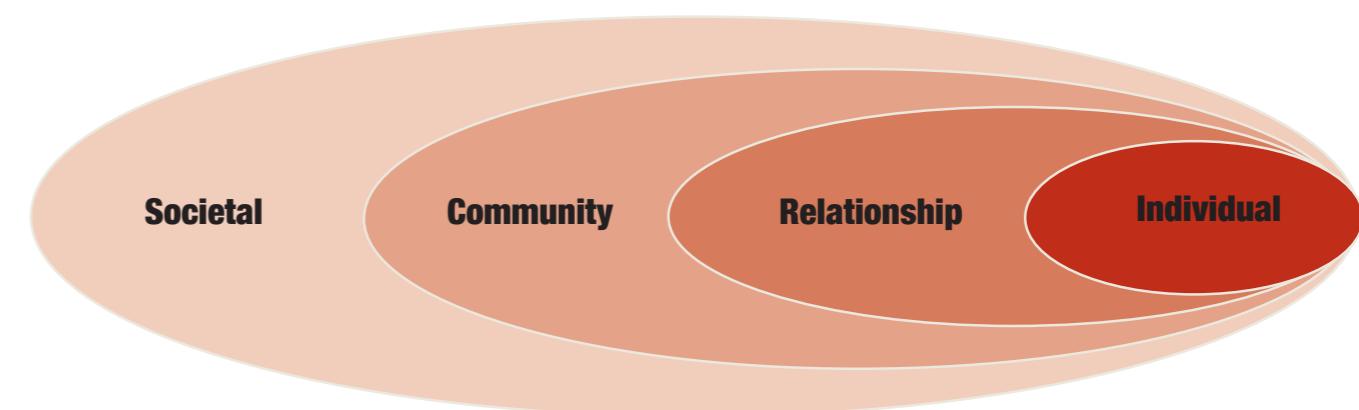
Volumes have been researched and written about the causes of violence against women since the Declaration, teasing out greater and greater detail on the factors

contributing to violence against women in different environments.² The 'ecological model' of public health-based analyses has gained traction in recent years

to aid understandings of these complex and intersecting 'contributing factors,' as embedded in the social practices and values of broader society.



Figure 1 – an ecological model for understanding violence against women and girls
Ecological model for understanding violence





 The largest or all-encompassing circle represents the societal level.

At this level, laws, policies and practices emanating from the State – as well as from traditional or customary practices at the broad social level – can directly contribute to violence against women, fail to respond to it, and/or create an environment where violence against women is tolerated, excused or justified. Societies that value women's participation and representation, and where there are fewer economic, social or political differences in power between men and women, have lower levels of violence against women.

Other contributing factors at the societal level include limited economic opportunities for women, and women's insecure access to and control over property and land rights. Strategies to promote women's economic autonomy and access to skills training, credit and employment; encourage girls' completion of secondary school; delay age of marriage to 18; and ensure women have their rights respected as to when and whether to marry and have children – are all 'protective factors' against violence against women at the societal level.⁴

At the community level, other contribut-

ing factors begin to emerge, compounding those at the societal level. Isolation of women from support mechanisms, and the lack of safe spaces for women and girls to freely communicate and develop friendships and social networks have been found to contribute to violence and compound its impacts.⁵ Community (or social) norms such as those granting men control over female behaviour, acceptance of violence as a way to resolve conflict, notions of masculinity tied to dominance, honour or aggression, and rigid gender roles all contribute to higher risk of violence against women and girls in the family, such as the belief that husbands have the right to physically 'discipline' their wives under certain conditions; and placement of individual and family privacy and honour above the safety and wellbeing of girls and women who experience violence.¹⁰ Many of the above (community and relationship level) factors can also be reflected in peer groups and organisational cultures, which also have further contributing factors such as 'male dominance and gender segregation, higher levels of hostility towards women, peer support for violence, norms of sexual conquest and the denigration of women'.¹¹

Finally, at the individual level, 'the most consistent predictor of the use of violence

the family or society to address conflict.⁷ Women themselves may be conditioned by these social norms to accept violence, with surveys conducted in various countries showing that in many contexts women will report that violence is justified in a number of cases.⁸

At the level of a relationship or family, one of the strongest risk factors for violence is male control over social and economic decision-making.⁹ Other factors include justification of male use of violence against women and girls in the family, such as the belief that husbands have the right to physically 'discipline' their wives under certain conditions; and placement of individual and family privacy and honour above the safety and wellbeing of girls and women who experience violence.¹⁰ Many of the above (community and relationship level) factors can also be reflected in peer groups and organisational cultures, which also have further contributing factors such as 'male dominance and gender segregation, higher levels of hostility towards women, peer support for violence, norms of sexual conquest and the denigration of women'.¹¹

Finally, at the individual level, 'the most consistent predictor of the use of violence

among men is their agreement with sexist, patriarchal and/or sexually hostile attitudes'.¹² Other contributing factors have been identified relating to age, level of education, and anti-social behaviour.¹³ Studies on partner violence in particular cite the harmful use of alcohol as presenting a more complex contributing relationship to violence against women and girls, potentially exacerbating and increasing the severity of violence, as well as the first time perpetration of sexual assault.¹⁴ Personal childhood exposure to, or experience of, violence is a strong 'risk' factor for later perpetration,¹⁵ but this is by no means inevitable and is affected by a number of other social, educational and psychological factors – most notably

the existence or otherwise of alternative non-violent social norms and models for healthy relationships.

There is often a tendency to focus on individual life histories, attitudes and behaviours in discourses on prevention of violence against women, but it is of paramount importance to remember these are only one part of the ecological model – and continually influenced by factors at all other levels. To this end, the Secretary General's In-Depth Study on All Forms of Violence against Women emphasizes that 'explanations for violence that focus primarily on individual behaviours and personal histories, such as alcohol abuse or a history of exposure to violence, over-

look the broader impact of systemic gender inequality and women's subordination'. While the causes of violence against women and girls have been examined from various theoretical perspectives, all have concluded that no single cause adequately accounts for violence against women – though unequal power between men and women remains the common thread. As the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences has noted: 'no form of interpersonal violence against women is devoid of structural violence – as in all places, such abuse is underpinned by beliefs about the perpetrator's right to harm another, based on societal notions of gender and rights'.¹⁶ □

¹ Lara Fergus was the consultant and rapporteur supporting the Expert Group Meeting (EGM) on Prevention of Violence against Women and Girls, convened by UN Women in partnership with UNFPA, UNICEF, WHO, UNDP and ESCAP in Bangkok, September 2012. While this article focuses on the causes of violence against women, further discussion on the implications of this for prevention policy and programming can be found in the background papers submitted by the experts to the EGM, and in their Final Report, available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/events/59/expert-group-meeting-prevention-of-violence-against-women-and-girls/>

² See for example, World Health Organisation (2010) Prevention Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence against Women - Taking Action and Generating Evidence; Lori Heise (2011) What Works to Prevent Partner Violence – An Evidence Overview Working Paper; VicHealth (2007) Preventing Violence Before it Occurs: A Framework and Background Paper to Guide the Primary Prevention of Violence against Women in Victoria; Carol Hagemann-White et al (2010) Review of Factors at Play in Perpetration

³ Bott S, Guedes A et al (forthcoming) Prevention Module, UN Women Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence against Women and Girls, citing Krug et al. (2002).

⁴ Bott S, Morrison A and Ellsberg M (2005) Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in middle and low-income countries: a global review and analysis, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3618.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Bott S, Guedes A et al (forthcoming) Prevention Module, UN Women Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence against Women and Girls, citing Krug et al. (2002).

⁷ See: <http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/300-causes-protective-and-risk-factors-.html>

⁸ See for example Partners for Prevention (2012) The Change Project: Understanding gender, masculinities and power to prevent gender-based violence – Project Overview and Summary of Preliminary Research Findings

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Bott S, Guedes A et al (forthcoming) Prevention Module, UN Women Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence against Women and Girls, citing Krug et al. (2002), citing Jewkes, 2002; Cohen et al. 2005; Davis et al. 2006; Parks et al. 2007.

¹¹ VicHealth (2010) National Survey on Community Attitudes to Violence against Women 2009, Commonwealth of Australia.

¹² Ibid.

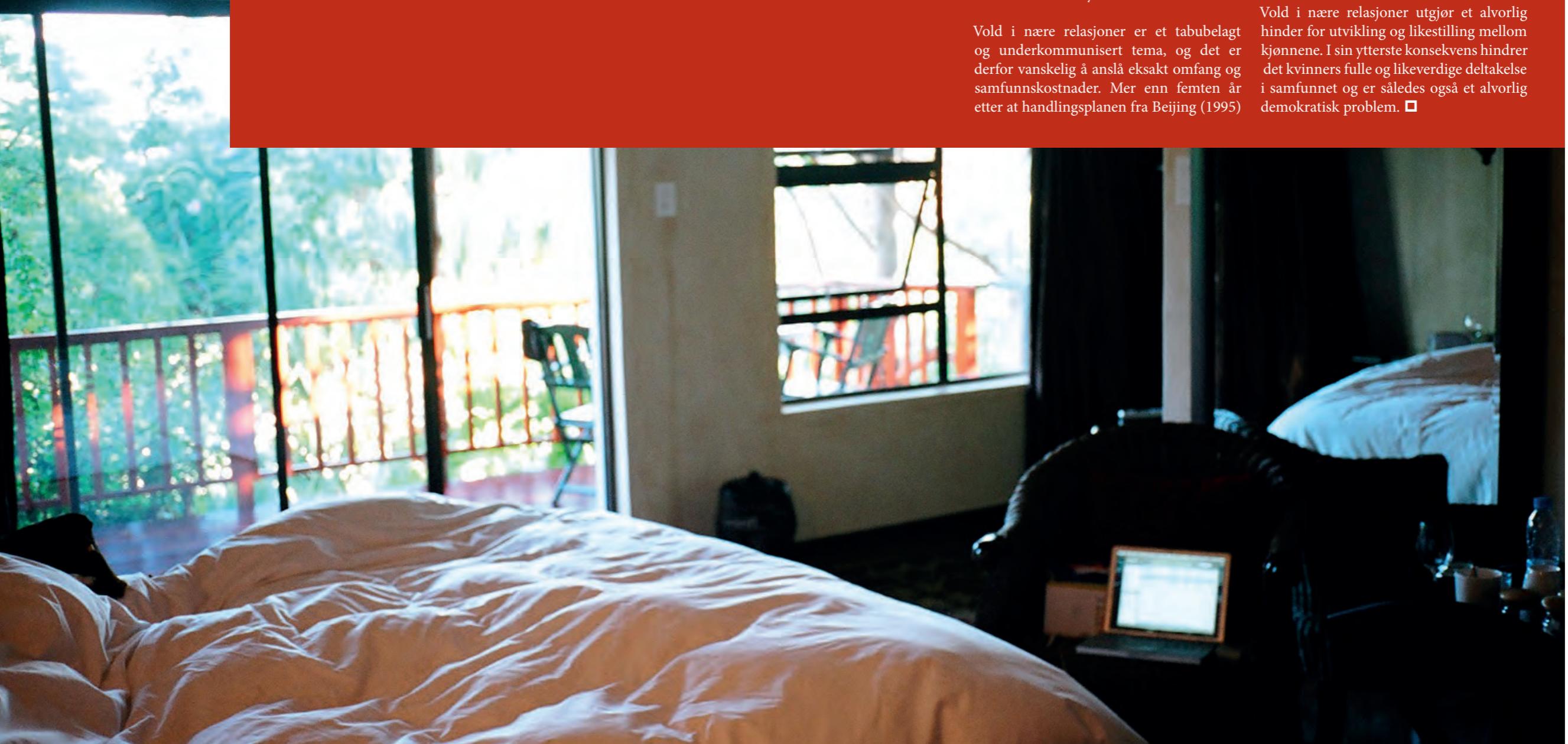
¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Heise L (2011) What Works to Prevent Partner Violence – An Evidence Overview, STRIVE.

¹⁵ And there exists another 'layer' of risk factors for violence against children, including persistent social acceptance of physical, sexual and psychological violence as an inevitable part of childhood.

¹⁶ Manjoo, R. (2011) Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, A/HRC/17/26, para 24.

Vold i nære relasjoner



Vold i nære relasjoner er overgrep mot en kvinne utført av et familiemedlem, kjæreste (inkludert ektefelle) eller ekskjæreste. Volden kan være av fysisk, psykisk, økonomisk og seksuell karakter og er som regel utført av menn. Dette er et fenomen som rammer kvinner i alle aldre og samfunnslag, på tvers av landegrenser.

I utviklingsland er kvinner spesielt sårbar for vold på grunn av deres svake sosiale, kulturelle og økonomiske status. Der lover mot vold i nære relasjoner er på plass, er ofte implementeringen mangelfull. Kvinners rettsikkerhet er svak fordi kostnadene ved å anmeldre en voldsmann ofte vurderes som for høye, enten fordi politi ikke etterforsker anmeldelser eller fordi rettsapparatet ikke dømmer saker som ender i rettssystemet.

Vold i nære relasjoner er et tabubelagt og underkommunisert tema, og det er derfor vanskelig å anslå eksakt omfang og samfunnskostnader. Mer enn femten år etter at handlingsplanen fra Beijing (1995)

anmodet om bedre statistikk og forskning på feltet, er det lang vei til å gå selv om det er noe fremgang innen forskning på partnervold. Anmeldelsesstatistikker er spesielt sårbar for mørketall og noen typer vold av mildere karakter rapporteres ofte ikke, selv om konsekvensene og kostnadene i det lange løpet er alvorlige. Livsløpdata og selvrapporering har ofte svært forskjellig utfall og presisjonsnivå hva angår hypsigitet og grad av psykiske og fysiske skader.

Verdens helseorganisasjons siste rapport viser at mellom 15 prosent (i Japan) og 70 prosent (i Etiopia og Peru) av kvinner på verdensbasis har opplevd fysisk eller seksuell vold av sin nåværende eller eks-partner (Verdens helseorganisasjon, WHO, 2005).

Vold i nære relasjoner utgjør et alvorlig hinder for utvikling og likestilling mellom kjønnene. I sin ytterste konsekvens hindrer det kvinnernas fulle og likeverdige deltagelse i samfunnet og er således også et alvorlig demokratisk problem. □

- Mellom 15 prosent (i Japan) og 70 prosent (i Etiopia og Peru) av kvinner på verdensbasis har opplevd fysisk eller seksuell vold av sin nåværende eller eks-partner (Verdens helseorganisasjon, WHO, 2005).

- Halvparten av alle kvinner som dør som følge av mord er drept av sin tidligere eller nåværende partner/mann (Verdens helseorganisasjon, WHO, 2002).

- Mange kvinnernas første seksuelle erfaring skjer under tvang (for eksempel 24 prosent i Peru, 28 prosent i Tanzania, 30 prosent i Bangladesh og 40 prosent i Sør-Afrika) (Verdens helseorganisasjon, WHO, 2005).

- Vold mot kvinnernas påfører store psykologiske skader, som depresjon, post-traumatiske stress, søvnproblemer, spiseforstyrrelser og selvmordstanker (Verdens helseorganisasjon, WHO, 2011).

- Hver sjette time drepes en kvinne av sin partner i Sør-Afrika (Medical Research Council, Tygerberg, 2004).

- I India blir 22 kvinner drept hver dag i forbindelse med medgift. (National Crime Records Bureau, 2008)

- Kvinnernas som blir slått av partnern sin har 48 prosent større sannsynlighet for å bli smittet av HIV/AIDS enn andre (UNAIDS, UNFPA og UNIFEM, 2004).

- FNs Befolkningsfond anslår at om lag 5000 kvinner blir ofre for æresdrap hvert år (UNFPA, 2000).

Vold i nære relasjoner har til hensikt å utøve eller opprettholde makt og kontroll i et nært forhold. Den har et klart definert mål som er å tvinge kvinnene til å underkaste seg voldstøverens vilje. Denne type vold kjennetegnes ved repetisjon over tid. Selv om volden ikke skjer til daglig, innebefatter frykten for ny vold at offeret opplever volden som sammenhengende og vedvarende. Volden kan være av fysisk, psykisk, økonomisk og seksuell karakter.



Det handler om å se de store sammenhengene

TEKST: BARNE-, LIKESTILLINGS- OG INKLUDERINGSMINISTER INGA MARTE THORKILDSSEN FOTO: BLD

Vold i nære relasjoner har store samfunnsmessige konsekvenser. Vold reduserer menneskers mulighet til å delta aktivt i samfunnet, og er med det et hinder for utviklingen av et lands økonomi, politikk og demokrati. Samfunnets ressurs- og produksjonstap som følge av at mennesker utsettes for vold i nære relasjoner er enorme. Videre dreier kostnadene seg om alt fra hjelpe tiltak i skolen og behov for psykisk og fysisk helsehjelp, til behov for omfattende barneverntiltak, krisesenterhjelp og politiressurser.

Vi kan også snakke om fremtidige tap som skyldes at mange barn som vokser opp med voldelige foreldre ikke fullfører utdanning og selv kan få problemer med å delta i yrkeslivet. Vi vet også at vold fosterer vold; barn som er utsatt for vold har større sannsynlighet for selv å vokse opp og bli voldsutøver, enn andre barn.

For de menneskene som opplever vold i nære relasjoner er de individuelle konsekvensene svært alvorlige og mange. Vold skader et menneske både fysisk og psykisk, og er ødeleggende for utvikling, livskvalitet og helse. I verste fall fører volden til tap av menneskeliv.

Jeg anser arbeidet mot vold i nære relasjoner som en av de viktigste oppgavene jeg har. Samtidig er det en av de mest utfordrende oppgavene jeg har. En særlig utfordring er å utvikle tiltak som treffer de enkeltmenneskene de er ment å nå.

Vi må spørre oss selv: hvem er de mest sårbarer? Når vi får svaret på det, kan vi utvikle tiltak som treffer. Vi må klare å ha to tanker i hodet samtidig. Vi må ta hensyn til flere diskrimineringsgrunnlag samtidig når vi arbeider for å fremme likestilling og bekjempe vold i nære relasjoner. Egenskaper som kjønn, etnisk bakgrunn, alder, funksjonsevne, seksuell orientering etc. kan ikke bare telles opp og legges oppå hverandre. Vi må anerkjenne at utsatthet for og opplevelse av diskriminering og vold forekommer i en kvalitativ annen form når flere grunnlag kombineres. Jeg vil i det følgende gi tre eksempler.

Vi vet at kvinner utsettes for den groveste og mest langvarige volden. Vi vet at ungdom og eldre, både kvinner og menn, utsettes for mer vold en middelaldrende. Det å være ung eller eldre kvinne fører imidlertid til større, og en annen type, sårbarhet enn de to faktorene kjønn og alder isolert sett.

Frarøvelse av seksuell og reproduktiv helse og rettigheter er en form for vold som er spesiell for unge kvinner. Seksuell og reproduktiv helse og rettigheter vil si at mennesker skal kunne ha et ansvarlig,

tilfredsstillende og trygt seksualliv. De skal ha evnen til å reproduksjon og frihet til å velge om, når og hvor ofte de skal få barn. Mange unge jenters seksuelle og reproduktive helse hemmes av tidlig ekteskap, tidlig svangerskap og tradisjonelle krav om å bli bidra hjemme.

Hvis vi holder oss til seksuell og reproduktiv helse og rettigheter finnes flere eksempler. På grunn av maktrelasjoner knyttet til funksjonsevne frarøves kvinner med nedsatt funksjonsevne oftere sin rett til å bestemme over sin egen kropp enn kvinner uten funksjonsnedsettelse. På grunn av maktrelasjoner knyttet til kjønn og sekssualitet frarøves de også denne retten oftere enn menn med nedsatt funksjonsevne. De to sårbarhetsfaktorene virker sammen og skaper en egen form for utsatthet. Dette erkjennes dessverre ikke alltid i samfunn og politikk.

et lite støttende eller manglende sosialt nettverk. Dette har betydning for hvilke hjelpe tiltak vi setter i verk.

Jeg er særlig opptatt av å beskytte barn mot vold. Barn er individer i vekst og utvikling. Når barn utsettes for vold og overgrep er dette erfaringer som ofte preger dem for resten av livet. Derfor er det vår plikt og ansvar å sørge for at barn vokser opp i trygge omgivelser som gir dem de beste forutsetninger for et godt voksenliv. Tiltak som har som formål å beskytte voldsutsette barn må også skreddersy. Barn er også individer med et kjønn, en etnisk bakgrunn og en seksuell orientering. Dette må vi ta høyde for når vi utvikler tiltak. Samtidig kan barna selv utsettes direkte for vold fra en omsorgsperson eller de kan være vitne til vold i familien. Begge deler er like alvorlig, og her vil det også være behov for ulike tilnærmingar. Poenget er at ingen, verken voksne eller barn, er like.

« Jeg anser arbeidet mot vold i nære relasjoner som en av de viktigste oppgavene jeg har. Samtidig er det en av de mest utfordrende oppgavene jeg har. »

Vi, som myndigheter, må ta innover oss denne virkeligheten når vi utvikler strategier for å bekjempe vold.

Et samfunn med likestilte mennesker er et samfunn med fravær av diskriminering, tvang og vold. Likestilling handler om at alle skal behandles likeverdig. Det handler om like muligheter og rettigheter til å delta i samfunnet, for eksempel i utdanning, arbeid og familieliv. Det handler om frihet. Jeg kaller dette et grunnleggende likestellingsperspektiv.

Min ambisjon er at det grunnleggende likestellingsperspektivet, kombinert med evnen til å se sammenhenger, skal ligge til grunn for alt vårt likestellingsarbeid generelt og alt vårt arbeid mot vold mot kvinner spesielt! □

Suicides amongst married women in India due to dowry and domestic abuse are rising at an alarming rate.

Till Death Do Us Apart

TEXT/PHOTO: TANIKA GODEOLE

Following the suicide of a woman in Mumbai this October, the Mumbai High Court expressed concern over the rise of suicides in women, the prime concern being harassment by the husband or in-laws. In 2011, the High Court had advised setting up of machinery that would help to curb the problems of depression and anxiety in the bud and not result into such drastic measures. The actions are yet to be seen.

Every year, according to the World Health Organisation, an estimated 170,000 people in India choose to end their own lives. A study published in the Lancet Journal in June 2012 found that of these, 70 percent of deaths are among married individuals, especially women. Disconcertingly enough, suicide may very soon become the biggest cause of death among women in India.

The status of a wife

"Many women, no matter how battered they are in their marriage, want to remain in the marriage. The societal pressures are such that married women remain to be much more 'respectable' in society as com-

pared to unmarried or divorced women, even if they are oppressed. Women don't find any support from their natal homes so they persist with the marriage. When

« The societal pressures are such that married women remain to be much more 'respectable' in society as compared to unmarried or divorced women, even if they are oppressed. »

it becomes too much to bear, they take the step of killing themselves," says Saziya Mukadam from Human Rights Law Network, a collective network of lawyers and social activists.

Illiteracy, economic dependence and a society that still views divorce as a stigma contribute to the alarming rise in women's suicides. These reasons fail to explain why so many financially independent, educated women are going down the same path.

A woman's duty

In November 2012, a woman who worked as a councilor at the Municipal Corporation of New Delhi, the capital

of India, killed her one and a half year old daughter before ending her own life. Economically independent, the woman was allegedly harassed by her in-laws for

dowry. An abusive husband and/or in-laws and demands for the outdated ritual of dowry seem to be the unifying factor for most of these suicide cases.

"Married Indian women are often isolated from their family, friends and their usual networks of support. They have no support system to give them confidence," says Dr. Vikram Patel, psychiatrist, Professor at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and one of the authors of the study on suicides in India that was published in the Lancet Journal.

"Women are afraid to report the crime to the authorities because of the fear that it



might get worse, or they might get thrown out of their husband's home. Some women also internalize the violence as justified. They begin to feel the abuse is acceptable as per circumstances. These women feel helpless against their situation. They extend the helplessness to the child as well," he says.

Recent research by the National Crime Records Bureau of India suggests that divorced women are less likely to commit suicide. Flavia Agnes, a women's rights lawyer and one of the founders of Majlis, a Mumbai-based organisation that provides legal aid to women, recently came across a well-earning woman with a house in her own name, who was caught in a marriage where she was abused by her husband and in-laws. When on holiday, the woman made up her mind to file for divorce as soon as they came back. In spite of this, a minor argument during the holiday, where the woman was verbally abused triggered her to give away her life.

A way out
To this day, mental health awareness is minimal. Even amongst educated urban cliques, talking about family problems and seeking for help from professionals is rare.

these women portray. No matter how successful you are, if you don't have a family, you will always be an outsider. The society will always think there is something wrong with you," Agnes says.

"Awareness is very important. People need to be educated. But more than information, solutions need to be provided," says Dr. Vikram Patel. He believes that advice as to what people can do individually, as well as detecting depression and providing help to those in need, is crucial.

For the past few years, a striking number of women who committed suicide due to a bad marriage have been well educated and independent. Perhaps the education is yet to penetrate the psyche. An obligation to provide dowry, or to tolerate abuse from the husband and in-laws pulls back an apparently progressing community. According to Patel, "It is so much easier to end your life. Get sleeping pills, or jump off the terraces of their high-rise buildings. The pain is over in a minute".

"Unless women realize that there are other options than persisting with a bad marriage or ending their life, or unless the woman is told that her parents will accept her and be there, no matter married or divorced, this will continue," Patel ends. □

Kampen er ikke vunnet



16-dagerskampanjen mot vold mot kvinner er en viktig årlig begivenhet. Disse dagene minner oss om at mange års likestillingsarbeid har vært viktig, men at kampen mot vold mot kvinner fremdeles ikke er vunnet.

TEKST: JUSTISMINISTER GRETE FAREMO FOTO: JUSTIS- OG BEREDSKAPSDEPARTEMENTET

Vold mot kvinner kjenner ikke nasjonale grenser. Ikke noe land eller samfunn er uberørt. Uttrykkene er mange – det kan handle om fysiske og psykiske overgrep mot partner, voldtak som ledd i krigføring, handel med kvinner og barn for seksuelle formål, tvangsekteskap eller kjønnslemlestelse. Dette er grove overgrep mot kvinner og barn og ikke forenlig med vår oppfatning av respekt for enkeltmenneskets rett til et liv i verdighet – fritt for vold og undertrykkelse.

Slike overgrep er heller ikke i overensstemmelse med de forpliktelser Norge, i likhet med en rekke land både i Europa og verden for øvrig, har tatt på seg ved å ratifisere internasjonale konvensjoner for å beskytte mot vold. Det ferskeste eksempelet er Europarådskonvensjonen om forebyggelse og bekjempelse av vold mot kvinner og vold i nære relasjoner. Konvensjonen ble åpnet for undertegning på utenriksministermøte i Istanbul i mai 2011. Norge signerte konvensjonen i juli samme år, og vi er godt i gang med å legge til rette for ratifikasjon. Før vi ratifiserer vil vi imidlertid forsikre oss om at norsk rett er i samsvar med konvensjonsforpliktelsene, og at eventuelle lovendringer er vedtatt og trådt i kraft.

Det er av vesentlig betydning at vi arbeider internasjonalt for å bekjempe vold mot kvinner og vold i nære relasjoner. Norge har en viktig pådriverrolle blant annet gjennom å bidra til at vold mot kvinner straffeforfølges og ikke omfattes av kulturelle eller tradisjonelle unntak knyttet til kvinnens underordnede posisjon. Et eksempel på slike initiativ er arbeidet med «Styrkebrønnen», der norske eksperter sendes ut på internasjonale oppdrag til områder med behov for rettstatsutvikling. Gruppen består av dommere, forsvarsadvokater, statsadvokater, krigsadvokater, politjurister og personell fra kriminalomsorgen. På Haiti bidrar norsk politi med et spesialisert team som bistår lokalt politi med etterforskning av seksualisert vold. For å oppnå varige endringer, er det helt sentralt at forandringene springer ut fra lokale initiativ og er solid forankret hos lokale aktører.

Vold mot kvinner begås ikke bare av «de andre», men er i høyeste grad også en realitet i vårt eget samfunn. Det faktum at 152 kvinner er drept av sin daværende eller tidligere partner i Norge siden 1991, viser at vi står overfor en situasjon vi må ta på det største alvor.

I Norge er det ingen tvil om at vold er en straffbar handling. Dette gjelder uavhengig av hvem som utover volden og hvor den finner sted. Men jeg deler den bekymring flere har gitt utsyn for – at denne kriminaliteten mangler synlighet. Det er fremdeles mange som ikke oppsøker politi eller hjelpeapparat. Dette må vi ta tak i. Enhver voldsutøvelse er en krenkelse av den som rammes. Men forholdet mellom offer og gjerningsperson er av stor betydning for hvordan volden fortolkes og oppleves. Smerten over å bli utsatt for et overgrep av en kjæreste, far, mor, søsken eller andre familiemedlemmer kommer i tillegg til selve den fysiske volden. Det rokker ved individets fundamentale trygghet – en trygghet som burde skapes og vedlikeholdes i hjemmet av personer som står oss nær.

Politiets arbeid er av vesentlig betydning både for å beskytte den som er utsatt og for å forbygge at vold finner sted. I løpet av siste året har vi gjennomført to svært lovende prosjekter for å bedre beskyttelsen av voldsutsatte. Vestfold og Oslo politidistrikt har prøvd ut et risikovurderingsverktøy utformet som en sjekkliste for å sikre et mer helhetlig arbeid for volds- og trusselutsatte. Sjekklisten, som i kortform omtales som SARA (Spousal Assault Risk Assessment Guide), består av 15 risikofaktorer som vi på bakgrunn av forskning og studier vet er av betydning når risikoen for partnervold bedømmes.

Gjennom SARA er intensjonen å forebygge alvorlig vold på en mer systematisk

måte enn det vi har gjort hittil. Vold i nære relasjoner er ofte gjentagende – derfor er det viktig å komme inn på et tidlig tidspunkt.

I tillegg til bruk av SARA har politiet foretatt hjemmebesøk med uniformerte patruljer på «høyrisikoadresser». Hensikten med disse besøkene var at de skulle virke trygghetsskapende for voldsutsatte, og samtidig øke mulighetene for å avdekke vold som ikke blir rapportert til politiet.

Evalueringen har vist at både politiet og de voldsutsatte er svært tilfredse med bruken av SARA. Tjenestemennene rapporterer at SARA gir hjelp til å stille de riktige spørsmålene for å avdekke eventuell risiko og strukturere arbeidet med den enkelte saken på en bedre måte. De utsatte opplever å bli møtt på en god måte, og de fleste kvinnene følte seg tryggere når politiet ble koblet inn.

Regjeringen mener alvor med innsatsen mot vold i nære relasjoner. Denne innsatsen er det også tverrpolitisk enighet om. Siden 1999 har vekslende regjeringer lagt frem ikke mindre enn fire handlingsplaner mot vold i parforhold. Vi er nå i sluttfasen av arbeidet med en stortingsmelding om samme tema. Vi trenger en politisk behandlet plattform for det videre arbeidet. Stortingsmeldingen skal følges av en fireårig handlingsplan der Stortingets føringer legges til grunn for utforming av tiltakene.

Parallelt utarbeider vi nå egne strategier mot kjønnslemlestelse, tvangsekteskap og vold og overgrep mot barn og ungdom. Arbeidet mot vold i nære relasjoner kommer fortsatt til å ha den høyeste prioriteten for regjeringen i tiden fremover. □

« Regjeringen mener alvor med innsatsen mot vold i nære relasjoner. Denne innsatsen er det også tverrpolitisk enighet om. »

Facing the Serious Problem of Violence against Women: **Reforming the Guatemalan National Civil Police**

TEXT/PHOTO: LUZ MÉNDEZ

Since the end of the armed conflict in Guatemala, violence against women in all its forms, particularly femicide, or the murder of women for being women, has increased at an alarming rate. On average 600 women have been murdered every year for the past ten years. Often the bodies showed signs of sexual violence and dismemberment.

In all Central American countries violence against women has increased. Nevertheless, two distinct patterns of lethal violence can be observed. In the Northern Triangle, consisting of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, we see higher rates of violent deaths of women, while in the Southern part of Central America, consisting of Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama, rates are lower. If we compare Guatemala and Nicaragua, countries with similar levels of economic development, we can see that in Guatemala the rate of violent deaths per hundred thousand women, is 8, while in Nicaragua it is 2. This means that the probability a woman faces of becoming the victim of a violent death in Guatemala

is 363% higher than for a woman in Nicaragua.

Why these differences? As we know, the root cause of violence against women lies in the patriarchal system, which assigns women a condition of social oppression. However, since patriarchy does not work alone, but is articulated with the other power structures that exist in society, overall socio-economic, political and security conditions can have a significant impact on women's lives.

In Guatemala, old, unsolved problems, such as deep social and economic inequalities led to the growth of juvenile delin-

quent gangs, known as maras. These add to the increasingly alarming penetration of national and transnational organized crime, particularly drug trafficking, and an associated rise in general criminal violence. This is compounded by the weakness of the State institutions responsible for security and justice, combined with endemic impunity.

A recent study, sponsored by FOKUS, carried out in Guatemala, provides an analysis of the role of the National Civil Police (PNC), an institution created by the Peace Accords. The police response to violence against women has been weak, deficient and insufficient for them to meet their

legal responsibilities to protect women's lives, physical integrity and security.

Among the conclusions reached, the above study highlights the urgent need to strengthen the PNC, because, as it is deployed throughout the territory, it is the institution to which women first turn to report violence against them. Major obstacles that prevent this institution from meeting its obligations concerning violence against women include prejudices and stereotypes among members of the police and their lack of awareness of women's rights legislation. The lack of operational policies and regulations to guide the implementation of the legislation is also striking, and this is compounded by inadequate financial and material resources.

The PNC requires deep rooted reform, including specific policies aimed at addressing violence against women as a complex and differentiated criminal phenomenon, which has become a serious

« The PNC requires deep rooted reform, including specific policies aimed at addressing violence against women as a complex and differentiated criminal phenomenon, which has become a serious security problem in Guatemala. »

security problem in Guatemala. In fact two years ago a commission for police reform was set up, with a view to improving the institution's quality of service. However, the reform process lacks a gender approach and there is no genuine concern for reforming the approach to violence against women. To a large extent this is because representatives of civil society organizations and state institutions specializing in the prevention and eradication of violence against women were excluded from the reform process. Those officers within the PNC who are responsible for the promotion of gender equity or providing direct care to victims were also absent from the reform process.

The inclusion of representatives of women's organizations and institutions in the reform of the police is part of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, which highlights the importance of women's equal participation in all efforts at maintaining peace and security. As Guatemala currently holds a place on the Security Council, the country is doubly bound to implement this resolution. □

Translated from Spanish by Kate Wilson



Kvinneaktivisten Delia Zamudio har drevet kriseneter i sitt eget hjem siden 80-tallet da vold var noe privat. - Jeg husker hvordan vi ble ledd av på politistasjonen da vi kom for å anmeldre volden.

Mellom strenge lover og straffefrihet – Vold mot kvinner i Peru

Kjønnsbasert vold mot kvinner har i Latin-Amerika på kort tid gått fra å være et privat anliggende til noe myndigheter tar på alvor gjennom blant annet lovgivning. Men fremdeles går mange gjerningsmenn fri, også drapsmenn. I Peru er straffefrihet, manglende tilgang til rettssystemet og en utbredt toleranse for vold, elementer som begrenser fremgang i praksis.

TEKST OG FOTO: ÅSE KARIN WESTAD FJELD

I november 2011 fikk Peru en feminicidio-lov med en strafferamme på minst 15 års fengsel for menn som dreper sin partner eller eks-partner. Lovgivningen som var et resultat av politisk press og omfangsundersøkelser initiert av kvinnebevegelsen, viste en politisk vilje til å ta problematikken på alvor og skapte optimisme. Men dessverre sviktet implementeringen. Kvinneminister Ana Jara hevdet i forbindelse med markeringen av

Internasjonal dag for avskaffelse av vold mot kvinner i 2012, at ett år etter innføringen av feminicidio-loven, har de ikke en eneste slik straffeutmåling å vise til.

I mellomtiden har over hundre kvinner blitt drept eller utsatt for drapsforsøk.

I november 2012 ble strafferammen økt ytterligere, til minst 25 år om den drepte kvinnien var mindreårig, gravid eller hadde

en funksjonshemmning. Den nye loven skal forhåpentligvis virke preventivt, og være mindre fleksibel.

Alarmerende tall

Volden mot kvinner er omfattende. Ifølge INEI (Nasjonalt Institutt for statistikk og informatikk), har 65,6% av peruaniske kvinner opplevd å bli utsatt for kontroll av sin partner, mens hele 38,9% har vært utsatt for fysisk eller psykisk vold. De

regionale forskjellene er store. I enkelte regioner som for eksempel Cusco er andelen over 60%. Feminicidio er den mest ekstreme formen for kjønnsbasert vold, og rammer kvinner på grunn av kjønn. Ifølge Departementet for Kvinner og sårbare befolkningsgrupper (MIMP) ble det mellom januar 2009 og oktober 2012, registrert 416 feminicidios og 253 forsøk nasjonalt. I Peru er den vanligste formen "intimt feminicidio", altså drap begått av parter eller eks-partner.

Få anmelder

Bare tre av ti kvinner anmelder volden ifølge Kvinnedepartementet. Mange skammer seg, vet ikke hva de skal gjøre, eller foretrekker å søke hjelp hos familiemedlemmer. Av frykt for hva som kan skje forsøker de å holde ut, særlig når det er barn involvert, og økonomisk eller emosjonell avhengighet. Ombudsmannen peker på hvordan mishandlete kvinner i tillegg møtes av stereotypiske oppfatninger og fordommer i kontakt med rettsvesenet. Det er en utbredt oppfatning i flere regioner at kvinnene selv fremprovoserte volden. Ifølge Ombudsmannens studie av rettsdokumenter ser politiet i mange tilfeller disse drapene som spontane eller utilsiktede handlinger, og etterforsker de ikke tilstrekkelig.

Mens noen blir drapstruet til å ikke anmeldte, utsettes andre for vold fordi de har anmeldt. Det er viktig å merke seg at gjerningsmennene som regel har utøvd vold og aggresjon mot kvinnene i forkant av et feminicidio. Flere ofre for feminicidio hadde allerede anmeldt. Det understreker behovet for bedre beskyttelse.



Også barn rammes. I tilfeller av feminicidios er barn ofte vitner, og må vokse opp uten mor.

Manglende rettsikkerhet og korupsjon

Carmen Rodríguez, informasjonsrådgiver i Kvinnfrontens partnerorganisasjon WARM Información Sobre Mujeres i Peru peker på den manglende rettsikkerheten for kvinner:

- Ofte blir drapsmannen, voldtektsmannen eller læreren som antaster sine elever, behandlet så gunstig at han til slutt løslates eller får kun få år i fengsel. Erstatningen er i mange tilfeller så liten at ofrene eller pårørende kommer verre ut av det enn da de begynte prosessen. Straffefriheten er ofte et resultat av korupsjon i rettsvesenet.



Gladys Camere, leder for WARM Información de Mujeres peker på kjønnsstereotypier og korupsjon i rettsvesenet.

sjalusi og mistanker om utroskap som motiv. Slik fraskriver de seg ansvaret for handlingen og forsøker å redusere straffen, da det kan virke formildende.

Sterke kjønnsstereotypier

Det peruaniske samfunnet er preget av "machismo", som blant annet innebærer en ide om at mannen skal bestemme, og kan kontrollere og utagere på grunn av sjalusi.

Samtidig er det sterke stereotypiske oppfatninger om hvordan en kvinne skal være. Dette fører til en aksept for vold:

Hovedproblemet er at kvinner tror at et liv preget av misbruk, aksept og mangel på utdanning, at dette er en del av det å være kvinne. Det er fordi de har blitt oppdratt på den måten, sier Gladys Camere, lederen i WARM. Organisasjonen driver holdningskapende arbeid gjennom blant annet radioprogrammer. Et mål er å redusere aksepten for vold i parforhold blant radioprogrammets lyttere. Camere peker på nødvendigheten av en frigjørende oppdragelse. Mange peruaniske mødre er selv "machistas" og oppdrar sine døtre til å fortsette i samme spor, uten selvtillit og tro på seg selv, ifølge Camere.

Lidenskapelige drap

Gjennom tabloidiserete overskrifter sensasjonaliseres kvinnedrap i media. Samtidig gjengis og forsterkes kjønnsdiskriminerende holdninger som berettiger vold mot kvinner i reklamer, musikk og på tv. Feminicidio har blitt omtalt som "crimen pasional", altså et "lidenskapelig lovbrudd". Drapet skjer ofte i en bruddfase eller om kvinnien ikke ønsker å starte et forhold. Ifølge peruanisk politi oppgir gjerningsmannen i over halvparten av tilfellene

Hjemmet fortsetter å være et farlig sted for mange latinamerikanske kvinner. Diskriminering mot kvinner er dypt forankret i de sosiale strukturene i regionen. Implementering av loverket er viktig, det samme er prevensjon og beskyttelse. På lang sikt må likevel reell sosial og kulturell endring til for å få bukt med diskriminering og vold mot kvinner og jenter. □

¹ Joseph, Janice (2012): FEMICIDE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. Academic Council of the United Nations System. <http://acuns.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/FEMICIDE-IN-CENTRAL-AMERICA-Joseph.pdf>

² Flake, Dallan F. (2005): Individual, Family, and Community Risk Markers for Domestic Violence in Peru. Violence Against Women March 2005 11: 353-373. SAGE journals.



When Misogyny Kills

TEXT: ANTON POPIC AND MAGNUSS HOLTFOOT PHOTO: GETTYIMAGES.COM

Open a newspaper almost anywhere in the world and you will find a picture of a woman murdered by her husband or a girl murdered by her father or brother. Their experiences are unique, yet their murders have too much in common to be ignored. Violence against women is a problem of alarming proportions globally. At its extreme, this violence results in femicide – gender-related murder of women. Femicide continues to be accepted, tolerated or justified with impunity.

Femicide and its manifestations

The concept of femicide gained modern relevance in the feminist movement of the

1970s, when it was proposed as an alternative to the gender-neutral term homicide. Diana Russell and Roberta Harnes

define femicide as “the killing of females by males because they are female.” While precise and widely accepted, this defini-

tion excludes the killings of a female by other females (such as female infanticide or abortion of female fetuses). While these do take place, Russell argues, they are done in the name of patriarchy, thus still qualifying as femicide. At its core, femicide is the lethal face of misogyny.

Its manifestations are many. Women are murdered by their intimate partners, killed for being “witches,” murdered to save the “honor” of the family after having been raped, executed for failing to bring in the desired dowry, or beaten to death for liking other women.

Prevalence of femicide

It is difficult to measure exactly how many women and girls are killed every year, let alone how many of them were targeted for being female. Only half of the world’s countries collect sex-desegregated data on homicide. UN’s Small Arms Study calculates that approximately 66,000 women globally are reported killed every year. This figure represents about 17 per cent or almost one-fifth of all homicide victims for an average year.

In many countries, the culturally-appropriate murders of women, such as the killing of suspected witches or killings in the name of “honor,” are not registered at all. In India, for example, 100 million women are estimated to be missing from the populations. There are two main reasons for this: selective abortions of female fetuses (estimated at 1 million per year) and infanticide of girl children (the pre-adolescent mortality rate of girls under 5 years old is 21 per cent higher than for boys of the same age).

Even though we lack good statistics on femicide, we know that men are more likely to be killed in public, while women are more likely to be killed at home. The reason for this is that most women are murdered by their current or previous intimate partner.

Intimate partner femicide

Intimate partner murder is the femicide type we know most about. We have enough knowledge, in fact, to draw certain conclusions and generalizations. Research shows

that many intimate partner femicide cases share certain characteristics.

Several factors co-vary with intimate partner femicide. They can be divided into several categories: socio-demographic variables; personality traits and mental health; interactional and contextual factors; and contact with support and treatment services.

The most significant socio-demographic factors associated with femicide are the perpetrator’s sex (male), perpetrator’s age (30-50) and the perpetrator’s ethnic background (with minorities being overrepresented¹). These same demographic factors are associated with the femicide victim: sex (female); age (30-40); and ethnicity (minorities). It is interesting to note that neither unemployment nor educational level or previous criminal record are significant risk factors among the perpetrators.

Many studies, however, confirm that the perpetrator’s mental health is a risk factor for femicide, with depression and substance abuse (including alcohol) being most common. At the same time, these factors tend to also be present in men who commit non-lethal partner violence, so that it is difficult to isolate them as significant for femicide.

The same is the case for certain interactional and contextual factors, such as separation, pregnancy and birth, which, though present in many femicide cases, are equally present in non-lethal partner violence cases. Of other contextual factors, only access to and use of firearms is associated with higher risk of femicide.

The victim’s previous contact with support and treatment services (such as the police, shelters, therapy, etc.) is also correlated with femicide. This is not to say that femicide occurs due to help seeking. A more likely explanation is that victims often seek help prior to being murdered due to the seriousness of violence that precipitates the murder. Contact with support and treatment services is also a good entry point for putting in place measures to reduce the risk of femicide.

Risk assessment tools

Nowadays, several risk assessment tools are available to systematically identify a woman’s risk of being murdered by her (ex) partner. Among them are SARA (Spousal Assault Risk Assessment), ODARA (Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment), and DA (Danger Assessment). These tools vary in complexity and in the need for previous training. They help determine the degree to which an individual poses a threat to his spouse, children, family members, or other people involved. But most importantly, the tools are only useful in as much as their users’ implement measures to protect the victims.

What role can the helping professions, such as the police and health care professionals, play in identifying women at high risk of intimate partner femicide? When women are identified as abused, for example, it is important to assess the perpetrator’s access to guns and to warn women of the risk guns present. This is especially true in the case of women who have been threatened with a gun or another weapon and for women considering leaving the abuser. The police can also use risk assessment tools to develop a safety plan for the woman. Similar implications apply to health care professionals, psychologists, and others.

Due diligence

These implications are directly related to due diligence, a legal concept which requires the states to proactively do everything in their power to prevent, investigate and punish acts of violence against women. States have a legal obligation to not only punish, but also to prevent violence against women and protect the victims. It is ultimately the states’ obligation, through its various organs, such as the police and the health care system, to apply the knowledge we have on risk factors for femicide. And on this front, the states’ responses leave too much to be desired.

While murder is criminal in all jurisdictions, not all jurisdictions do enough to investigate and punish the perpetrators of femicide, let alone, prevent lethal misogyny from happening in the first place. □

¹ Most of the studies on femicide come from North America, the UK and Australia, regions with a long history of immigration and a high level of diversity, but also of social inequality. We can, thus, not generalize this particular finding to the rest of the world.

Kvinnebevegelsen skaper fremskritt

TEKST: TRINE TANDBERG FOTO: SAIH

Gjennom de siste ti-årene har det i stadig økende grad blitt anerkjent at vold mot kvinner er et absolutt brudd på kvinners menneskerettigheter. Vi synes i dag at dette er en selvfølge, men slik har det ikke alltid vært.

Forskerne Mala Htun og S Laurel Weldon har denne høsten lagt frem den mest omfattende forskningsrapporten som noen gang er laget på årsakene til politiske endringer og aksept for at vold mot kvinner er et viktig sosialpolitiske tema. Gjennom analyser av bakgrunnsdata fra 70 land og over en periode på 40 år, har

de en klar konklusjon – kvinnebevegelsen og kvinnens uavhengige organisering er de viktigste årsakene til at problemstillingen knyttet til vold mot kvinner har blitt et tema på den internasjonale politiske dagsorden. Utdrag av Forskningen er gjengitt i en artikkel i det anerkjente fagtidsskriftet "American Political Science Review."

Unike mengder bakgrunnsdata

Det som gjør Htun og Weldons forskning unik er mengden data som er analysert og systematisert. Tidligere forskning på emnet har konsentrert seg om enkelte land eller regioner – nå får vi presentert et tverrsnitt av data fra hele verden. Her finner vi data fra avanserte demokratier så



vel som fra totalitære regimer fra sekulære stater og religiøse stater. Det er derfor interessant å se at trenden er forbausende lik uansett regime. En sterk og velorganisert kvinnebevegelse er avgjørende for holdningsendring og politisk vilje til implementering av internasjonale konvensjoner og lovverk som kriminaliserer vold mot kvinner.

Til tross for erkjennelsen av at vold mot kvinner er et stort samfunnspproblem i de fleste land, har verdens regjeringer vært særdeles trege i å vedta og implementere lover som beskytter kvinner. Spørsmålet er derfor – Hvordan kan det ha seg at enkelte land har et mer omfattende lovverk enn andre?

I henhold til de funnene som Htun og Weldon har gjort, fremgår det at velutviklede demokratier eller generelt høy levestandard i landene ikke nødvendigvis fører til en bedre og mer omfattende lovgivning knyttet til vold mot kvinner. Man vil kanskje anta at alle progressive tiltak og initiativ på området skulle komme fra høyt utviklede europeiske land. For så å spre seg til resten av verden. På en del områder stemmer det, for eksempel ble krisenterbevegelsen grunnlagt i Storbritannia i 1971, og Norge fikk sitt første krisenter i 1978.

Når det gjelder egen kvinnelov som kriminaliserer vold mot kvinner stemmer ikke dette. Latin Amerika var faktisk det første kontinentet som fikk dette gjennomført politisk. «Belem do Para – konvensjonen» i 1994, førte til at de fleste latinamerikanske landene på midten av 90-tallet vedtok og implementerte egne kvinnelover som kriminaliserte vold i nære relasjoner. Spørsmålet er hvordan det har seg at det ellers konservative og tradisjonelle latinamerikanske kontinent var helt ledende i dette arbeidet? Svaret er en sterk og velorganisert kvinnebevegelse på tvers av landegrenser i en region som på 80-tallet og begynnelsen av 90-tallet var preget av totalitære regimer, og der kvinner var de eneste som kunne arbeide politisk fordi de ble ansett som upolitiske. På den måten, gjennom kollektivt feministisk samfunnsansvar i regionen, som hadde mobilitert aktivt i dette arbeidet i en årekke klarte de å frembringe en politisk lobby som ført til at de fleste sør-amerikanske

Fra kvinnetribunal til Wien-erklæringen

I 1976 arrangerte kvinnegrupper fra en rekke land det første internasjonale kvinnetribunalet. Ideen om dette sprang ut av krisenterbevegelsen som da var i sin spede barndom. Dette var den første internasjonale konferansen der man satte vold mot kvinner på dagsorden.

land hadde en lovgivning som kriminaliserte vold mot kvinner på et langt tidligere tidspunkt enn de fleste europeiske land, og som definerte vold mot kvinner som brudd på kvinnens menneskerettigheter.

Noe som kan ses på som en svakhet i rapporten fra Htun og Weldon er at de ikke har problematisert forskjellene på regimer der man har et kjønnsnøytralt lovverk, noe som er tilfelle i de fleste vestlige landene, og regimer der lovverket er kjønnsdelt det vil si at man har spesielle lover for kvinner og menn. I Norge for eksempel ville det ikke vært naturlig å ha en egen kvinnelov fordi vårt lovverk er kjønnsnøytralt. Her er paragrafer knyttet til for eksempel vold i nære relasjoner implementert i den generelle straffelovgivningen. I andre land, der lovverket ikke er kjønnsnøytralt vil det være naturlig å lage egne kvinnelover. Så selv om man i en rekke land implementerte kvinnelover på 90-tallet betyr ikke det at man i land som Norge ikke hadde regler som beskyttet kvinner mot vold. Analysene som er gjort i forskningsrapporten kan derfor i noen tilfeller falle noe skjevt ut for en rekke europeiske land som allerede på 60 og 70-tallet hadde paragrafer i straffeloven som kriminaliserte vold mot kvinner. Det er allikevel et uomtvistelig faktum at den latinamerikanske kvinnebevegelsen har vært avgjørende for å få vold mot kvinner på den verdenspolitiske agenda.

En fri og uavhengig kvinnebevegelse avgjørende for fremskritt

Forskningen til Htun og Weldon viser helt klart at uavhengig og fri mobilisering av kvinner og oppbygging av en sterk kvinnebevegelse, både nasjonalt og internasjonalt har hatt en langt større betydning for holdningsendringer og endringer i nasjonal og internasjonal lovgivning enn progressive regjeringer eller en høy prosentandel av kvinnelige parlamentarikere.

Fra kvinnetribunal til Wien-erklæringen

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Det skulle imidlertid ta mange år før det internasjonale samfunnet grep tak i disse problemstillingene. Den første vesentlige internasjonale konvensjonen som anerkjente vold mot kvinner som brudd på kvinnens menneskerettigheter er FNs erklæring om eliminering av vold mot kvinner (Wien-erklæringen) i 1993. I forkant av Wien-konferansen hadde den internasjonale kvinnebevegelsen arbeidet hardt for å få satt vold mot kvinner på konferansens dagsorden, og å få den endret fra å være en konferanse som hadde fokus på generelle menneskerettigheter til å bli en konferanse med fokus på kvinnens menneskerettigheter.

Wien konferansen var et vendepunkt i arbeidet for å kriminalisere vold mot kvinner. Før 1993 var det mange av de internasjonale menneskerettighetsorganisasjonene som Amnesty International og Human Rights Watch som ikke anså voldtak og vold i nære relasjoner som sentrale menneskerettighetsspørsmål. Dette endret seg raskt etter Wien-erklæringen i 1993.

Gode regler dårlig etterlevelse

Til tross for økende bevissthet, endrede normer, økende likestilling og muligheten for at det enkelte steder har blitt mindre vold, er det også svært mange kvinner som vinner politiske valg som utsettes for vold fra skuffede menn. Vold brukes mange steder bevisst for å terrorisere og undertrykke kvinnenes mobilisering for sosial rettferdighet og kvinnenes rettigheter. Motet som mange kvinner viser i sitt engasjement for politiske og sosiale rettigheter er lett og slett imponerende. Men bakteppet er allikevel ganske dystert – vold brukes bevisst for å holde kvinner «på plass». Dette er et økende problem mange steder i verden.

Funnen til Htun og Weldon er interessante, fordi de dokumenterer med all tydelighet at uten en sterk, velorganisert kvinnebevegelse har internasjonale konvensjoner som CEDAW liten betydning for kvinnenes stilling i samfunnet, uansett politisk eller religiøst styresett. Der man derimot har en velorganisert kvinnebevegelse er disse internasjonale konvensjonene den ekstra drahjelpen de trenger mange steder for å få satt vold mot kvinner høyt oppå den politiske dagsorden. □

SECTION

2

Handel med kvinner

Menneskehandel er rekruttering, transport, oppbevaring eller mottak av personer med hensikt å utnytte dem i prostitusjon eller andre former for seksuell utnytting, tvangsarbeid eller tvangstjenester, ved hjelp av vold, trusler eller misbruk av sårbar situasjon. Menneskehandel er en av verdens største illegale industrier, med en årlig omsetning på omlag 32 milliarder amerikanske dollar.

Kvinner og jenter utgjør 80 prosent av ofrene for menneskehandel og de fleste av dem utnyttes i prostitusjon. Jenter i fattige land er særlig sårbare for menneskehandel. Noen blir lurt av falske løfter om hjelp til å komme ut av fattigdommen de lever i. Andre blir bortført med tvang. Det anslås at 2 millioner kvinner og jenter kjøpes og selges hvert år. Ofrene fratas pass og papirer i mottakerlandet og utsettes for grove overgrep. I tillegg sitter mange med stor «gjeld» som skal dekke bakmennenes utgifter til transport, dokumenter, bestikkelse, etc. På grunn av vold og trusler er

det svært vanskelig for jentene og kvinnene å komme seg fri uten hjelp.

I 2000 vedtok FN en egen tilleggsprotokoll mot handel med kvinner og barn (Palermoprotokollen) som et supplement til FNs Konvensjon mot grenseoverskridende organisert kriminalitet. For første gang vedtok FN et bindende dokument der man ser bort fra spørsmålet om tvang eller ikke tvang. Dersom en kvinne i prostitusjon har blitt utnyttet ved hjelp av trusler, misbruk av sårbar situasjon eller annen utilbørlig adferd, er hun per definisjon et offer for en kriminell handling.

Handel med kvinner er vår tids form for slaveri. De siste årene har omfanget av dette økt dramatisk, men samtidig har også sterke motreaksjoner kommet fra kvinneorganisasjoner, myndigheter og internasjonale institusjoner.

De fleste land i verden berøres på ulike måter og i ulikt omfang av menneskehan-

delen, land som de utsatte kommer fra (oppinnelsete land) reiser gjennom (transittland) eller der de utnyttes (mottakerland). Myndighetene har ansvaret for å beskytte og hjelpe kvinnene og barna som er blitt utsatt for menneskehandel. De skal også prøve å hindre at slik utnytting skal fortsette å spre seg, og jobbe for å begrense etterspørselen som skaper det lønnsomme markedet for menneskehandel.

Som et tiltak for å begrense etterspørselen har de nordiske landene Sverige, Norge og Island i sin lovgivning gjort det straffbart å kjøpe sex – dvs. at det er kundene som får sanksjoner. Kvinnene i prostitusjon, derimot, ses på som ofre og får hjelp for å komme seg ut av den. Håpet er at ved å straffe bakmennene, menneskehandlere, hallikene og kundene, vil disse landene bli ikke-attraktive markeder for sexindustrien.



På ethvert tidspunkt blir om lag to millioner kvinner utnyttet i tvunget arbeid, inkludert sexindustri.

Noen eksempler på ulike former for menneskehandel:

- Utnyttelse i prostitusjon
- Tvangsarbeid
- Salg av kroppens organer
- Salg av spedbarn
- Utnyttelse som hushjelp
- Illegalt arbeid
- Tvangsekteskap
- Falsk adopsjon
- Sexturisme og sexunderholdning
- Tiggning (barn, eldre og personer med nedsatt funksjonsevne plasseres på gatene)

Youth Rally against Sexual Oppression of Women

TEXT: JEAN ENRIQUEZ PHOTO: CATW



December 22, 2009 was a historic day. It saw the birth of the first youth organization in the Philippines whose focus was on combatting sex trafficking, prostitution, and other forms of violence against women – Youth and Students for the Advancement of Gender Equality (YSAGE). The organization includes both young women and men. Ray Justin “Jong” Ventura, one of the leaders, put it beautifully on that occasion, “I know that from here on, there will be people who will be trembling in fear, they are the oppressors – the traffickers, perpetrators of violence against women, and those who defend patriarchy! I also know that are people today who will be jubilant—they are the oppressed, the women, and the victims-survivors of violence!”

Since 2003, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women – Asia Pacific (CATW-AP) has been conducting youth camps to educate men ages 16–22 on gender issues, sexuality, and prostitution. CATW-AP has developed a model project to discourage the demand for commercial sex by educating young men and boys about gender equality. This educational model is the first of its kind, underpinned by an understanding that the demand for the bodies of women and children for commercial sex is a root cause of human trafficking. The project concept

is informed by and based on thorough research on young men’s concepts, attitudes, and behaviors of masculinity.

The youth camps have demonstrated success in educating boys to take a principled stand against the root causes of commercial sexual exploitation, including the demand for prostitution and pornography, and unequal economic, legal, political, and social conditions. Graduates of CATW-AP’s camps have been invited to speak about this model in Norway, Thailand, Brazil, and Cambodia. The camps have been replicated in Thailand with the help of UNIFEM (UN WOMEN).

By 2005, the camps were also being conducted among young women to reduce their vulnerability to sexual exploitation. Thus far, CATW-AP has educated more than 3,000 young men and women in the Philippines.

On that historic day in 2009, almost 100 youth leaders from 14 regions in the Philippines gathered in Baguio City to reunite with fellow graduates from other youth camps. There, they deepened their understanding of women’s issues as linked to other forms of structural inequality. Through the “Power Walk,” the young leaders emotionally revisited the vari-

ters joined the second reunion camp of YSAGE in the Philippines. The discussions centered on building sisterhood and camaraderie in support of women, on forming alternative sexuality concepts and practices, on body image, self-esteem, relationships and creating a counter-culture that promotes positive sexuality and seeks to eliminate all forms of gender-based violence.

As they blaze the trail in the fight for gender equality and justice, these courageous young women and men join hands in a song below:

**Don't lose your way
With each passing day
You've come so far
Don't throw it away
Live believing
Dreams are for weaving
Wonders are waiting to start
Live your story
Faith, hope & glory
Hold to the truth in your heart**

**If we hold on together
I know our dreams will never die...**

The word of YSAGE’s good work has spread and partner organizations have since requested that the project be replicated in Indonesia and India. The work on transforming the hegemonic concept of masculinity in the two countries proved to be even more challenging than in the Philippines, and the testimonies of the girls’ violent experiences even more harrowing. The end result was all the more satisfying. YSAGE was formed in India and Indonesia, and their youth leaders continue to raise resources to sustain the camps.

In 2011, the Indian and Indonesian chap-

ters joined the second reunion camp of YSAGE in the Philippines. The discussions centered on building sisterhood and camaraderie in support of women, on forming alternative sexuality concepts and practices, on body image, self-esteem, relationships and creating a counter-culture that promotes positive sexuality and seeks to eliminate all forms of gender-based violence.



May their dreams come true. □

Prostitusjon møter menneskehandel

TEXT: HELENE LANGSETHER PHOTO: GETTYIMAGES.COM

Er prostitusjon vold, og bør kjøp eller salg av sex forbys for å bekjempe problemet? Eller er prostitusjon et frivillig yrke som bør behandles på lik linje med andre yrker? Hvordan disse spørsmålene besvares påvirker på hvilke måter menneskehandel bekjempes.



Linken mellom menneskehandel og prostitusjon er ubestridelig. Vi vet at flesteparten av ofrene for menneskehandel er kvinner og jenter, at de ofte blir utnyttet til å selge sex og at de påføres store fysiske og psykiske skader. Likevel er ikke alle som selger sex ofre for menneskehandel.

Spredt over hele verden er det mange som jobber med å bekjempe menneskehandel, og blant disse er det grovt sett to ulike tilnærminger til både forståelse av problemet og løsninger på det. Det de alle har

til felles er et ønske om å gjøre det beste for ofrene ve og vel.

Tydelige skillelinjer i synet på prostitusjon

De store skillelinjene mellom forståelsen av, og kampen mot, menneskehandel går på holdninger til og forståelsen av prostitusjon. På den ene siden finner vi dem

som ser på prostitusjon som vold og ønsker å bekjempe prostitusjon per se, og er tilhenger av lover som kriminaliserer kjøp av sex. På den andre siden er den gruppen som mener at prostitusjon er

arbeid, altså noe kvinner (og noen menn) gjør av eget valg. Disse kjemper for å bedre vilkårene for de som er i prostitusjon gjennom lovverk og noen kjemper sågar for organisering av arbeidet.

Skillelinjene ble tydelige da Protokollen for å forebygge, bekjempe og straffe handel med mennesker, særlig kvinner og barn, Palermoprotokollen, ble forhandlet frem. Dette er det første globale, juridisk bindende instrumentet med en samstemt definisjon av menneskehandel. Definisjonen på menneskehandel er i følge

protokollen at «en person enten ved hjelp av vold, trusler, misbruk av sårbar situasjon eller annen utilbørlig adferd utnytter noen til prostitusjon (eller andre seksuelle formål), tvangsarbeid, krigstjeneste, eller fjerning av vedkommendes organer». Det presiseres at hvis noen av midlene nevnt over er med, er ikke handlingen frivillig, og nettopp frivillighetsbegrepet er gjengstand for mye diskusjon.

Frivillig versus ufrivillig prostitusjon

Under forhandlingene av Palermoprotokollen kjempet noen grupper for et defineret skille mellom tvungen og frivillig prostitusjon. Enkelte stater og organisasjoner jobbet hardt for at definisjonen kun skulle snakke om beskyttelse av de som ikke var frivillig. Samtidig ville de at begrepene «handel med prostitusjon», «seksuell utnyttelse» og «offer» skulle uteslutes fra definisjonen.

For de som mener at prostitusjon er frivillig, er det vanskelig å godta synet om at all prostitusjon er vold, og at alle prostituerte er ofre. Samtidig vet vi at det utøves svært mye vold mot prostituerte og at helsen er dårligere enn for andre.

Når det snakkes om utenlandske prostituerte i Norge for eksempel, vil noen si at de er migranter som kommer hit frivillig og tjener penger som prostituerte for å sende penger hjem. Det er likevel ingen tvil om at mange av disse er i hendene på kriminelle bakherrer og ofre for menneskehandel. ROSA-prosjektet møter mange kvinner som kan fortelle om det. ROSA erfarer også at kvinner som har vært i prostitusjon snakker annerledes om det etter at de har kommet seg ut av situasjonen. Da først kan mange innrømme at de er ofre for menneskehandel.

Til tross for uenigheten om prostitusjon er frivillig eller ufrivillig, er det likevel enighet om at de som er ofre for menneskehandel må hjelpes. Men hvordan det bør gjøres er det ikke enighet om. Spørsmålet om kriminalisering er en av uenighetene.

(Av)kriminalisering?

Ingen av gruppene ønsker kriminalisering av den som selger sex, enten fordi det ødelegger for inntektsgrunnlaget og arbeidsforholdene, eller fordi det er feil å kriminalisere en som anses som offer.

Kriminalisering av kjøperen er det derimot uenighet om. De som ønsker prostitusjon helt legalt, mener at kriminalisering ødelegger for handelen og frarover de frivillig prostituertes inntektsgrunnlag, samt at det vil øke volden og gjøre prostitusjon farligere. Den gruppen som ønsker denne kriminaliseringen velkommen ser på loven som et viktig verktøy i kampen mot undertrykking av kvinner og et middel til å bekjempe menneskehandel.

Blant gruppen som ikke ønsker å kriminalisere hverken salg eller kjøp av sex ønsker noen å gå enda lengre. De vil legalisere virksomheten slik at prostitusjonen organiseres og at arbeidstakerrettigheter innføres for de som selger sex.

Etterspørsel - en viktig faktor?

Palermoprotokollen er det første dokumentet som eksplisitt nevner etterspørselsiden og krever tiltak for å begrense etterspørselen. Uten etterspørsel etter prostitueerte er det heller ikke marked for menneskehandel til prostitusjon. Derfor må vi bekjempe etterspørselen, mener de som ser på prostitusjon som vold. Deres løsning er blant annet kriminaliseringen av sexkjøp, sosialisering av gutter og menn, og innsats for en normativ maskulinitet som ikke syns det er greit å kjøpe sex.

For dem som snakker om frivillig prostitusjon er det problematisk å skulle bekjempe etterspørselen fordi det vil ødelegge kundegrunnlaget. Menneskehandel må bekjempes på andre måter, men kampen må ikke gjøre situasjonen vanskeligere for de som er frivillig prostitueerte. Spørsmålet er hvordan kjøperen av sex skal kunne skille mellom en såkalt frivillig prostituer og en som er offer for menneskehandel.

Tilrettelegging eller hjelp ut?

Å jobbe for at de som er i prostitusjon skal få bedre forhold er viktig for de som ser på det som arbeid. Noen mener at ved å gi mulighet for lovlig å organisere seg vil bidra til å skape tryggere arbeidsforhold, volden vil gå ned, helsetilbuddet vil bli bedre og stigmatiseringen av prostituerte vil bli mindre.

Selv blant de som jobber med å legge forholdene til rette for prostitusjon er mange opptatt av at det må være gode exit-strategier på plass. Det må vel være en innrømmelse av at det ikke likevel er så attraktivt eller alltid frivillig – selv for de som ikke er ofre for menneskehandel? Det må poengteres at ønsket om gode exit-strategier ikke nødvendigvis utrykkes av alle. Noen er mer opptatt av å jobbe for gode og trygge forhold for de som er i prostitusjon, samt å bekjempe stigmaet de opplever.

Et etisk minefelt

Hvordan vi ser på prostitusjon påvirker måten samfunnet forholder seg til det både moralsk og juridisk. Uansett hvilket standpunkt man tar, er dette et felt med mange moralske og etiske dilemmaer, og også et felt med mangefull empirisk basert kunnskap. I følge den svenske forskeren Holmström hentes gjerne det empiriske materialet inn etter hva man vil vise. Det gir naturlig nok ulikt resultat om materialet hentes inn blant gateprostituerte eller fra kvinner i eskortetjenester.

I den norske debatten om sexkjøpsloven gjøres det mange forsøk på å bruke resultatene av den i sin favør, men i følge forskerne Skilbrei og Brunowski er det fortsatt for tidlig å si noe om hvordan kriminaliseringsloven i Norge har virket. Synspunktene i debatten er nok vel så mye basert på ideologi som empiri og forskning, og språket er også til tider preget av den store uenigheten, samt uredelighet i bruk av fakta og kilder. Det kan virke som mye energi legges i motsetninger og ikke i å forenes om det det er enighet om, nemlig å hjelpe ofrene for menneskehandel. □

¹ Siden majoriteten av de som er i prostitusjon er kvinner, omtaler artikkelen først og fremst dem. Det utelukker imidlertid ikke at også menn er i prostitusjon og mulige ofre for menneskehandel.

² <http://www.rosa-help.no/>

³ GAATW (2011), Moving beyond 'supply and demand' catchphrases. <http://www.gaatw.org/>

⁴ A.L. Daalder (2007), Prostitution in the Netherlands since the lifting of the brothel ban. WODC

⁵ Report of the Prostitution Law Review Committee on the Operation of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 (2008), New Zealand Government.

⁶ Holmström, Charlotta (2008), Hur talar vi om prostitution? <http://www.nikk.no/>

⁷ Holmström, Charlotta (2008), Hur talar vi om prostitution? <http://www.nikk.no/>

⁸ Brunowski og Skilbrei (2012), The ban on the purchase of sex - have Norwegian prostitution markets changed? <http://fafo.no/prostitution/>

Kalam and I: Unlikely Partners in a Campaign against the Sex Industry

TEXT/PHOTO: RUCHIRA GUPTA

While writing yet another petition to India's National Human Rights Commission to get the false and fabricated charges against my colleague Mohammad Kalam dropped, I am thinking about how our lives have intertwined.

Kalam is a Nat, a member of a community which practices inter-generational prostitution. He grew up in the red light area of a small town in Bihar, one of India's most backward and poverty-ridden states, where his mother and sisters were prostituted.

I am an upper-caste, convent-educated, urban girl, born and brought up in Kolkata. If life had taken its normal course, we would not have set eyes on each other, let alone meet.

But as it happened, I became a journalist. When making a film on sex-trafficking from Nepal to Mumbai in the mid-1990s, I discovered that there was a flourishing supply chain that began with the local village procurer, often a brother or neighbor, who would go to local families and offer their daughters marriage or jobs in the big city, sometimes even prostitution, saying "at least she will not be hungry."

This procurer would take the girls to Kathmandu and hand them to a transporter, who would take them across the border to India. On the Indian side, the girls were locked up in dark rooms, beaten and starved until their spirits were completely subjugated. And then they were handed over to another set of agents,

who would take them to the brothels of Mumbai and Kolkata and hand them over to pimps for as little as fifty dollars. I had covered war, famine, hunger and conflict, but I had never seen this kind of deliberate exploitation.

The documentary that I produced, *The Selling of Innocents*, became the cornerstone of my campaign against sex trafficking. I leveraged the Emmy Award that the film won and set up a non-profit foundation called Apne Aap Women Worldwide in 2002. Apne Aap means self-empowerment in Hindi.

We go into red-light and trafficking-prone areas and create safe spaces for girls and women. We enroll them in self-empowerment groups and help them open bank accounts, start small livelihood activities and apply for government subsidies and entitlements, thus either reducing their

« I had covered war, famine, hunger and conflict, but I had never seen this kind of deliberate exploitation. »

dependency on the brothel system or preventing their trafficking altogether. We also run community classrooms to educate the women and get their daughters into school. They learn about their rights, the law and politics, so they can stand up against the abusers. If needed, we accompany them to a police station or a lawyer. We have reached more than 15,000 girls and women so far and the movement is still growing. Yet, we find that the traf-

ficking industry outpaces us. There are three million prostituted females in India of which 1.2 million are girls. The numbers are going up, while the girls' ages are coming down. Official statistics reveal that the average age of recruitment into prostitution of an Indian female is 9-12 years. These girls are locked up in brothels, beaten brutally, raped repeatedly, silenced with drugs and alcohol every night. As they grow older, they are often disease-ridden, dependent on drugs and alcohol, mentally and physically traumatized through repeated beatings and abusive sex. Most die of disease, starvation, or murder by the time they turn forty.

And that brings me to how I met Mohammad Kalam and through him the Nat community in Forbesgunj, Bihar. In India, caste discrimination ensures the exclusion and subordination of Nat women and girls on three counts: as poor,

as Nat and as female. This discrimination started by declaring the Nats a 'criminal tribe' during the British colonial era. Their traditional occupation had been acrobatics, butchery, cattle-keeping, honey-making, iron mongering and herbal medicine. This has changed and today the Nats are found prostituted, trafficked, forced into performing petty crimes, trafficking and bootlegging.



In free India, the government has 'denotified' the community of their 'criminal' status, but their exploitation is still systemic and ensures that Nat women and girls are forced or socialized into prostitution—the only occupation open to them. Kalam's elder sister, who was trafficked and put into prostitution, decided to educate her younger brother so that he may raise the banner of change from within the Nat community. The first to graduate from a college in his extended family, Kalam took the lead in the campaign on behalf of his sisters and his community. Since then, our lives have been intertwined.

Kalam has successfully led a group of prostituted mothers from the Nat community to petition the government to provide a hostel to protect their daughters from traffickers and send them to school. Fifty young girls have been prevented from being trafficked and are now studying in the safety of a hostel. He was stabbed by traffickers while testifying in court on behalf of a girl rescued by Apne Aap from a brothel two years ago.

Hunting for effective solutions, we began to organize state-level conferences of survivors to gain their insights on how to make a dent in the sex industry. After

multiple meetings, survivors decided to launch a campaign to amend the Indian anti-trafficking law to penalize buyers and traffickers instead of the victims of trafficking. Convictions would make the cost of human trafficking untenable and would also restore a sense of justice to the survivors of prostitution. Janaki, a survivor of prostitution puts it succinctly, "without customers, there would be no sex trafficking. We want the police to arrest the customers, not us."

Despite many protests, campaigns and petitions, the law has still not changed. In running this campaign, we have come up against some entrenched interests. Those of the sex industry certainly, but also of policy makers and foundation officials who believe that, 'men will be men,' and all that the sex industry does is provide a much-needed service to these men.

This may be because, apart from the traffickers and pimps, some international foundations are among those who accept the inevitability of prostitution and regrettably put more emphasis on protecting male buyers from disease than on protecting girls and women from male buyers. Most HIV/AIDS projects hire pimps and brothel managers as "peer educators" to

gain easy access to the brothels for the purpose of condom distribution. They turn a blind eye to the girls and women kept in a system of bondage and control. In fact, a representative of the National AIDS Control Organization once said: "If the brothels didn't exist, where would we distribute the condoms?"

With active lobbying by pimps drawing salaries and condom manufacturers making profits, there is little incentive to dismantle the sex industry. The exploiters' claims effectively delegitimize the claims of the girls and women.

In January this year, Kalam did a sting operation uncovering traffickers who were selling girls under the guise of a travelling dance theatre. Within a few weeks of submitting the complaint to the police, Kalam was arrested and kept in police lock-up for five nights, on unsubstantiated charges of trafficking. Hundreds of prostituted women and activists wrote to the police, the Chief Minister of Bihar and the President of India to free Kalam. Kalam is out on bail but the false charges against him are still not withdrawn.

This is why I am writing yet another petition to a judge on Kalam's behalf. □



Interseksjonalitet

Når vi skal bekjempe vold mot kvinner må vi se helheter og koblinger. Vold handler ikke bare om den handling som utføres fysisk eller psykisk mot kvinner. Det handler om å se sammenhenger mellom kjønn, klasse, etnisitet, alder, seksuell orientering, funksjonsevne, religion mv. Interseksjonalitet er et perspektiv som viser hvordan makt skapes i og gjennom at blant annet kjønn, klasse og etnisitet virker sammen. Det har utgangspunkt i det engelske begrepet «intersection» som betyr veikryss eller skjæringspunkt. I faglitteratur var det den amerikanske jussprofessoren Kimberly Williams Crenshaw som introduserte dette i boken Mapping the Margins. Hun viste i boken sin hvordan ulike maktforhold påvirker og skaper hverandre.

Vi skal ikke plusse ulike former for undertrykkelse på toppen av hverandre for å skape mange lag med for eksempel å være lesbiske, somisk, funksjonshemmet. De ulike diskrimineringsformene påvirker hverandre, og kan i noen sammenhenger forsterke hverandre eller føre til et spesielt utfordrende liv. Crenshaw argumenterte

i sin bok for at man spesielt i forhold til vold mot kvinner må ha en kompleks analyse for å skjønne koblingene mellom de ulike formene for dominering og undertrykkelse. Denne måten å forstå vold mot kvinner på forholder seg til historisk, sosial og politisk kontekst og anerkjenner den individuelle erfaring basert på krysningen av ulike grunnlag. Interseksjonalitet gir grunnlag for både å se, anerkjenne og bidra til løsning i forhold til ulike grunnlag og sammensatte liv.

En kvinne som er funksjonshemmet og blir utsatt for vold og overgrep vil ofte ha vanskeligere for å beskytte seg enn en funksjonsfrisk kvinne. Statistikk viser da også at funksjonshemmde kvinner har en dobbelt så høy sannsynlighet for å bli utsatt for vold og overgrep i nære forhold som funksjonsfriske kvinner. Hvis hun i tillegg er en eldre kvinne vil hun muligens ha enda vanskeligere for å rapportere volden og få hjelp. Vi vet at krisentre i Norge er manglende innrettet til å ta imot og ivareta kvinner med funksjonshemninger som oppsøker dem for hjelp. Når vi har problemer i forhold til dette her

i Norge kan vi bare tenke oss hvordan situasjonen er i en rekke land som ikke har tilstrekkelig utbygde ordninger eller som ikke har krisentre i det hele tatt.

I Sør-Afrika har begrepet korrektiv eller kurativ voldtekts kommet opp i løpet av de siste årene. Det brukes der hvor menn voldtar lesbiske eller transmenn for å skulle «korrigere» eller «kurere» seksualitet tilbake til «normalitet». Disse kvinnene opplever, i tillegg til en større mulighet for å bli utsatt for grov vold, trakkassering og i en del tilfeller også drap, trakkassering fra familie, kirke, arbeidsgivere og omgivelser. Kvinner utsettes for vold og overgrep med utspring i fattigdom, hvor de tvinges til prostitution eller blir del av menneskehandel. I en del kulturelle og religiøse miljøer blir kvinner ofre for æresdrap eller tvunget til ekteskap med voldelige menn, andre steder utsatt for fysisk vold og forferdelige brannskader etter syre eller olje som brukes for å skade, lemlest eller forsøke å drepe.

Disse eksemplifiseringene viser kompleksiteten og interseksjonaliteten, og at man

ikke kan operere med standardmaler og standardlösninger for å bekjempe vold mot kvinner. Det må settes inn i en større sammenheng og løses i sammenheng med blant annet fattigdomsbekjempelse og arbeid med ikke-diskriminering.

FN har en egen spesialrapportør på vold mot kvinner, grunner til vold og konsekvenser av vold. Den nåværende spesialrapportøren heter Rashida Manjoo, og hun har hatt jobben siden 2009. Hun er fra Sør-Afrika og har tidligere jobbet både som aktivist og som South African Parliamentary Commissioner of the Commission on Gender Equality. I 2011 presenterte hun en rapport til FNs Menneskerettssråd hvor hun fokuserte spesielt på interseksjonalitet. Det var da 10 år siden forrige gang en slik rapport ble utarbeidet. Den gangen ble den utarbeidet i forbindelse med FNs World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Da var hovedformålet å utfordre FNs historiske tendens til å sette ulike former for diskriminering i bås fremfor å se på interseksjonalitet. FN så på menneskerettighetsbruk som enten brudd relatert til kjønnsdiskriminering eller som brudd relatert til rasediskriminering – ikke som brudd på begge kombinert.



Dette kompliseres ytterligere når man tar hensyn til mangfoldig og kryssende former for diskriminering som skjer. Hun påpeker at informasjon om interseksjonalitet mellom kjønnsbasert diskriminering og andre typer diskriminering altfor ofte overses. I rapporten sin skriver Manjoo at i FN

gender ulikheter og diskriminering. En helhetlig tilnærming krever at rettigheter anerkjennes som universelle, avhengige av hverandre og udelelige. Det må tas hensyn til både individuell og strukturell diskriminering, inkludert strukturelle og institusjonelle ulikheter. Man må analysere sosiale

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sammenheng avhenger diskusjonen om vold mot kvinner av tre prinsipper. For det første, at vold mot kvinner adresseres som et spørsmål om likestilling og ikke-diskriminering mellom kvinner og menn. For det andre, at mangfoldige og kryssende former for diskriminering anerkjennes å bidra til en økt risiko for at noen kvinner utsettes for målrettet og strukturell diskriminering. Som tredje prinsipp løfter hun frem den kryssende avhengigheten i menneskerettighetene som reflekteres i anstrengelser for å adressere grunner til vold mot kvinner relatert til sivile, kulturelle, økonomiske, politiske og sosiale sfærer.

Det argumenteres klart for behov for en helhetlig tilnærming og helhetlige tiltak for å adressere både inter-gender og intra-

og økonomiske hierarkier blandt kvinner og mellom kvinner og menn.

Ved å bruke en helhetlig tilnærming styrkes mulighetene til lovgivende myndigheter og ikke-statlige aktører og andre til å se koblingene mellom mangfoldige former for diskriminering og de ulike former for vold mot kvinner vi må forholde oss til. Forsøk på å bekjempe all form for vold mot kvinner vil ikke lykkes hvis man fortsetter å kun se snevert på umiddelbare helsekonsekvenser eller på juridiske sider som bare ivaretar de groveste formene for vold. Vold mot kvinner skjer fordi det tillates og kan ikke løses med en one size fits all løsning. Å bekjempe vold mot kvinner krever mangfoldige former for tilnærming både i forhold til forebygging og bekjempelse. □



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« This article does not reflect a formal position of the World Council of Churches. It is a reflection of my own experience of working for thirty-five years at the intersection of faith and politics, both in Sweden and globally. » Margareta Gape

Turning Faith-Based Organizations into Allies

It is a scandal that violence against women is still an everyday reality in the lives of hundreds of thousands of women and girls all over the world. The scandal is made worse by the fact that victims are often accused of bringing the violence upon themselves. The magnitude of the ongoing violence against women at home, in public, and in armed conflicts, is well-known and carefully documented.

Scientific studies and testimonies abound. No one can say: We did not know.

Faith-based organizations and social responsibility

Faith plays a role in almost all cultures and communities around the world. The religious dimensions of life are a reality for millions. Religious narratives and religious references are essential for many in their understanding of themselves and of their role in family and society. It is, however, important to realize that identity through one's faith differs from the one based on membership in a political party or other organizations. Faith cannot automatically be translated into a specific political or social program. And still, it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that anything goes in the name of religion. Common for most religions is a basic understanding of responsibility for one's neighbor and nature. Ethical debate within religious communities tends to be about how to understand and interpret that responsibility in relation to contemporary challenges.

but there are also many examples of how faith has inspired individuals and groups to address root causes of poverty, humiliation, and injustice. Ethical conclusions related to faith may vary, but a respectful theological debate on social ethics can and does take place in most faith traditions. In spite of sometimes conflicting interpretations of how to assume social responsibility, there is a space for meaningful interaction with faith-based communities. Only the strictest fundamentalists would exclude themselves from any kind of dialogue on current and contentious social issues. For them, a sincere search for truth has been substituted by the conviction of being the chosen custodians of the one and only truth. They are, in many ways, political actors with defined political programs rather than bearers and communicators of faith.

Allies or foes?

Over a number of years, a loosely composed interreligious coalition has become highly vocal, not least in relation to the social agenda of the UN. Through a rigid

but effective advocacy strategy, this coalition has managed to establish a dominant 'faith-based' voice that opposes the advancement of women's rights. Slowly but surely, their voice has become perceived as the sole faith based-position on family issues, reproductive health, and gender rights. These groups have contributed to the perception that there is a real conflict between freedom of religion and women's rights. However, their discourse reflects only bits and pieces of a complex global patchwork of faith-based communities. Progressive faith-based voices are out there.

Bishop Tutu in South Africa is probably one of the most well-known examples of a strong religious leader who has spoken directly against apartheid and other oppression. But there are also thousands of examples at local level. Some faith-based groups work against the stigmatization of women living with HIV/AIDS. Others engage young men and women in joint reflections on femininity and masculinity. While faith in itself does not define

Many times, social responsibility has been interpreted as a duty to engage in charity,

attitudes toward violence, it does, however, have the potential to challenge or confirm customs and behaviors.

Family and women

At a meeting in Madrid in May this year, the World Congress of Families adopted the following statement: "The natural family and not the individual is the basic unit of society." This statement is highly problematic. What would transpire if individual rights were replaced by the rights of the family as a group?

Governments have the responsibility to encourage people to actively assume responsibility towards each other, through their families, and also to support and protect individuals who are abused and have no other means of protection. There should never be spaces where this responsibility towards individuals ceases to exist, in the name of family or freedom of religion. Individuals have the right to form a family, and that right must be protected. But individual family members must always enjoy the wider society's protection and support, as individuals. It is unacceptable that children are abused or beaten in the name of parental rights or that women and girls are beaten, raped or otherwise abused.

The best way to promote families as the basic unit of society is to have a well-functioning legal framework and a robust system granting its members access to health, education and employment. Instead of diamonds, a girl's best friend is a functioning and robust rights-based system that promotes and protects her right to education, access to the labor market, and affordable care for her or her partner's ageing parents.

Some faith-based or faith-inspired groups claim that policies that secure rights for each family member (as opposed to the family unit as a whole) are akin to an abuse of freedom of religion. My take is different. Freedom of religion certainly needs to be protected, but defending religious rights does not imply the acceptance of the violation of women's rights.

Victim economy

Faith-based organizations develop, run and fund myriad social services. Accordingly, it is important to involve them actively in joint strategies to eliminate violence against women and girls. Faith-based hospitals and organizations for social work do not only provide curative care for victims, but they are also potential partners in a broader dialogue about the economy of violence.

There are big costs associated with hospital care and victim protection. A big part of these costs is carried by faith-based institutions, yet these costs are seldom reported. There should be an evidence-based dialogue with partners involved in caring for victims. The aim for such a dialogue should be to discuss strategies to shift the costs from curative to preventive measures. The voices and testimonies of those who attend to victims are important, not least in the efforts to increase the general knowledge of the prevalence and magnitude of violence against women.

Need for religious literacy

Religion is a reality in the lives of individuals and in society at large. Yet, there is at times a bit of "theofobia" – fear of religion – in governments and global agencies.

It needs to be replaced by active efforts to increase religious literacy. It is important to know how that is played out in doctrine, social ethics, and day to day lives of people of faith. With basic knowledge about the role and characteristics of religions in society, the possibility to reach out to religious leaders and faith-based communities in a constructive way will increase. Without such literacy, there is a risk of alienating these very potent potential partners for change.

Whether violence against a girl or a woman is rooted in religion, culture, or general criminality is irrelevant for her, as it is if the violence occurs at home, in the street, or during war. The pain and humiliation are the same. It is a joint responsibility of all sectors of society to fight gender-based violence against women. Faith-based communities have a crucial role to play here. It is up to us to make them play it right.

This article is based on the expert paper "The Role of Faith Based Organisations in a Strategy to Eliminate Violence Against Women and Girls" delivered at the Expert Group Meeting: Prevention of violence against women and girls organized by UN Women in Bangkok 17 Sep 2012 - 20 Sep 2012. □





Gender-Based Violence Is Not Just a Women's Problem

TEXT: DEAN PEACOCK, GARY BARKER & ALEXA HASSINK PHOTO: GARY BARKER

The goal of gender equality is more prominent today on the international stage than at any time in history. It is the subject of numerous UN conventions and has a prominent place in the Millennium Development Goals. But despite its progress at the very highest levels, the scale of men's violence against women (VAW) remains enormous, and its impact con-

tinues to be devastating for women and communities.

Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), the largest ever comprehensive survey of men's attitudes and practices, finds that men's reports of having used physical intimate partner violence (IPV) range from

25–40%, with women in the same settings reporting slightly higher rates of having experienced violence from a male partner. Additionally, men's reports of perpetrating sexual violence against women and girls ranged from 6–29%.

These troubling numbers emerge from a combination of factors, such as social

norms supportive of men's domination; economic stress; the use of alcohol as a trigger; and, strongest of all, having internalized or been traumatized by witnessing such violence in childhood. Although these influences are potent and suggest the need to explore the ways that men and boys experience and witness violence, it is important not to minimize individual responsibility.

Across the world, women's rights activists have succeeded in getting their governments to enact laws and policies to criminalize men's VAW. During the last two decades or so, these efforts have been augmented by an additional focus on engaging men and boys as potential allies and proponents for gender transformation.

In 2009, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) recognized "the capacity of men and boys in bringing about change in attitudes, relationships, and access to resources and decision making which are critical for the promotion of gender equality and the full enjoyment of all human rights by women." The CSW also called for action to "ensure that men and boys, whose role is critical in achieving gender equality, are actively involved in policies and programs..."

A growing body of research also indicates that well designed programs can bring about significant changes in men's gender-related attitudes and practices, and a decrease in GBV. Results from two recent programs revealed significant positive behavioral changes and reduced IPV by men, in addition to other positive outcomes.¹

A 2007 WHO review of 57 interventions with men in the areas of sexual and reproductive health, GBV, fatherhood and HIV/AIDS documents that of such programs, 24.5% were assessed as effective in leading to attitude or behavior change and 38.5% were assessed as promising.² However, the majority of these interventions have until recently remained NGO-led, small-scale and short-term. As a result, a range of

efforts have been made to increase the scale, impact and sustainability of gender equality work with men. In doing so, proven good practices need to be consistently applied: promoting human rights, including the rights of women and girls;

that all too often occurs when men feel their privileges are being challenged.

As efforts to curb GBV move forward, interventions may benefit from a promising generational shift in ideology: IMAGES

« younger men and men with higher levels of education (completed secondary education and above) show more support for gender equality, and less use of violence. »

remaining accountable to and in dialogue with women's rights movements and organizations; enhancing boys' and men's lives; being inclusive of and responsive to diversities among men; and addressing the social and structural determinants of gender inequalities and health inequities.

In a number of countries, efforts have been made to take gender work with men to scale by integrating it within laws, policies and national plans. Additionally, some organizations working with men and boys have engaged in political advocacy and activism to challenge the political backlash

data finds that younger men and men with higher levels of education (completed secondary education and above) show more support for gender equality, and less use of violence. Some new and less developed potential interventions to engage men and boys in sustainable VAW prevention, which warrant the investment of resources and support, are: addressing childhood exposure to domestic violence, decreasing alcohol consumption, restricting access to guns, engaging men via women's economic empowerment, and engaging men as fathers. □



¹ Jewkes R, Wood K, Duvvury N. 'I woke up after I joined Stepping Stones': meanings of a HIV behavioural intervention in rural South African young people's lives. Social Science & Medicine (submitted); Jewkes R et al. Impact of Stepping Stones on HIV, HSV-2 and sexual behaviour in rural South Africa: cluster randomized controlled trial. BMJ (submitted). Welsh, P. Men aren't from Mars: unlearning machismo in Nicaragua. London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 2001:38–48.

² Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: evidence from programme interventions. Geneva, World Health Organization, 2007:2001:38–48.

Challenging Violent Masculinities



TEXT:
CHRISTOPHER HARPER
PHOTO:
VERONICA MELA

I have had the privilege of being part of Masimanyane Women's Support Centre in East London, South Africa, for the past 15 years. Masimanyane is a social justice and equality non-governmental organisation working to end all forms of discrimination against women. During this time, I have had the opportunity to see first-hand the impact of men's violence against women and to be part of programmes aimed at ending this. I have seen the hurt and fear in women as they have sought help, and I have witnessed their courage as they have made radical changes in their lives. I have seen our staff members struggle to assist and support when no one else could and I have seen the sparkle in their eyes as women made breakthroughs. It has been frustrating. It has been exhilarating. It has been depressing. It has been joyful. It has taught me a lot.

I am a man, the first man ever employed by Masimanyane. I am proud of this, but am also acutely aware that I will be judged accordingly. Who I am and what I do will be put under the scrutinised intensely for any signs of weakness or dishonesty.

« For us as men to tackle the issue of violence means delving deeply into what it means to be a man»

There is nothing special about who I am. I am not separate from other men, neither from men who act violently nor from those who don't. I can't claim any moral high ground. It is not a "them" versus "us" issue. We are in it together.

Of course, not all men are violent, but we cannot hide from the fact that our masculinities have been forged within the patriarchal systems dominating our social landscape. I too grew up in the same culture of male privilege, where men were feted and women's recognised only in their relation to men. I was brought up in a militaristic society where manliness was equated with power and the ability to control others. It is important for me to acknowledge that I have within me the same potential for violence as those whose actions I work to change.

For us as men to tackle the issue of violence means delving deeply into what it means to be a man, our attitudes, real values; it means examining how our lives are constructed, looking at the structural inequalities that are the foundation of women's subordination. It is a task that requires of us to look both within and without. Unless we focus on these structural inequalities, we can never make a significant change. While it is important to maintain responsibility for violence with an individual, it needs to be placed within



Added to this, I am a white South African. This carries with it the legacy of Apartheid, the way in which our identities were defined and opportunities provided. These things don't disappear overnight. Definitions formed by people's engagement with oppressive, violent, dominant, privileged white men remain.

Is this way of defining me or men in general fair? I don't think that's relevant. Rather, it is a reality that men have to address and learn to be comfortable with.

a broad combination of social forces that sustain and allow violence to go unchallenged.

I have seen the impact of my presence in a room, how my presence can change the tone of the situation, how it can make some women feel unsafe. After all, I take up a lot of space. And size can be intimidating. Though I choose not to be violent, others don't necessarily know that I have chosen non-violence. Others will judge me not only by my behaviour, but also by their own experiences, expectations and presuppositions.

By choosing to work in this field I have to make myself accountable to others, and especially to the women I work with. I cannot challenge the socially-constructed violence of other men, while I engage in behaviour that, though of a different type, falls on the same continuum. If we as men choose to do this, it creates a dissonance between the private and public persona. It makes us into hypocrites.

Based on my experience, men don't like to be accountable to anyone, least of all to a woman. In South Africa, men tend

status quo. Consequently, much attention has been focussed on men and their needs. This has led to the loss of some gains which the feminist movement had achieved. It has allowed men to take over those spaces which women have worked so hard to inhabit. It has allowed those structural inequalities which underpin men's violence to remain intact and to flourish.

So what can we do as men? The first thing we need to do is to stop talking and begin listening. We need to really listen to the cries of pain and exultations of joy which form part of women's lives. It may take time for women to trust us fully within this context. Yet, we must persevere, be patient and learn.

Secondly we must create spaces for women's voices to be heard. We must learn to move off centre-stage and find ourselves in the wings, supporting, encouraging and acknowledging women's contributions achieved done in the face of considerable opposition and at great personal cost. We must create the platforms where women's achievements can be valued and celebrated and where we can be seen to celebrate them too.

Thirdly, by not separating ourselves from other men, we must make use of our experiences and understandings to challenge those men who, in many varied ways, live out male dominance and perpetuate women's submission. It means making ourselves vulnerable, being willing to be seen as not fitting in with the dominant paradigm of masculinity. It means taking risks.

This work challenges us at an individual level, at the core of our existence. It poses a question: what does it mean for me to be a man? It challenges our relationships to other men, and to women and girls. It pushes us to see violence as part of broader social forces which continue to subordinate women worldwide. Above all, it challenges us to stand up, get involved and make a difference. □

Note: The ideas in this article were first presented by the author at Masimanyane's 2011 Conference on Trafficking and subsequently included by the author in an article for Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity, 26:3, 91-97



System Error: Gender Roles, Violence And HIV

TEXT AND PHOTO: ODA GILLEBERG

Before the street sellers start their search for possible buyers of beaded animals, and earlier than the waiters, who will be wearing Christmas hats at work this day, start serving fresh morning brew, activists gather at Constitution Hill in Johannesburg to set a new Guinness world record.

"We've been here since 5:30 this morning," one girl says. It turns out it was worth it.

Just before noon on December 1st, about 100 people cheer as the speaker confirms that a new Guinness World Record of the longest awareness ribbon has been set. More than 6000 red t-shirts tied together resulted in a 1.5 km long Aids ribbon wrapping Constitution Hill.

Raising awareness on HIV and AIDS is crucial in South Africa where more than 5.6 million people were living with HIV

in 2011, the highest number of people in any country.¹

Lack of information

"There was no information available in my language," signs John Meletse. Meletse is Deaf. (Meletse prefers being referred to as Deaf with an upper-case "D" as it, in addition to referring to someone being hard of hearing, also refers to the cultural identity as well as the recognition and use

of South African Sign Language by the Deaf individual.)

After testing HIV-positive, he had no choice but to leave the clinic uncounselled, and with no information about the virus nor treatment, because none of the nurses or doctors could sign. As we talk, Cheraé Halley interprets.

Meletse and Halley are both Deaf Project Officers at Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA) in Johannesburg where they run peer education projects on HIV and sexuality for the deaf community.

"Have you experienced gay partner violence?" a poster on the wall in GALA's office asks. Meletse has. Seven years ago his boyfriend raped him, leaving Meletse HIV-positive.

"I was in a relationship with a hearing man, and to communicate we would mostly write. I went to his house one night. I was having a Coca Cola, and he was drinking whiskey. Then I started feeling dizzy and I passed out. The next morning my body

felt different. I couldn't remember having had sex, but when I asked him, he confirmed it. I asked if he had used a condom, but he just shrugged his shoulders. I asked him again, but all he did was shrugging his shoulders. He hadn't used a condom."

Gendered epidemic

Meletse's story is not unique. Rape and other forms of gender-based violence are main drivers of HIV infection.

Statistically speaking, most of HIV infections in Sub-Saharan Africa occur during heterosexual intercourse. Women are twice as likely as men to acquire HIV from an infected partner during unprotected heterosexual intercourse.² Bearing the brunt of the HIV-epidemic, women constitute 60 percent of the adult population in the region living with HIV.³

In violent relationships women are often hindered in negotiating safe sex. Men who are violent are more likely to be HIV positive, to have multiple partners, to practice transactional sex and to refuse using condoms.⁴

Gender roles and gender inequality underpin power imbalances in personal and sexual relations that cause women to be subordinate to men, making them vulnerable to HIV.

Blaming the system

According to Colleen Lowe Morna, Chief Executive Officer of the southern African NGO Gender Links, gender violence is both a cause and consequence of HIV/AIDS. While necessary to recognise as drivers of HIV, sexual and other forms of physical violence must also be seen in a bigger context than simply "factors" of the epidemic. In a qualitative study, another South African NGO, One in Nine Campaign, finds that women regard economic and emotional dependence on male partners, as well as compromising gender roles, as forms of violence that directly expose them to HIV.⁵

Large surveys conducted by Gender Links in Mauritius, Botswana and four provinces in South Africa report that the most common form of violence that women experience from intimate partners is emotional.⁶ In other words, violence includes

more than solely physical forms of violence. The women in the One in Nine study blame their positive HIV-status on structural gender barriers, such as poverty, lack of education, difficulties in getting jobs, early (sometimes forced) sexual encounters, and also absence of love and protection from their parents.

In the context of South Africa, a country with perhaps the most progressive constitution in the world, Morna asks: "There is a gap between the rhetoric and the reality. The rhetoric is 22nd century. The reality is 18th century. How do we bridge this gap?"

Janus-faced

"The ultimate change with gender will be attitudes," adds Kubi Rama, Morna's colleague.

Research shows that although high proportions of both women and men support gender equality, their approval drops when applied to the domestic domain.⁷



A SURVIVOR: JOHN MELETSE WAS RAPED AND INFECTED WITH HIV. TODAY HE EDUCATES PEOPLE IN THE DEAF COMMUNITY ABOUT THE VIRUS.

According to Morna, men will, when asked, agree that women and men should be equal, "but when they're asked if it is okay for a man to beat a woman, they will also say yes. They are not quite getting the connection."

Women tend to be slightly more progressive, but high proportions of both women and men believe





WORLD RECORD: THE WORLD'S LONGEST AWARENESS RIBBON WRAPPED CONSTITUTIONAL HILL IN JOHANNESBURG DECEMBER 1ST 2012.

 that a woman should obey her husband.⁸

At the end of the ribbon

Gender roles are taught, both at home and in schools. "PP" suggests bringing sexual harassment into the curriculum. "Bayano" agrees, highlighting the phenomenon of "sexual transmitted marks," pupils being forced to have sex with teachers to pass their classes.

"PP" and "Bayano" are aliases two participants use as they join the cyber dialogue facilitated by Gender Links in the occasion of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence-campaign.

Suggestions for what measures to use to improve the situation for women and sexual minorities, and to change patriarchal attitudes and systems, are many. Yet, large effects are yet to be seen as HIV-infection goes hand in hand with violence, violence is a product of attitudes, constructed gender roles and taught behaviour, which in turn may be fuelled by political inactivity and inadequate social systems.

"We must look at and solve the problems holistically," Morna argues. "It means working on the ground to provide services for women who have already become victims of violence. It means working with local government and police to establish

prevention programs, and it means working with, and putting pressure on, high-level politicians to make sure that policies are in place and laws implemented."

As activists gather at the end of the ribbon at Constitution Hill, TV-cameras and journalists move in to document the new world record. A drop in the ocean perhaps, but creating the world's longest AIDS ribbon is the perfect excuse for raising awareness on HIV and AIDS. Who knows, perhaps the message will reach men like Meletse's ex-boyfriend. □



¹ <http://www.avert.org/aidsouthafrica.htm>

² <http://avert.org/women-hiv-aids.htm#contentTable0>

³ <http://www.trialsjournal.com/content/pdf/1745-6215-13-96.pdf>

⁴ <http://www.trialsjournal.com/content/pdf/1745-6215-13-96.pdf>

⁵ One in Nine Campaign, 2012. "We were never meant to survive." Available at: <http://www.oneinnine.org.za/58.page>.

⁶ <http://www.genderlinks.org.za/article/the-war-at-home---gbv-indicators-project-2011-08-16>

⁷ <http://www.genderlinks.org.za/article/the-war-at-home---gbv-indicators-project-2011-08-16>

⁸ <http://www.genderlinks.org.za/article/the-war-at-home---gbv-indicators-project-2011-08-16>

Face to Face with Colleen Lowe Morna: The South African Paradox



TEXT AND PHOTO: ODA GILLEBERG

With arguably one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, the Republic of South Africa has legal provisions in place to protect women's rights. "But that doesn't necessarily translate into liberated women in reality," says Colleen Lowe Morna, founder and Chief Executive Officer of the South African NGO Gender Links.

Morna is on a one-day visit in Oslo to present new research findings on gender violence and attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Seemingly not stressed by her strict schedule, she serves herself some fresh fruit and a cup of coffee at the breakfast bar at the Opera Hotel. Despite disheartening topics at hand, the former journalist bursts with energy and optimism as she settles in her chair opposite mine to outline her strategy for turning around the situation for women in southern Africa.

She insists that civil society must be able to both work with, and be critical of, the government. "Bureaucrats come to us privately and say: 'there are things that you as NGOs can say that we can't.' They too are trying to operate in progressive ways within structures that are not always conducive to that."

Having the highest rate in the world of people living with HIV, South Africa has been forced to take measures in combatting the epidemic. According to Morna, the Sub-Saharan region can draw on these experiences in the fight against gender violence.

"Everything we do around gender violence is reactive. We talk about laws, shelters, services, but all those things come after the fact. We must put prevention at the centre.

"Secondly, the response must be nationwide and multi-sector based. Every sector has something to answer for when it comes to gender violence; the education system, religion, civil society, the private sector, you name it.

"Lastly, the sectors must be brought together with leadership from the top," Morna advises.

Morna admits that adequate leadership from the top has been scarce in South Africa in recent years. President Zuma's private life has, according to Morna, caused polygamy to become fashionable. That the president was acquitted after having been taken to court in 2006, accused of raping his friend's daughter, was another drawback for women's rights workers in the country and region.

In South Africa, we have a president with a dubious background. At the same time, having a bad president can be a good thing, because it makes people think and talk. Controversies around Zuma have helped galvanize and radicalize the women's movement," says Morna.

Gender Links recently conducted large household surveys in Mauritius, Botswana and four provinces in South Africa. The

same surveys are currently being undertaken in Zimbabwe and Zambia. Despite the fact that the surveys have revealed high rates of various kinds of violence, especially emotional violence, Morna stays optimistic.

"I firmly believe change is possible. When I look at my grandmother, my mother, myself, and my daughters - four generations - I can see incredible change. My goodness, look at what has changed in South Africa in my lifetime only! We've gone from 2 percent women in government to 44 percent in twenty years!

"Numbers alone don't tell the story. You need more than numbers, but obviously you also need the numbers. With only 2 percent women in government, what can they really do?" she asks.

As Morna points out, the approach to improve the situation of women in Sub-Saharan Africa must be holistic. Gender violence cannot be addressed in a vacuum. Gender equality, or the lack of it, is rooted in social and economic structures. Women must be empowered, not just psychologically, but also economically, as women who are economically empowered have more choices, and are less likely to be in harmful relationships.

"And let's not forget to involve men," Morna urges. "It is better to have your opponents on the inside pissing out, than on the outside pissing in." □

⁹ <http://www.genderlinks.org.za/article/the-war-at-home---gbv-indicators-project-2011-08-16>



Solidaritet i slummen

Det er søndag, og jeg sitter på en minibuss på vei ut til Khayelitsha, det største slumområdet utenfor Cape Town. Her skal jeg møtte de modige kvinnene i "Free Gender" – en organisasjon som samler lesbiske og bofile kvinner i en virkelighet langt unna sentrum av Cape Town.

TEKST OG FOTO: STIAN ANTONSEN

Slumområdene, eller townships som de blir kalt, ble designet under apartheid som en del av politikken med å holde de ulike rasene adskilt fra hverandre. I et forsøk på å gjøre tvangsflyttingene lettere gav regimet disse townshippene innbydende navn, slik som Khayelitsha, som betyr "Nytt hjem". I dag bor det ca 400 000 mennesker her, de fleste av dem i skur uten tilgang til vann. Det har kommet noen forbedringer hit, nye skoler og klinikker har blitt bygd, men mange lever fremdeles i kummerlige forhold, 18 år etter at landet fikk en ny regjering.

Drap på lesbiske

Jeg møter først Funeka Soldaat, grunnleggeren av Free Gender. Hun forteller om Zoliswa Nkonyana, som ble drept i 2006, bare 19 år gammel. Hun ble drept like i nærheten av der hun bodde. Fordi hun var lesbisk.

"Drapet på Zoliswa var grunnen til at vi startet Free Gender. Vi var mange som kjempet for at gjerningsmennene skulle bli dømt. Men vi følte oss ikke trygge da vi demonstrerte, vi var redde for at vi selv skulle bli utsatt for vold. Vi startet Free Gender i 2008, og da kunne vi stå sammen med de andre aktivistene og kjempe for rettferdighet".

Det har vært en lang kamp for rettferdighet for Zoliswa. Det har vært mange demonstrasjoner og protester for at saken skal bli tatt opp i rettssystemet. I år, seks år senere og etter at rettsaken har vært utsatt over 50 ganger, ble gjerningsmennene endelig dømt. Dommeren la vekt på at dette var et hatdrap og at seksuelle orientering ble brukt som motiv for drapet.

Dessverre er ikke denne saken unik. Free Gender jobber nå med en annen sak fra townshipen Nyanga. Lesbiske Nontsikelelo (Ntsiki) Tyatyeka ble funnet i en søppelkasse omrent ett år etter at hun

forsvant. Saken skal, etter planen, opp i rettsystemet 7. juni i år.

Samarbeid med politiet

Mange lesbiske kvinner i Khayelitsha er redd for å gå til politiet. Selv de som har opplevd å bli voldtatt er redd for å dra til politistasjonen. Mange har opplevd at de har blitt møtt med diskriminering og sjikane. Funeka forteller at de nå har starta et samarbeid med det lokale politiet. Dette går blant annet ut på å utvikle materiell som omhandler lhbt-spørsmål. I tillegg ble det i august i fjor arrangert en konferanse i Khayelitsha som nettopp omhandlet seksuell orientering og politiets håndtering. For å minne politiet om løftene de ga bruker medlemmene i Free Gender ofte t-skjortene fra denne konferansen når de protesterer.

Farlig aktivisme

Mens jeg snakker med Funeka kommer det flere medlemmer av Free Gender inn. Huset hennes har blitt et slags samlingspunkt for lesbiske fra hele townshipen. Velisa Sara er ett av styremedlemmene som har vært svært aktive. Hun forteller at aktivismen ikke er helt ufarlig.

"Når du blir en aktivist så tar du en risiko. Du vet ikke hva som kan komme til å skje i morgen. Likevel, vi kan ikke leve i frykt for andre mennesker".

Kvinnene vet hva de snakker om. Flere av dem har opplevd både knivstikking, ran og voldtekts. Likevel, de gir ikke opp.

Funeka forteller at det lesbiske miljøet har blitt som en ny familie.

"Vi lager våre egne familier. De fleste av medlemmene våre sliter med forholdet til egen familie. Det er veldig vanskelig. Selv snakket ikke moren min til meg på 10 år! Hun håpet og ba om jeg skulle forandre meg".

Kunst som virkemiddel

Free Gender har mange ben å stå på. Det siste prosjektet er en fotoutstilling som heter "Ikhaya", eller "Hjem" på norsk. Sju medlemmer av Free Gender fikk utdelt et kamera og fikk muligheten til å ta bilder fra ulike områder i Khayelitsha. En viktig del av dette prosjektet var å vise nærmiljøet at de ikke "bare" er lesbiske, men at de også er en del av fellesskapet og at de bryr seg om de samme sakene som de andre gjør.

"De hører oss på radioen, de ser oss på tv mens vi snakker om lesbiske ting. Nå vil vi vise at vi er mer enn det, vi bryr oss om Khayelitsha".

Seks av de sju kvinnene er arbeidsledige mens en av dem har en deltidjobb. For flere av dem var det første gangen de har hatt et kamera. De har også en egen blogg hvor flere av bildene er lagt ut på.¹

Foreløpig har utstillingen kun vært i sentrum av Cape Town, men de ønsker å ha en utstilling i Khayelitsha i løpet av juni.

"Vi må gjøre det her. Vi må møte homofobi-en som finnes her. Alle bør kunne være en del av fellesskapet, uavhengig av seksuell orientering», avslutter Puncka". □

« Når du blir en aktivist så tar du en risiko. Du vet ikke hva som kan komme til å skje i morgen. Likevel, vi kan ikke leve i frykt for andre mennesker. »

Violence and discrimination against women in the autonomous regions: an analysis from an intersectional perspective



Centre for Multi-ethnic women's studies and Information at the University of the Regions of the Nicaraguan Caribbean Coast, CEIMM-URACCAN

TEXT: BERNARDINE DIXON AND NURIA GOMEZ

Violence against women is a problem made more acute in Nicaragua by the armed conflict and changes to the social fabric that has taken place since 1990. It must be approached as a question of discrimination, of governance and of gender justice. In this context, to the high levels of violence registered on the Coast, are accentuated by a lack of public condemnation for these acts; a failure to apply the laws; and the lack of access to justice for women, particularly indigenous women and women of African descent. There are few available figures broken down according to ethnic or geographical origin, sex, or social class; and there is no deep-reaching analysis of the structural causes and consequences of existing inequalities, from the perspective of the spirituality and life experiences of the women of the different peoples in the region, which could contribute to the formulation of more appropriate policies and actions.

There is a judicial and legal framework in place, and the Women and Children's Police Stations have regulations and protocols (Disposición 010/03) as well as the All-Round Care model (known as MAI by its Spanish initials) which offers medical and psychological care as well as police services. However, the effectiveness of these tools is frequently called into question.

Issues of particular concern are the need to give space and form to the debate about the application of customary law in the sphere of community justice systems and punishment, the question of compensation and/or mediation and reconciliation, and bringing these measures into line with other international tools. This is particularly important because in some organisations and even communities specific violence against indigenous women and women of African descent is not dealt with, as it remains taboo and is not afforded the status of a human rights issue.

On the other hand, while it is true that the data available at a national level does not reflect the situation facing indigenous women and women of African descent,

violence against women has been the focus of analysis at a number of gatherings of indigenous women and women of African descent at local, national and regional level. For these women, gender violence is defined not only by gender discrimination in indigenous and non-indigenous contexts, but also by the context of ongoing colonization and militarization; racism and social exclusion; and economic and "development" policies that increase poverty. These phenomena interact and mutually influence each other. For example, in the case of migration towards urban

cal location, class or age (among others) be taken into account. It is also key to approach the issue according to the cosmovision, situation and needs of the men and women of the communities of indigenous and mixed race people and African descendants. To speak of women's ethnic diversity is to speak of a much greater debt, one that is centuries old. It requires a focus on questions of ethnicity and race and gender. It is an historical question that unavoidably brings us to consider economic, political and socio-cultural questions. And from there comes the need for inclusive

« To speak of women's ethnic diversity is to speak of a much greater debt, one that is centuries old. It requires a focus on questions of ethnicity and race and gender. »

centres, indigenous women and women of African descent lose the protection afforded them by traditional laws and become vulnerable to exploitation, human trafficking and prostitution¹. The different aspects of identity that define women's experiences of violence and their strategies for resistance are just as interlinked.²

We must therefore be aware of these ongoing violations of women's rights, these many dimensions of violence against women, which are worryingly on the rise, and we should be aware of the challenges we face. A region such as ours is characterised by inequality, which frequently hits hardest among those sectors of the population that have been excluded throughout history. This is the case for indigenous and mixed race peoples and people of African descent, as well as women and children, whose rights are frequently denied. They have limited access to systems for "good living" or welfare, and what they are afforded, more often than not, bears little relevance to their cosmovision, needs or reality.

It is therefore vital to analyse violence against women from an intersectional perspective. An intersectional analysis requires that variables such as geographi-

social transformation that recognises difference and builds from there to create new socio-political and economic models and ways of living together.

This recognition of multiple discriminations brings us to the need to "place the transformation of gender relations within a context of struggle for respect for human rights and the construction of citizenship,"³ "from an intercultural and intersectional perspective, that does not simply deal with inequalities in relations between men and women, but also the inequalities and exclusions derived from institutionalised racism within the different power structures, be they the family, the community, organisations or society as a whole"⁴.

That is why the Centre for Multi-ethnic Women's Studies and Information, CEIMM, of the URACCAN University, opts to promote training dealing with violence and discrimination against women with participants from the different peoples, and for raising awareness of the endogenous knowledge held by indigenous women and women of African descent, developing initiatives such as the conceptualisation of violence from the perspective of the multi-ethnic women of the Caribbean Coast. □

¹ Recommendations of the 3rd Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

² FIMI, UN Secretary General's Complementary Report, Study on Violence Against Women.

³ Dr. Clara

⁴ UNIFEM, Andean Region. Mima Cunningham K. and Dennis Mairena A. Centre for the Autonomy and Development of Indigenous Peoples



Heikki i felten

TESKT: ODA GILLEBERG FOTO: GRO LINDSTAD OG ODA GILLEBERG

Det er lummert i forgården til det blå huset i 22 Derby Road i bydelen Bertrams i Johannesburg når en skinnende hvit SUV triller gjennom porten. En dresskledd, vinterblek og opplagt Utviklingsminister hilser høflig, men avslappet, på sprekkfulle aktivister med mye på hjertet. Ennå vet ikke Heikki Eidsvoll Holmås hvilke tankevekkere han har i vente med feltsesøk hos FOKUS og SAHs partnere i Johannesburg.

Det blir anslått at én av to kvinner i Sør-Afrika vil bli voldtatt i løpet av livet.¹ «Snart er det slik at hvis du ikke er voldtatt, da bor du ikke i Sør-Afrika,» sier Carrie Shelver, leder av One in Nine Campaign, en organisasjon som jobber for kvinnens seksuelle minoriteters rettigheter i Sør-Afrika.

I følge Shelvers kollega, Dipika Nath, er den økonomiske urettferdigheten roten til kriminaliteten og volden som herjer landet. «Det handler om klassekiller. Sør-Afrika har omfavnet nyliberalistisk politikk som har gjort de fattige enda fattigere.

«Hvis en kassajobb på Shoprite er alt man kan håpe på her i livet vil man få et samfunn med alle slags sykdommer. Elitene må kastes, men istedenfor revolusjon har vi vold,» sier hun.

Holmås bekrefter at «med erfaringer fra Norge og kvinnebevegelsen vet vi at det å kjempe for økonomisk likestilling er det som er aller viktigst i bekjempelsen av vold mot kvinner».

Stop the war on women's bodies
I samme hus som One in Nine jobber også Curriculum Development Project (CDP)

som blant annet bruker kunst i kampen for kvinnens rettigheter.

Noen av aktivistene som deltar på organisasjonenes prosjekter har laget «body maps». På store ark har de fylt omrisset av sine egne kropper med traumer, håp og lengsler. Det er deres opplevde, og kanskje fremtidige, livshistorier som beskrives da de forklarer Holmås hva symbolene og tegningene betyr.

I trykkestudioet ved siden av lages t-skjorter med feministiske slagord og oppfordringer om å la kvinnekropper



PRØVER SELV: Med bare litt hjelp får Holmås trykke sin egen t-skjorte.

være i fred. Med begrense ressurser, men kreative hjerner, trykker aktivistene t-skjorter på bestilling fra andre organisasjoner og til bruk i kampanjer og aksjoner. «Stop the war on women's bodies» står det på den flaskegrønne t-skjorta som Holmås får lage selv.

I redigeringsstudioet sitter tre jenter bøyd over én Mac og lager dokumentarfilm om kvinner som har blitt voldtatt, og deres kamp for rettferdighet. Holmås får plass ved pulten i det de legger siste hånd på verket.

Likestilling som satsingsområde

«Å møte de lesbiske jentene og å se filmen de lagde var noe av det som gjorde mest inntrykk på meg den dagen.

Kjønnsnøytral ekteskapslov er forankret i den Sør-Afrikanske grunnloven, men å høre fortvilelsen over mangelen på sosial aksept som jentene opplever, var sterkt,» sier Holmås, tilbake på kontoret i Oslo.

Gjennom One in Nine og CDP får kvinner og jenter som har overlevd vold hjelpe til å håndtere det de har blitt utsatt for, og styrke til å jobbe for at deres og andres virkelighet skal forbedres. Arbeidet som utføres hadde forblitt u gjort uten støtte fra Norge og andre internasjonale donorer ettersom Sør-Afrikanske myndigheter ikke bevilger midler til slikt.

«Det er viktig å støtte sivilt samfunn, fordi det er viktig for demokratiet da det gir

og vil derfor ikke motta de store pengesummene fra Norge. Holmås understreker at det er andre måter å bidra på.

«Vi kan dele vår erfaring om positive ringvirkninger i samfunnet som følge av en fellesskole og et offentlig helse-system som er tilgjengelig for alle, samt om skattesystemer, fagorganisering og utjevningspolitikk som funker. Jeg velger å ta dem på alvor når de sier at den skandinaviske modellen er et ideal.»

Sør-Afrikas finansminister Pravin Gordhan ble utfordret av Holmås da de to møttes i Sør-Afrika: «Sør-Afrika kan ikke vente til landet er rikt før de store sosiale programmene settes i gang. De må dele selv om de har lite, fordi det er det som skal til for å få de ut av krisen og skape den positive utviklingen,» gjengir Holmås.

Økonomisk apartheid

«Jeg prøver å være sterk, men noen ganger er det vanskelig,» forteller Primrose.

Dagen etter Holmås' besøk sitter kvinnen fra Marikana tilbaketelt i stolen på kontoret hos CDP og gnir hendene sammen som om hun forsøker å varme dem. Minnene har frosset seg fast. Hun har tatt pause i designen av t-skjorten sin som når den blir ferdig vil ha påtrykket «16th August 2012 – In Marikana, Never Forget».

Da Primrose dagen før fortalte Holmås om massakren som fant sted ved Marikana-gruvene i



FENGSLER: Møtet med filmskaperne gjorde sterkt inntrykk på Utviklingsministeren.

 august da gruvearbeidere streiket for å oppnå lønnsøkninger, gråt hun.

Tretti-fire mennesker ble drept og minst 78 skadet den dagen i Marikana. Primrose er sikker på at den voldelige politiaksjonen var planlagt av gruvelederne og myndighetene, for «hvorfor skjøt de på folk og ikke opp i luften, og hvorfor brukte de våpen, og ikke tåregass?» mer røper enn spør hun. «Hvis folk ble truffet, men ikke drept, gikk de bort og skjøt dem i hodet. Folk som løp ble skutt i ryggen.» I tillegg hevder hun at drikkevannet i området ble forgiftet.



Primrose har nylig sagt opp jobben som selger av gruveklær. Hun vil ikke jobbe for gruvelederne som hun mener har blod på hendene.

Holmås, som besøkte Marikana-gruvene dagen etter møtet med Primrose, mener hendelsene der må bli et vendepunkt for den sosiale utviklingen i Sør-Afrika. «Det er ikke mulig å leve med så store sosiale forskjeller og at folk blir drept i demonstrasjoner. Det er ikke bra for verken demokratiet eller for fremtiden i Sør-Afrika.»

I følge informasjon på Apartheidmuseet i Johannesburg har lønningene for gruvearbeidere i Sør-Afrika stått stille i 60 år. «I det minste økte lønningene etter masakren,» sier Primrose. Men det hjelper ikke enkene som har mistet sine forældrene.

Holmås mener Sør-Afrika sliter fordi politisk apartheid har blitt avløst av økonomisk apartheid.

Frustrasjonen over økonomisk urettferdighet og politisk apati ulmer blant menneskerettighetsforkjemperne hos One in Nine og CDP, og kanskje også blant store deler av befolkningen generelt. «Vi har en tøyleslös, kapitalistisk, korrupt, masochistisk regjering i dette landet som ikke bryr seg,» freser Nath.

I Alexandra township

Rødt og brunt støv og gamle plastposer langs veien virvler opp i det fire diplomatiske biler kjører inn i bydelen Alexandra. Bakenfor tusenvis av lave blikktak, hvor familier bor i bunnløs fattigdom, skimtes høyhusene i finansdistriktet Sandton, Johannesburgs svar på Manhattan.

Delegasjonen fra Norge, inkludert to Sør-Afrikanske sikkerhetsvakter, trykkes sammen på et varmt rom med et stort bord og mange nok stoler. Ute steker solen, men belysningen inne er like dunkel som presentasjonen ADAPT er i ferd med å gi oss.

Det er fattigdom som rår i Alexandra. Kvinner er stort sett økonomisk avhengige av sine fattige menn, menn som gjerne drikker opp slantene de tjener. Dårlig skolegang og arbeidsløshet bidrar ikke til endring i holdninger eller handlinger.

ADAPT tilbyr støtte og hjelp for kvinner som har blitt utsatt for vold. På klinikken vi senere skal besøke får kvinner fysisk og psykisk helsehjelp. I tillegg forsøker ADAPT å forebygge vold mot kvinner gjennom sitt ungdomsprogram på nærliggende skoler.

Jentene i teatergruppen på Bekhilinga videregående skole i Alexandra smiler beskjedent til ministeren som er like, om ikke mer, engasjert nå som for fire timer siden. Når de trer inn i rollene sine er all sjenanse forsvunnet. Åpningsreplikken i teaterstykket de har laget antyder hvilke opplevelser disse unge jentene sitter inne med:



Skuespillerne på Bekhilinga videregående skole får velfortjent ros.

«What will happen if these girls tell their monster-stories? The world would split open and vomit.»

«Men stykket dere ser er en snillere versjon enn originalen,» sier Maureen Velile Majola, prosjektkoordinator i ADAPT. Jentene dramatiserer hverdagen til kvinner slik de opplever den.

«Johnny Walker» inntar scenen. Han er en drukkenbolt som behandler sin kone og datter dårlig; en person som guttene i klassen til skuespillerne identifiserer seg med.

Etter endt forestilling spør Holmås om hvordan diskusjonene i klassen er etter at de har sett teaterstykket.

«Vi snakker om hva det betyr å være mann,» svarer en av jentene. «Men guttene sier at, 'hvis jeg er følsom er jeg ikke mann'. De vil at konen til Johnny Walker skal respektere og underlegge seg ham.»

(Fe)minister til etterfølgelse

«Jeg er feminist, og jeg vil stå ved mine Sør-Afrikanske søstre og brødre i kampen for likestilling,» bekrefter den norske Utviklingsministeren til journalisten som venter utenfor skolen.

Feltopplevelsene i Johannesburg ender her. Holmås drar videre med nye bekreftelser i bagasjen om at partnerorganisasjonene til FOKUS og SAIH i Johannesburg gjør sitt for å fylle bunnløse sprekker i den Sør-Afrikanske samfunnsstrukturen, t-skjorte for t-skjorte, skole for skole. □



UNiTE to End Violence against Women

FNs Generalsekretær Ban Ki-moon lanserte i 2008 en flerårig kampanje for å stanse all vold mot kvinner. Frem mot 2015 har FNs Generalsekretær satt følgende mål for kampanjen:

UNiTE aims to achieve the following five goals in all countries:

- Adopt and enforce national laws to address and punish all forms of violence against women and girls
- Adopt and implement multi-sectoral national action plans
- Strengthen data collection on the prevalence of violence against women and girls
- Increase public awareness and social mobilization
- Address sexual violence in conflict



Knut Storberget satt som del av Generalsekretærens Network of Men Leaders da han var justisminister, og var dermed del av kampanjen.

Som del av kampanjen er nå den 25. i hver måned – inkludert 25.november 2012, som er den internasjonale dagen for å eliminere all vold mot kvinner – definert som Orange Day. Det betyr i følge sekretariatet for kampanjen i New York at

“The UNiTE campaign proclaims every 25th of the month as Orange Day, aiming to raise awareness about the issue of violence against women and girls, not only once a year on 25 November (the

International Day to End Violence against Women), but every month!”

FOKUS har i tillegg til annet arbeid en rolle som norsk nasjonalkomite for UN Women. Vi har knyttet oss til kampanjen og det å markere den 25. i hver måned i kledd noe oransje. Vi ble utfordret fra FNs Generalsekretærers sekretariat i New York til å få statsministeren og den norske regjeringen til å støtte kampanjen, til å få norske stortingsrepresentanter til å stille i oransje t-skjorter, og si et klart og tydelig nei til vold mot kvinner og støtte opp om det viktige nasjonale og globale arbeidet som må gjøres. FOKUS har fortsatt å utfordre organisasjoner og enkeltpersoner,

og har blant annet fått arbeidsgiverorganisasjonen Virke og fagorganisasjonen Norsk Tjenestemannslag til å stille.

Kampanjeledelsen i New York har spurta om vi kan få statsminister Jens Stoltenberg til å stille opp i en videobeskjed i forbindelse med kampanjen og den Internasjonale dagen 25.november, som den første av verdens statsledere som gir klar beskjed og tar ansvar. Det fikk vi til og videoen ble klippet inn som del av budskap som ble presentert på et større arrangement i New York 28.november. På arrangementet i New York deltok UN Womens Executive Director Michelle Bachelet sammen med FNs Generalsekretær. □

Se link til kampanjen nettsider - <http://endviolence.un.org/>



Our Voices Are Not Stoned to Death!

– A testimony about the presence of violence in the lives of women in Afghanistan

TEXT: WAZHMA FROGH PHOTO: DIANA SAQIB

On Friday, 06 July 2012, Ms Fawzia Koofi, one of the prominent female MPs called and with a disturbingly quiet tone asked whether I knew about the Parwan incident. – Yes, I said, I saw a tweet from one of the BBC journalists but don't know if it's true or not. She said it's true and that she had seen a video of the incidence. After we both mourned the incident, she said if women don't stand up against all these violence, we will all face this fate, one by one. I then started digging deeper to find out what happened.

THE UN REPORT 'SILENCE is Violence' writes about the threats, harassment and attacks on women participating in public life in Afghanistan. 'The systematic attacks on women working in the public sphere send

a strong signal to all women to stay at home,' said the report. The report documents widespread violence against women, including rape that is referred to as an everyday event in all parts of the country.



WOMEN ARE ALSO USED to end conflicts between clans and families, and can be forced to marry her rapist. Perpetrators usually go free, while the female victim is stigmatized for life and also risk being prosecuted for adultery.

THE INCIDENT WERE YOUNG Najiba was stoned to death in Parwan, is one in a row of incidents of violence against women who break the strict moral norms regulating their lives. Though, we still don't know the exact account of the heinous act of violence and oppression that we all witnessed in that video- we are all so shocked and furious over the fact that Najiba was brutally murdered. No matter who did it that does not make any difference? The information that we have been able to obtain to date is that Najiba, 21 year old who was either kidnapped or forced to come to the house of one of the armed commanders (apparently a taleb as the Parwan governor emphasizes) and when the chief of their armed group found out, the commanders who had forced her, stoned her and shot her 9 times in front of a cheering crowd of 150-180 people and accused her of adultery.

WE SHOULD'VE ALL GOT out on the streets the moment we watched the video, its the most horrific site I witnessed after a similar incident in which the Taliban stoned Zarmina and then shot her numerous times in the Kabul's Sports Gymnasium. As a young girl in that age, I was not able to sleep for weeks as the sight of a burqa-clad Zarmina in blood, had occupied my brain. Even after the formal fall of the Taliban regime in 2001, we have had a number of similar stoning and shooting the woman for adultery charges. While in no Jirga (the tribal court) the man who should've been equally treated (as Quran says) if she was proved to be an adulterous. Just two months before in Gardez, a woman was stoned and shot, following the stoning of a couple in Kunduz last year.

NAJIBA'S OPPRESSION and murder is not new neither for the women of Afghanistan nor for the people in this country who have seen wars and bloodshed for years now. However, the stoning and shooting a woman 9 times is an extremely alerting and shocking news for everyone in this war torn country, especially when the political reconciliation with the group who has been accused of committing these crimes, is ongoing, with the support of the international community.

THE THREE OF US (women activists) who are dealing with Lal Bibi's case were similarly annoyed and furious. None of us slept for days thinking and working around some of the lucky cases that are able to come to us and seek help. There are millions of women who are tortured, killed, raped and vanish in the darkness and we dont even know their names. So the ones who come to us for help, I guess must be among the lucky ones, who can actually use the limited resources and dare to think a bit different than the silence majority.

WE DECIDED TO MOBILIZE a number of women organizations so we started calling around and talking to women organizations and some activists. While some were scared of any public reactions, many supported the idea of a peaceful rally. In less than half a day we arranged for a rally and march that should start from the Ministry of Women's Affairs towards the President's Office. One day before the rally we had to create banners, and we started brainstorming some

slogans that could've put us in huge risk in any normal circumstances due to their religious nature, but we finally agreed on some and our young painters worked all night to prepare the banners and posters.

THE NIGHT BEFORE the rally, many friends and some of the senior officials that I know personally called and warned that if anything happens to anyone in this rally, we will be held responsible because we can be easily target of a suicide bomber who can enter the rally and we wouldnt even notice it before we are vanished into pieces. I kept calling the Kabul Police Chief who extended huge support to us in terms of providing security to the rally and the last call was with Mary (my friend and colleague with whom we arranged the rally) at around 2 am who was equally worried.

ON THE MORNING of Wednesday, July 11 I prayed around 4:30 am and started reciting some verses from Quran and sought HIS help. We are not scared of death because who knows when any of us is the next target, but I really cant see the hundreds of women and young men who have promised to show up and support the rally. At 9 am many of us were at the Ministry of Women's Affairs Compound and found out that the government had warned the female ministers and any of the government senior officials not to participate in the rally because its against all protocols of government, because this rally would criticize the government and its officials shouldn't be there. But we still didnt feel disappointed and started mobilizing ourselves at around 9:30 am on the road.

BY 10:30 AM WE GOT around 300 young men, women protesting the incident and calling on the government for quick action. The rally declared any Tribal Court illegal and demanded justice for Najiba and other women who are victims of our silence. It was so encouraging to see so many young men standing in the first rows vowing to support the women who are on the streets by putting their lives in the front lines of the rally. These are the hopes for the future of Afghanistan - we didnt have such a male mobilization at least 5 years ago.

THE RALLY WAS ALSO joined by one of the country's prominent women, Dr Sima Samar who leads the country's Independent

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, and her presence on the streets standing with all of us and supporting us, gave powers and courage to many women who were rallying under their blue burqa's and behind their black and white veils, covering their faces so that the passer by don't recognize them, who knows one of those passer by would be their brother, husband, or a close relative.

WE CONCLUDED THE RALLY at around 11:30 am in front of the UNAMA office that leads the road towards the president office and demanded quick actions from the government on the incident perpetrators. Later that day, the governor of Parwan announced that there is a special force that is now searching for the perpetrators, and the President condemned the incident personally as well. But will we get any clues on who did this-and where are they in this life before another of us becomes another prey-time will tell.

AFGHAN WOMEN HAVE come a long way in the past 11 years. We were able to get equality in the Constitution for the first time, 69 of us were able to get into the parliament and engage in the political of power, we have a Ministry of Women's Affairs, millions of young girls going to schools, thousands of school graduate girls are in the higher education and hundreds of women are working in government and non government sector and the list will go on. For a lot of women, the progress of past 11 years is never seen before. However, these accomplishments are very fragile and vulnerable to political changes. Since the stoning case happened, we have had a number of similar incidents in which the local tribals decided to lash the women and free the man who were both accused of 'immoral crimes'. The Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission claims that only during the past 4 months we have had 52 incidents of murder, 40 of which were honour crimes. As the politics changing to please the conservatives and the Taliban insurgents embrace the so called peace and reintegration process, incidents of gross violations of women's rights continue in Afghanistan. □

Violent Intersections: The Need for a Binding International Legal Framework on Violence against Women

**Vold mot kvinner er hovedtema for møtet i FNs kvinnekommisjon (CSW) i 2013.
I den anledning har FOKUS sendt inn denne uttalelsen.**

All women have the right to be free from violence in both the public and the private sphere. Since the approbation of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in 1993 and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 a number of regional conventions, protocols and declarations on violence against women have been adopted.

But there is still no specific global convention on the elimination of violence against women.

Although almost universally ratified, the CEDAW convention is the UN human rights treaty with the highest number of reservations entered by the State parties. At the same time, the CEDAW Convention does not contain an explicit article on violence against women or domestic violence, although it addresses them implicitly, and in its General Recommendation No.19 the convention provides a clear explanation of gender-based violence against women as a form of discrimination. This is, however, inadequate.

Although the Optional Protocol to CEDAW has proven useful in granting justice to some women survivors of violence, the CEDAW committee has little power to demand changes in national legislation. Many states still lack specific legislation to deal with violence against women, including domestic violence, marital rape, incest, female genital mutilation, trafficking, and

forced and early marriage. In those States that have such laws, the implementation of existing legislation is often far from effective. Some examples of this are: the absence of regulations and procedures for the implementation of legislation; high dismissal and withdrawal rates of cases; low prosecution and low conviction rates; lack of legal aid for victims; failure to apply measures to protect victims, as well as the use of discriminatory customary law and practice which often offers less protection to women than statutory law.

In order to strengthen the international normative basis, and to bring national laws, policies and practices in line with international standards, to secure their effective implementation, and to give a better definition of States' responsibilities to prevent and investigate reported violence, as well as to protect, redress and compensate the victims, there is a need for a UN convention on violence against women.

What the convention should include
the convention should clearly define violence against women and contain a comprehensive set of legally binding standards to combat it. In addition, the convention should be framed within the wider context of gender equality and discrimination against women, especially in regards to the topic of intersectionality, which we will address shortly.

An international convention on violence

against women should build upon previously adopted international and regional conventions, protocols and declarations, as well as the Beijing Platform for Action. As we know from experience, a convention is only as useful as it is implemented. For this reason, it is paramount that in addition to the convention, the States approve a strong and effective monitoring mechanism. The mechanism should be independent, inclusive of civil society, and should provide for binding recommendations.

Intersectionality of violence and discrimination

Available data clearly state that violence against women is a worldwide phenomenon. At the same time, the prevalence of violence against women does vary, in both space and time, between and within communities, indicating that it is not something inevitable, natural or God-given.

Much can be said about the various forms and manifestations of violence against women. Without dwelling on any particular form, we would like to draw attention to an issue which has not been given much space in high-level discussions on the topic, namely the issue of intersectionality of multiple and overlapping forms of discrimination and violence against women.

While there may be some commonality of experience on the basis of gender, the interaction of gender with other identities can produce a substantively distinct

experience of violence for each individual woman. The fact that a woman belongs to a distinct racial, ethnic, linguistic or indigenous group, is of a particular religion, is a migrant, displaced or a refugee, is poor, is institutionalized or incarcerated, has a disability, is HIV-positive, is lesbian, bisexual or transgender, or is old or widowed, to name a few, can make her more vulnerable to violence and can create additional barriers for dealing with it. For example, a lesbian might be anxious about reporting domestic violence because she fears that the police will have a homophobic reaction, or that she will be forced to come out. Her abusive partner is well aware of this and takes advantage of this fear.

To take another example, women with disabilities are particularly vulnerable to abuse, violence and exploitation of all kinds. It is estimated that women with disabilities are twice as likely to experience violence in close relationships as are non-disabled women. In addition, an older, disabled woman could find it difficult to report violence because of her (physical) disability and because she knows that appropriate services are most likely not available.

Intersectionality allows us also to understand why, within marginalized communities, such as indigenous groups, women who are subjected to partner violence are often reluctant to report it to the authorities. They often argue that gender issues are internally divisive, and that raising such issues advances the agenda of the women from the dominant group. At their most extreme, some of these women can claim that gender violence is not a problem in their community. They may also fear that the authorities will ascribe domestic violence to the indigenous culture or will not be willing to take a report because the woman does not speak the official language. We cannot hope to address the concerns of these women without addressing the structural and cultural discriminatory practices that they are subject to. Here, an intersectional approach to understanding and tackling multiple systems of discrimination is crucial.

Any factor of discrimination robs the women of social and cultural capital nec-

essary to protect and defend themselves. In addition to having their personhood denied because of the fact that they are female, these women's personhood is further degraded because of some other permanent or temporary characteristic. It is undisputable that this puts them at greater risk of violence.

Looking at sex trafficking of women, for example, we need to take a closer look at who the victims are. It is important to determine why women from certain nationalities and from certain segments of their society make up the majority of women in prostitution in the North. Their risk and vulnerability to abuse by organized crime groups and the police arise not just because they are women but also because they are poor and powerless in their homelands. Such powerlessness is partly a function of their culture, color, religion and ethnicity, vulnerability factors which the traffickers intentionally rely on in their recruitment.

A holistic approach

It is high time to adopt a holistic, multi-faceted approach to combating violence against women. A holistic approach takes into account the indivisibility and interdependence of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. If we are truly serious about ending all forms of violence against women, we cannot afford to continue ignoring the intersectionality of this violence with other forms of discrimination and abuse.

Only by committing ourselves to the notion of the interdependence and indivisibility of all human rights can we make substantial progress in combating violence against women. This is why we call upon the States to ratify all UN human rights treaties and optional protocols, without reservations. The next step should be to review polices on violence against women in terms of their efficacy in addressing the problems faced by different intersectional identities. Informed by this review, the States should devise holistic action plans to tackle both gender inequality and other identity and situational factors that together produce violence against women. □

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Member States should develop and adopt a global convention on violence against women.
- The convention should clearly define violence against women and contain a comprehensive set of legally binding standards to combat it.
- The convention needs to include violence against ALL women, including lesbians, bisexual women and transgender persons.
- The convention should also establish a clear link between violence against women and women's sexual and reproductive health and rights.
- To ensure its implementation, an independent, inclusive, and binding monitoring mechanism should accompany the convention.
- Member States should ratify all UN human rights treaties and optional protocols, without reservations.
- Member States should review their polices on violence against women in terms of their efficacy in addressing the problems faced by women with various intersecting identities.
- Informed by this review, the States need to devise holistic action plans to tackle both gender inequality and other identity and situational factors that together produce violence against women.

B

PostAbonnement

RETURADRESSE: FOKUS
STORGT. 11, 0155 OSLO

Dette er FOKUS

- FOKUS - Forum for Kvinner og Utviklingsspørsmål - er et kompetanse- og ressurscenter for internasjonale kvinne-spørsmål med vekt på informasjonsformidling og kvinnerettet utviklingssamarbeid.
- FOKUS' overordnede mål er å bidra til å bedre kvinnens sosiale, økonomiske og politiske situasjon internasjonalt.
- FOKUS prioriterer følgende tema områder: Kvinner og klima, kvinnens seksuelle og reproduktive helse og rettigheter, vold mot kvinner, kvinner, fred og sikkerhet, kvinnens politiske deltagelse og rettigheter og kvinnens økonomiske deltagelse og rettigheter.
- FOKUS består av 75 organisasjoner. Det omfatter ulike typer kvinneorganisasjoner, diasporaorganisasjoner og kvinneutvalg i politiske partier, fagforbund, solidaritets- og bistandsorganisasjoner.
- FOKUS er nasjonalkomite for FNs kvinneorganisasjon UN Women.

■ FOKUS ble formelt etablert i 1995 av 41 kvinneorganisasjoner i Norge, men opprinnelsen går tilbake til 1989 da kvinneorganisasjonene innledet et samarbeid rundt TV-aksjonen "Kvinner i den 3. verden". Med midler fra TV-aksjonen ble det opprettet et sekretariat som formidlet støtte til kvinneorganisasjoner i Norge som drev prosjektvirksomhet i samarbeid med søsterorganisasjoner i Sør.

- I 2005 fikk FOKUS igjen tildelt TV-aksjonen ("Drømmefanger") denne gangen med tema vold mot kvinner
- FOKUS' arbeid har basis i kvinneorganisasjoner i Norge sin kunnskap, arbeidsmetoder og mål. Dette grunnlaget brukes til å bygge partnerskap med søsterorganisasjoner internasjonalt og i land i Sør for å realisere kvinnens rettigheter og bedre kvinnens levekår. Dette er vårt bidrag til utvikling.
- Hennes Kongelige Høyhet Kronprinsesse Mette-Marit er beskytter for FOKUS.

