



Causes and Consequences of Sexual and Gender-based violence in War and Peace : Codification and standard- setting developments

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Iliana Sousoura

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1) Abbreviations and Keywords :

BFPA : Beijing Declaration Platform for Action
CDC : Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CEDAW : Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women
CSW : UN Commission on the Status of Women
DHS : US Department of Homeland Security
DRC : Democratic Republic of Congo
GBV : Gender - Based Violence
GR : General Recommendation
GVHC : Greater Vancouver Housing Corporation (Canada)
ICESCR : International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IPV : Intimate Partner Violence
OHCHR : Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
SC : Security Council
SCR: Security Council Resolution
UN : United Nations
UNGA : United Nations General Assembly
WHO : World Health Organization
WPS : Women, Peace and Security

Keywords : gender, Gender-based violence against women, rape, sexual assault, wife battering, domestic violence, intimate partner violence, femicide, homophobia, heterosexism gay bashing, sexual harassment, mental violence, intimidation, intimate partner violence

2) Abstract :

Gender-based violence can take many forms and, depending on the type of relationship that is its context and the type of power being exerted, this crime may therefore fall into any of the following categories: rape and incest, sexual harassment at work or at school, sexual violence against women detainees or prisoners, acts of violence against displaced women, trafficking in women and domestic violence.

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the phenomenon of Sexual and Gender-based violence in accordance with stereotypes and standard-setting developments during both war and peace times. Specific examples are used in order to examine thoroughly the causes and the consequences of this phenomenon in a general international and political context. The analysis is based on a research overview that highlights aspects of gender, violence, conflict and peace, which is discussed within a theoretical framework using concepts of gender attitudes, gender inequalities and identities, hegemonic masculinity, cultural practices and violence as a continuum.

3) Definition of Gender-Based Violence

For centuries women have occupied a position of subordination in relation to men. Only in 1948, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN), did the human rights of all people begin to be recognized regardless of sex, race, color, language, religion or any other factor. However, despite the “Universal Declaration”, women have continued being consigned to a subordinate role and discriminated against in their homes as well as in society as a whole.¹

The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993)² has defined violence against women as “*any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such act, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life*”³. Violence against women is linked to a web of attitudinal, structural and systemic inequalities that are ‘**gender based**’ as they are associated with women’s subordinate position in relation to men’s in society⁴. The nature and span of violence against women reflect the pre-existing social, cultural and economic disparities between the sexes. The relationship between victims and the perpetrator highlights clear differences of power or the fight to obtain it.

In the 1970s, 80s and 90s, women of different cultures, religions and geographical areas organized themselves to demand their rights and to improve their living conditions. Women’s Rights Conferences were held in different parts of the world (Mexico 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985, Beijing 1995 and Hanoi 2008) with the support of the UN organization. Historical milestones were the “Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women” (CEDAW)⁵ approved in 1979 and the “Worldwide Conference of Human Rights in Vienna in 1993”⁶ along with the recognition of the human rights of women and girls as inalienable (priceless or indispensable), integral (essential) and indivisible. All of these efforts have produced substantial advances, world declarations ratified by governments and commitments by

¹ United Nations. (1993) Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html> In general resolution A/RES/3/217A

² United Nations. (1993) Declaration on the elimination of violence against women. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>. In general resolution A/RES/48/104 85th plenary meeting

³ Same as reference 2, Article 1.

⁴ Krantz, G., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2005). Violence against women. *J Epidemiol Community Health*, 59(10),pp 818-821.

⁵ United Nations. Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. 1979 Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf>.

⁶ OHCHR | Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. 25 June 1993. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/Vienna.aspx>

those governments to prioritize the situation of women and include them in their national agendas. However, these advances have not been sufficient, nor have they been implemented equally by all countries.

Violence against women is most commonly perpetrated by someone they know, such as an intimate male partner⁷. International research has constantly revealed that women are more vulnerable to being assaulted, injured, raped, or killed by a current or ex-partner than by a stranger. This is in contrast to the situation for men, who are more prone to being attacked by a stranger or an acquaintance than an intimate partner. Initially, the terms wife battering, domestic violence and family violence were used to describe these problems, but increasingly the term intimate partner violence is preferred as it is more inclusive and does not assume that intimate relationships exist exclusively within the institution of marriage or the conventions of heterosexuality.⁸

Incidences of gender-based violence are seldom disclosed and many women/men and gender minorities keep their victimization concealed. In fact, the better acquainted a victim is with her/his perpetrator the less likely he/she is to disclose his/her experiences to others.⁹ Sexual violence, is not extremely under-reported, but often victims do not define their own experiences as illegitimate violence because only experiences that fit the popular ideas of violent assault by a stranger, or the often limited legal definition of rape, are understood as sexual assault. This tendency is often linked to the common practice of victims, minimizing their experience, which is a common coping strategy especially for women subjected to gender-based violence within relationships. These researchers found, for example, that female university students believe that sexual aggression is common and therefore harmless as it is a normal feature of their dating experience.

While most earlier sources take gender - based violence as synonymous with violence against women, O'Toole and Schiffman offer a broad definition to include *“any interpersonal organizational, or politically oriented violation perpetrated against people, due to their gender identity, sexual orientation, or location in the hierarchy of male-dominated social systems such as family, military, organizations, or the labor force”*.¹⁰ This definition is useful, in that it potentially includes, not only violence directed at women because they are

⁷ Vetten, L. (1997). The rape surveillance project. *Agenda*, 36, pp 45–49.

⁸ Garcia-Moreno, C., & Heise, L. (2002). Violence by intimate partners, pp 12. World Health organizations (2002) World report on violence and health. Geneva, Switzerland, pp 1-3 Retrieved from whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2002/9241545615_eng.pdf pp.

⁹ Collins A. (2014) Gender-Based Violence. In: Teo T. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology*. Springer, New York, NY, *Agenda*, 80, pp 33-41

¹⁰ O'Toole, L. L., & Schiffman, J. R. (1997). *Gender violence: Interdisciplinary perspectives*. New York University Press, New York, NY, p. 8

women but also hostility towards other gender minorities, while it also foregrounds the social context of inequality in which this hostility tends to occur.

Gender-based violence includes a broad spectrum of interactions, from verbal harassment and institutional discrimination to enslavement and murder. This continuum includes but is not limited to : acts of physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, economic and psychological violence by intimate partners or family members; sexual assault (including sexual assault on children, stranger rape, acquaintance rape, marital rape and any unwanted touching, kissing, or other sexual acts); sexual harassment and intimidation, and forced prostitution.¹¹

Gender-based violence also occurs outside of intimate relationships, and some writers¹² have proposed a framework of 3 domains : 1) the family, 2) the community, 3) the state. Violence occurring within the family may include domestic violence, marital rape, sexual abuse from a partner, spouse or relative, and the sexual abuse of children. The second category, “community violence”, includes violence such as rape by a person unknown or unrelated to the woman. Human trafficking and forced prostitution fall into this category. The third type, “state violence”, includes gender-based violence perpetrated or condoned by the employees of the state, including violence or rape committed by police, prison guards, soldiers, border officials and others abusing positions of state power.

¹¹ United Nations.(1995) Beijing declaration and platform for action. Paper presented at the fourth world conference on women: Action for equality, development and peace, pp. 48-49 Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>

¹² Jewkes, R., Levin, J., Penn-Kekana, L., Ratsaka, M., & Schriber., M. (1999). ‘He must give me money, he mustn’t beat me’: Violence against women in three South African provinces. Pretoria, South Africa: CERSA Women’s Health, Medical Research Council.

4) Theoretical Framework

This part will present and discuss the theoretical framework and key theoretical concepts used in the study; gender inequalities and identities theory with an approach to feminism, violence as a continuum and the concepts of hegemonic masculinity. The theoretical framework consists of theories that are believed to offer complementing approaches when attempting to explain wartime and peacetime sexual violence in this study.

While the function of sexual violence can at times be strategic, it has been argued that these perspectives and theories do not explain the multitude of collective, individual, strategic and circumstantial aspects of using such violence in conflict.

As such, the strategic function of wartime sexual violence only accounts for one aspect of the issue¹³. For example, using such a war strategy approach to explain the violence in a country does not account for the sexual and gender-based violence taking place during times of relative peace or in areas which are not directly related to the conflict. Further, it has been argued that the strategic use of sexual violence in conflict gains its effectiveness because there are such “pre-existing sociocultural dynamics that attach concepts of honor, shame and sexuality to women’s bodies”.¹⁴ Thus, incorporating such sociocultural dynamics into a theoretical framework might result in a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, which goes beyond the use of sexual violence as merely a war strategy, and attempts to explore the reasons behind its effectiveness as a weapon.

¹³ Seifert, (1996) “The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars.” *Women's Studies International Forum*, p.37

¹⁴ Uwakweh Pauline Ada (2017) *African Women Under Fire: Literary Discourses in War and Conflict*, p.31-32

5) Important concepts regarding Gender-Based Violence : An approach to feminism & femininity, patriarchy & hegemonic masculinity

Understanding gender according to feminism, is more than the traditional assumption that gender is connected to differences of the biological sex; that is, denoting men as masculine and women as feminine. Rather, it is argued that gender is a set of socially constructed attributes “only presumed to be related to perceived membership in the biological categories of male and female”¹⁵. What are perceived as male attributes connected to masculinity – strength, protection, rationality and leadership – are valued higher socially and politically than traits connected to femininity, such as emotion, compliance, passivity and care-taking. Gendered expectations of masculinities and femininities are not the same in different contexts and time periods, although a higher status of masculine attributes appears to be constant. The social categorization of people into different gender classes based on assumed group characteristics is known as gendering. In this sense, genders “are sets of discourses that shape, construct, and give meaning to social and political life”¹⁶.

The notion of masculinity is based on attributes that are presumed to belong to males. Feminism argues that these traits are socially shaped norms, and thus cannot be regarded as natural characteristics; rather, masculinity is a set of expectations that have to be realized before other men as well as women¹⁷. This study will use the feminist notion of patriarchy as a system of social, political and cultural institutions that enable men as a group to hold more power and social status than women as a group.

Conflict-related sexual violence includes any form of psychological or physical sexual comments and acts or attempts of sexual acts ¹⁸; “rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity against women, men or children”¹⁹.

Hegemonic masculinity refers to a concept of multiple masculinities which are part of a masculinity hierarchy. Such a hierarchy is a pattern of hegemony which

¹⁵ Sjoberg, L. and Via, S., eds. (2010). Gender, War and Militarism p 3. [e-book]

¹⁶ Krug et al., (2002) (Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (2002). The world report on violence and health. Lancet, p. 360(9339), pp. 1083-1088

¹⁷ Meger, S., (2010). Rape of the Congo: Understanding sexual violence in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, [e-article] 28 (2), pp.119-135

¹⁸ World Health Organization, (2003). Guidelines for Medico-Legal Care for Victims of Sexual Violence Geneva World Health Organization, p. 13. Available at [pdf] : <http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2004/924154628X.pdf>

¹⁹ UN Security Council, (2012). Conflict-related sexual violence – Report of the SecretaryGeneral. [pdf] New York: UN Security Council p. 2. Available at: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2012/33

entails cultural consent and support of a particular assertion of authority²⁰. As such, “hegemonic masculinity is defined more by its successful claim to authority than its use of direct violence. However, by linking hegemonic masculinity to masculinist power, hierarchies are created among masculinities that depend variously on complicity, control or disempowerment of males”²¹. By allying with, and supporting some masculinities while subordinating or exploiting other, along with femininities, hegemonic masculinity arranges and maintains power relations which support this hegemony. Since gender is a social construction, masculinities as well as femininities are constantly reconstructed, renegotiated and changed over time²².

6) Gender inequality

Gender inequality is often cited as a fundamental determinant of violence against women and girls. The United Nations General Assembly, in its 1993 *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*, noted that this violence is a “*manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women.*”²³ Gender inequality as a root cause of violence against women is foundational to prevention frameworks, including those of organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) (WHO, 2009), UNICEF (UNICEF, 2010), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)²⁴. Because such an investment has been made based on the premise that preventing violence against women and girls is possible and can be strengthened by improving gender equality, it is important to examine the evidence for this relationship.

Note that, like others²⁵ we use the terms GBV and violence against women and girls interchangeably. This usage acknowledges that most GBV is perpetrated by men against women and girls. This usage is not to imply that both males and females cannot and do not engage in unhealthy relationship behaviors, including violence. Addressing the dual nature of partner violence in adult relationships, respectively, there is growing recognition that GBV is complex

²⁰ Connell, R. and Messerschmidt, J., (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society*, [online] 19, pp.829-859

²¹ Leatherman, J. L., (2011). *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity Press p. 1985

²² Same as reference 20

²³ Same as reference 5

²⁴ U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) (2019) Preventing and Responding to Gender-based Violence. Available at <https://www.usaid.gov/gbv>

²⁵ Same as reference 4

and bidirectional; both boys and youth in same-sex relationships experience victimization, particularly within more gender-equal settings and societies.

The gender inequalities and identities theory and violence as a continuum approach offer a framework to look at the similarities and nexus between 'peacetime' and wartime sexual and gender-based violence presented in this study. Connected to the social, economic and cultural structures of a society, gender inequality can refer to a range of issues and take on many forms. Generally, women are less favored socially, politically and economically compared to men. Women tend to get paid less than men for the same work, or traditionally have jobs that are valued lower than those of men. Gender inequality is also evident when considering that boys generally receive more and higher education than girls, and that women make up two-thirds of all illiterate people in the world²⁶.

The inequalities and identities approach is based on the concept of gender as socially and culturally constructed rather than biologically determined. As such, gender constructions are a force behind violence since "there are concrete and ideational power divides between the genders, which can be used instrumentally against victims and their associated communities"²⁷. In times of conflict, such unequal power relations are further divided, and the promotion of a militarized masculinity connected to aggression aggravates misogyny and sexual violence²⁸. Moving away from the assumption of gender as directly related to the biological sex incorporates the concept of 'doing gender', which helps to understand why not just women but also men are exposed to sexual violence. Sexual violence is a gendering act in which the roles of the perpetrator and victim are not determined by sex, but are "gendered into a powerful masculine role and a weak feminine role, respectively"²⁹.

7) Are most of the victims females?

Gender inequality plays an a truly important role to Gender-Based violence. While it is true that human rights violations are committed against men, children as well as women, their impact clearly differs depending on the sex of the victim. Profound inequities between women and men persist and are commonly

²⁶ Lorber, J., (2010). Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics. [e-book] Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁷ Gerecke, M., (2010). Explaining Sexual Violence in Conflict Situations. In Sjoberg, L. and Via, S., eds. Gender, war and militarism. Feminist perspectives. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger. pp. 138-154

²⁸ Cockburn, C., (2004). The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace. In; W. Giles and J. Hyndman, eds., 2004. Sites of Violence – Gender and Conflict Zones. Berkeley: University of California Press.

²⁹ Same as reference 27

expressed in the feminization of poverty, women's economic dependence, limited possibilities of reaching the locus of power, continued gender violence and limitations in determining their sexual and reproductive lives³⁰.

Violence against women has shifted over recent decades from being considered a private or family problem to being recognized as a public health concern with serious consequences for the health and wellbeing of the victims³¹. According to the WHO report "World report on violence and health"³², violence is globally the leading cause of death among people aged 15–44 years and hence a global public health issue. Above all, violence against women is one of the most prevailing expressions of gender discrimination worldwide, which violates and invalidates women's human rights and their fundamental freedom.

It is clear in world reports that the rights of millions of women are violated daily, especially in developing countries. The World Health Organization in its World Report on Violence and Health³³ provides evidence of how a fundamental right, the right to health, is denied to the majority of women in the world. Women's health includes their emotional, social and physical wellbeing and goes beyond the biological vulnerabilities to be also importantly determined by the socio-cultural, political and economic context of their lives. The reproductive process places discriminated women at major risk.

Many researchers and studies of the subject on gender based violence indicate that all acts of aggression against women exhibit some characteristics that provide a basis for their classification as gender-based violence. This means that such violence is in direct relation to the unequal distribution of power and to the lacking or not systematic relationships that exist between men and women in our society, which perpetuate the women to be underestimated and become subordinated to men. What differentiates this type of violence from other forms of aggression or coercion is that the risk factor in this case is the mere fact of being a woman.

³⁰ Same as reference 11

³¹ Same as reference 4

³² Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (2002). The world report on violence and health. *Lancet*, 360(9339), 1083-1088.

³³ Same as reference 32.

8) Women, the target of caste violence and conflict

It is evident that in the certain areas of the world, certain religions, certain cultural environments women face double kind of discrimination or women are the ones who suffer the most in walks of life. It seems like there are places in the world we live in where gender inequality is more prone to happen. Women are considered to be the economic backbone of the family and also most vulnerable to physical and sexual violence. Their lives in conflict-affected areas are ones of struggle, hardships and insecurity. Army and police forces meant to protect women have turn into monstrous perpetrators of violence. Rapes and molestations of women by army and police had been the greatest shame in many countries. There are various numbers of harassment and abusing in everyday sphere of life, however, the cases are remains closed or are not recorded. There are numbers of domestic violence that takes place, where the husband harasses the wife, the children, the women vice versa, or the children in the family where the women has to bear all the pain and sufferings. It is the women who has to flee away from the unbearable situation of the family with no fault of hers.

9) Gender-based violence in Armed Conflict

Throughout recent history, violence against women and girls has been a part of armed conflict. Women and girls are killed, injured, widowed and orphaned. They are abducted into sexual slavery or forced to exchange sex or marriage for survival. They are raped, a tactic used by fighting forces to humiliate, intimidate and traumatize communities, and as a method of ethnic cleansing.

While GBV poses a significant challenge for communities everywhere, variation in prevalence suggests that socio-political conditions influence its occurrence, a relation feminist writers have documented in their emphasis on political or national level indicators³⁴ and legal rights, such as land ownership. Armed conflict is another relevant socio-political condition, during which GBV escalates and 1 in 113 people are displaced globally³⁵. In spite of the challenges of collecting robust data on GBV in armed conflict settings, researchers have established the high prevalence of GBV in armed conflict through studies conducted in a number of countries. In Cote d'Ivoire, for instance, 57.1% women reported experiencing physical or sexual violence after age 15 and 20.9% of women reported experiencing intimate partner violence (IPV) following armed conflict.³⁶ In Sierra Leone, 9% of women reported experiencing sexual assault during conflict.³⁷ Researchers have illuminated the high prevalence of GBV in armed conflict in Ethiopia³⁸ and the Democratic Republic of Congo³⁹. The latter has been characterized by human rights groups⁴⁰ and the media as "the worst place on earth to be a woman"⁴¹ because of sexual violence atrocities perpetrated by rebels and soldiers. Among internally

³⁴ Else-Quest, N. M., & Grabe, S. (2012). The political is personal: Measurement and application of nation-level indicators of gender equity in psychological research. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 36, 131-144.

³⁵ UNHCR (2016) Global Report Available at : http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/gr2016/pdf/Book_GR_2016_ENGLISH_complete.pdf assessed in 07/02/2019

³⁶ Human Rights Watch (2010) World report, pp. 93-98 . Available at : https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/wr2010_0.pdf

³⁷ Same as reference 36 pp 153-157

³⁸ Same as reference 36 pp 118-123

³⁹ Same as reference 36 pp 98-106

⁴⁰ Such as the Human Rights Watch (see reference 36)

⁴¹ PBS (2010) [online video available at : <https://www.pbs.org/video/pbs-newshour-the-worst-place-on-earth-to-be-a-woman/>] Assessed in 14/04/2019

displaced women in Uganda, over 50% reported experiencing some form of IPV.⁴²

Sexual violence and IPV are particularly evident during and following armed conflict. In fact, sexual violence during armed conflict has such a longstanding historical presence that its occurrence has been framed as a troubling, but inevitable, outcome of armed conflict⁴³. Discourse and policy have begun to shift, however, to contest sexual violence as an inevitable outcome of armed conflict and enact accountability measures accordingly.

For instance, because sexual violence is often utilized as a deliberate strategy in conflict, it now qualifies as a war crime, most recently highlighted in the conflicts in Rwanda and former Republic of Yugoslavia. In the Rwandan genocide alone, estimates indicate that men sexually assaulted anywhere from 100,000 to 250,000 women within a 3-month span⁴⁴.

The sequel of experiencing the intersection of GBV in armed conflict include mental, physical, and social problems for affected individuals across the lifespan. Experiencing GBV, particularly in armed conflict, has been linked to post-traumatic stress, intrusive thoughts, flashbacks, recurrent nightmares, difficulty concentrating, irritability, outbursts of anger, physical pain, feelings of helplessness, suicidal thoughts, and feeling humiliated.

Moreover, GBV experienced during armed conflict and/or at the hands of intimate partners can induce acute and chronic health problems, including sexually transmitted infections, AIDS/HIV, seizures, convulsions, vaginal infections and bleeding, pelvic pain, backaches, and gastrointestinal problems. Social repercussions, such as limited educational and employment opportunities, coupled with stigmatization, constitute additional armed conflict and GBV sequelae. For instance, in the DRC, 29% of raped women's families viewed the women as contaminated and subsequently rejected them⁴⁵. Notably, a mother's mental health status has a predictive relation to her children's mental health status, reflecting a familial effect.⁴⁶

⁴² Amnesty International. (2007) Uganda, doubly traumatized: Lack of access to justice for female victims of sexual and gender-based violence in Northern Uganda. Retrieved from <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR59/005/2007>.

⁴³ United Nations.(1998) Sexual violence and armed conflict: United Nations response. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/public/w2apr98.htm> - part2.

⁴⁴United Nations. (2015a) Background information on sexual violence used as a tool of war. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgsexualviolence.shtml>.

⁴⁵ Peterman, A., Palermo, T. and Bredenkamp, C. (2011). Estimates and Determinants of Sexual Violence against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *American Journal of Public Health*, [online] 101 (6), pp.1060-1067

⁴⁶ World Health Organization (2017) Violence against women. Available at : <https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>

Children as young as 18 months in any context who have experienced adverse childhood events, such as abuse, neglect, witnessing IPV, and violence associated with armed conflict, manifest developmentally congruent mental and physical outcomes. Demographic and Health Survey data from 29 low-income and middle-income countries indicated that witnessing maternal physical or sexual IPV had detrimental effects on children's growth trajectories and overall physical health.⁴⁷ Ugandan children who were internally displaced because of armed conflict described experiencing several culturally bound categorizations of mental distress involving symptoms of crying easily, low self-worth, worry, insomnia, pain in the heart, headaches, stomachaches, and oppositional and antisocial behavior. Adolescents who have experienced adverse childhood events in conflict settings are susceptible to high risk drug use and sexual behavior, leading to elevated risk for developing sexually transmitted infections and HIV⁴⁸ as well as becoming perpetrators as they age.

For instance, boys in Sri Lanka who experienced adverse childhood events, including experiencing abuse or witnessing IPV, demonstrated a higher risk for adult perpetration of IPV. In adulthood, those who have experienced adverse childhood events in general exhibit increased parental stress. In sum, experiencing or witnessing GBV has deleterious effects on people across the life span and may be exacerbated in armed conflict.⁴⁹

Rape is a weapon of war with devastating results. It is not just women who bear the scars of sexual violence; it holds entire communities hostage. Women cannot safely leave their homes to access water, gather firewood or visit the market. Children and teachers cannot safely go to school. Reprisals fuels further conflict. Long after armed conflict has ended, survivors continue to experience physical injuries, psychological trauma and social stigma. Guilt, shame and anger tears apart relationships. Individuals are unable to carry out normal activities amidst their memories. And violence against neighbors or family members can become so entrenched that it's considered a normal part of life.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Urke, Helga & Mittelmark, Maurice. (2015). Associations between intimate partner violence, childcare practices and infant health: Findings from Demographic and Health Surveys in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru. *BMC Public Health*. 15. 10.1186-2889

⁴⁸ United Nations Population Fund. (2002) The impact of conflict on women and girls: A UNFPA strategy for gender mainstreaming in areas of conflict and reconstruction. Retrieved from https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/impact_conflict_women.pdf.

⁴⁹ S Guruge, V Jayasuriya-Illesinghe, N Gunawardena, J Perera (2015) Intimate partner violence in Sri Lanka: a scoping review, pp 135-136. Retrieved from :

<file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/8100-28972-1-PB.pdf>

⁵⁰Card, C., (1996). Rape as a Weapon of War. *Hypatia*, [e-journal] 11 (3), pp.5-18

Despite the recognition of the effect of armed conflict on women and girls, not enough is being done. Continuing violence, impunity, poverty, cultural and social stigma, and a lack of resources and political will all play a role in preventing women and girls from having the protection, health and psychological services and legal redress they deserve.

a) Understanding the causes of Gender-based violence in Armed Conflict

Feminist theorists assert that GBV in armed conflict is primarily based on, and perpetuated by, patriarchy and heterosexual masculine expectations amplified through militarization and expectations of aggression constructed for men, which are challenged, tested, and provoked by male leaders and peers in armed conflict settings. Social constructivists highlight hegemonic masculinity as an organizing structure of power relations, attained through interactions reflecting authority and dominance of others. From a constructivist perspective, individuals enact diversified, fluctuating, and modifiable constructed masculinities (e.g., dominant and subordinate) as well as femininities (e.g., victim and combatant), both of which are influenced by cultural conditions, including the culture of armed conflict. The impermanent and flexible expression of gender, coupled with the vying for dominance in armed conflict settings, often encourage various forms of interpersonal violence, including GBV.

Heise (1998)⁵¹ was one of the first to apply a socioecological framework to violence against women, identifying variables related to the perpetrators and victims of violence against women across all four tiers of the model. Keygnaert, Vettenburg, and Temmerman (2012)⁵² applied the model to refugee women from a variety of countries who experienced sexual violence and GBV in the Netherlands and Belgium. Hatcher et al. (2013)⁵³ provided a socioecological analysis of GBV among pregnant women in rural Kenya. Laisser, Nystrom, Lugina, and Emmelin (2011)⁵⁴ used a similar strategy in their study of IPV in semi-rural Tanzania. Findings have revealed internalized blame or shame on the part of women and alcohol consumption on the part of men at the individual

⁵¹ Heise LL, Kotsadam A. (2015) Cross-national and multilevel correlates of partner violence: An analysis of data from population-based surveys. *The Lancet Global Health*. pp.332–340

⁵² Keygnaert I, Vettenburg N, Temmerman M. Hidden. (2012) Violence is silent rape: Sexual and gender-based violence in refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in Belgium and the Netherlands. *Culture Health & Sexuality*, pp.505–520.

⁵³ Turan, Janet & Hatcher, Abigail & , Odero & Mangone, A & Onono, Maricianah & , Romito & , Bukusi. (2012). *Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Pregnancy: A Clinic & Community Approach in Rural Kenya*. University of Alabama at Birmingham self-publishing.

⁵⁴ Laisser RM, Nystrom L, Lugina HI, Emmelin M.(2011) Community perceptions of intimate partner violence—A qualitative study from urban Tanzania. *BMC Women's Health*.

level. At the relationship level, women's isolation and lack of social support or transgression of gender roles, as well as men's inability to provide resources and male unemployment or diminished control of resources in the relationship, were related to increased GBV. At the community level, factors such as the lack of responsiveness or active perpetration by police, stigma, and community resistance to addressing GBV were consistent. Societally, inequitable laws and policies, poverty, and pervasive male dominance were central themes related to GBV.

b) Overview of Gender-based violence in the armed conflict

Sexual violence stands apart from the other forms of GBV in that all pathways from armed conflict, direct and indirect, led to it, and the experience of sexual violence engendered further physical violence because of victim blame and the contraction of HIV.⁵⁵ Despite its connection to all pathways, most community members and professionals describe sexual violence as a rare occurrence. However, armed conflict directly instigates sexual violence in the forms of rape and abduction of girls and women, and considerable academic and media attention has been directed toward these forms of sexual violence in armed conflict, even if the experience of sexual violence is sometimes minimized in the context of war and death. Perhaps this attention, while likely still insufficient, is disproportionate considering the finding that IPV often poses the largest threat to women and girls in conflict-affected communities in terms of GBV.

More often than a direct relation between armed conflict and sexual violence, an economic power differential frequently co-occurs with sexual violence as well as early marriage. For instance, death of a person, usually the male head of the household figure, triggers vulnerability for girls through loss of financial support, which subsequently pairs with an economic power differential that led to sexual violence and early marriage. Militarization, too, instigates a power differential because soldiers and police receive financial remuneration, differentiating them from community residents who do agricultural work. Power differentials are understood as the intersection of economics with gender, with poverty especially affecting girls and women, an important exemplar of intersectionality, a longstanding framework in African feminist writings⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ World Health Organization.(2014) Violence against women and HIV/AIDS: Critical intersections.Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/hac/techguidance/pht/InfoBulletinIntimatePartnerViolenceFinal.pdf>.

⁵⁶ Beoku-Betts J, Njambi WN. (2005) African feminist scholars in women's studies: Negotiating spaces of dislocation and transformation in the study of women. *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* pp.113–132

Notably, the experience of sexual violence itself instigates further domestic physical violence through the relational variable of the perpetrator blaming the victim for the violence or through the individual variable of contracting HIV, which created subsequent discord in the family. The contraction of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections is a commonly cited direct and indirect outcome of sexual violence due to increased risky sexual behavior, such as inconsistent condom use, for women with sexual violence histories. HIV is less commonly studied as a risk factor for GBV, though some pioneering research examining the bidirectional relation between HIV contraction and IPV has begun. In a Kenyan study, for instance, women reported hiding HIV testing and status from partners because of fear of abusive reprisal. In a meta-analysis of 13 studies (12 from the United States and 1 from Haiti), women who experienced IPV were less likely to adhere to HIV treatment⁵⁷.

Despite recommendations from the World Health Organization (2003)⁵⁸ regarding the dual training of medical personnel and integration of IPV and HIV services, enacting these recommendations has been slow to emerge with the exception of some recent work in Uganda detailing both the conceptualization of integrated services and testing integrated HIV and IPV intervention efficacy. The contraction of HIV as a result of sexual violence, and the connection of sexual violence to a power differential, suggests that Rosenthal and Levy's (2010)⁵⁹ conceptualization of HIV risk in women from a Social Dominance Theory and the four bases of gendered power (force, resource control, social obligations, and consensual ideologies) framework could be conceptually useful in the designing of integrated HIV/IPV interventions.

Women and girls with less power could present with restricted abilities to negotiate behavior change for themselves or their partners, which in turn could weaken integrated HIV/IPV interventions designed based on the assumption that women and girls be active change agents.

All of the societal variables of poverty, patriarchy, power differential, and lack of property rights connected with armed conflict and the various forms of GBV. Kazdin (2011)⁶⁰ has argued that social problems related to interpersonal

⁵⁷ Hatcher AM, Romito P, Odero M, Bukusi EA, Onono M, Turan JM. (2013) Social context and drivers of intimate partner violence in rural Kenya: Implications for the health of pregnant women. *Culture Health & Sexuality* pp. 404–419

⁵⁸ World Health Organization, (2003). Guidelines for Medico-Legal Care for Victims of Sexual Violence. [pdf] Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at: <http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2004/924154628X.pdf>

⁵⁹ Rosenthal L, Levy S. (2010) Understanding women's risk for HIV infection using social dominance theory and the four bases of gendered power. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* pp. 21–35

⁶⁰ Kazdin A. (2011) Conceptualizing the challenge of reducing interpersonal violence. *Psychology of Violence* pp. 166–187

violence, including GBV, should be conceptualized as “wicked problems”⁶¹, which he characterized as complicated, involving numerous stakeholders and participants, resulting from intersecting trends, being embedded in other wicked problems, and eluding easy solutions. The finding that armed conflict is distally related to the various forms of GBV through numerous interactive contributing variables supports assertions that armed conflict does not characteristically induce GBV but, rather, exacerbates it. Community members’ articulation of their lived experience explicates the mechanisms through which the process of exacerbation occurs.

13) Gender-based violence in peace time

Specialists⁶² claim we should think of theories of GBV violence in peace time on a spectrum, from individual (psychological) theories, through theories based on the family, and also society-wide (sociological) theories. At one end of this spectrum, there are theories that focus on one individual person; Other causes of violence (at the individual person level) include personality disorders, predispositions to use violence, and childhood socialization. Other such influences include alcohol consumption, and jealousy. Somewhere on this psychology-sociology spectrum, are theories based on the family. A dysfunctional family can produce conflict - for example, a husband and wife might disagree with each other on how to spend household income. At the other end of this spectrum of theories (psychology to sociology), there are approaches based on society: they investigate structural forces in a country, such as social class.

A somewhat different approach is the ‘ecological model’ reported in WHO/LSHTM (2010: 18-9)⁶³, in which there are four types of explanations for GBV: Societal, Community, Relationship, and Individual. These explanations are shown in Figure 1 below.

⁶¹ Same as reference 60

⁶² Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2014) Prevalence and characteristics of sexual violence, stalking, and intimate partner violence victimization—National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, United States, 2011. Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/nisvs/summary_reports.html.

⁶³Dahlberg LL, Krug EG. Violence-a global public health problem. In: Krug E, Dahlberg LL, Mercy JA, Zwi AB, Lozano R, eds. (2002) World Report on Violence and Health. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization; pp 1–56
<http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/overview/social-ecologicalmodel.html>.

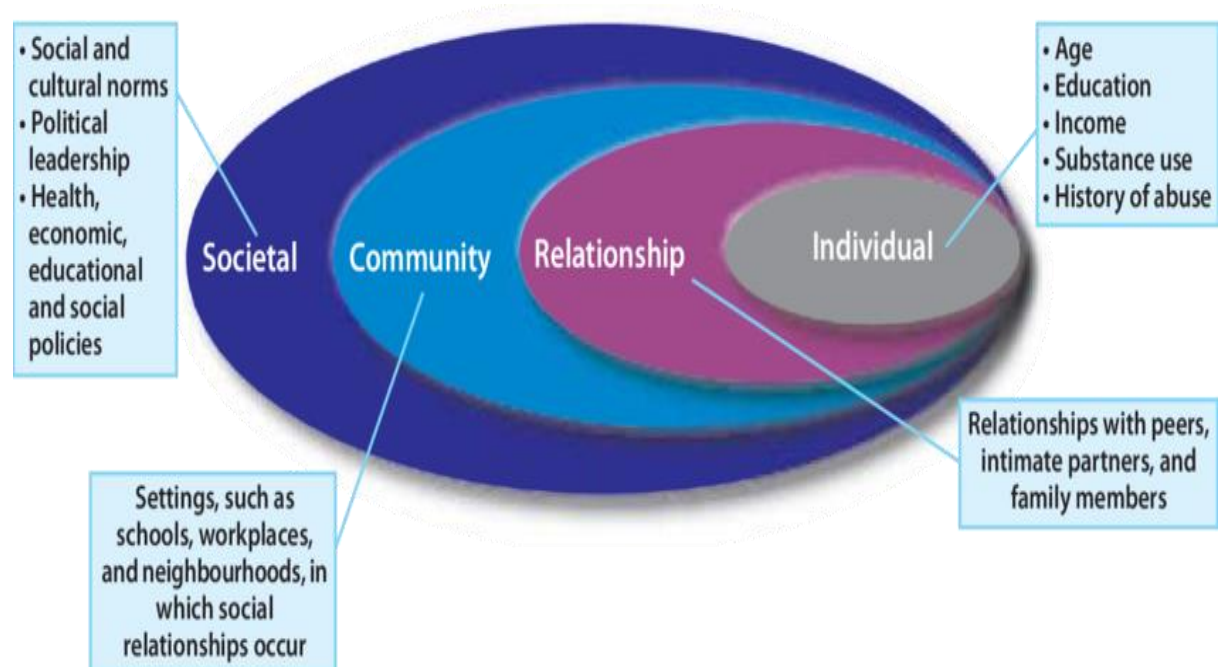


Figure 1. Ecological model of GBV⁶⁴

In the ‘ecological model’ (as outlined in WHO/LSHTM, 2010: 19)⁶⁵, the four types of explanation of GBV are “nested”, as shown in Figure 1. Factors which determine an individual’s behavior, such as the person’s own experiences, affect the likelihood of GBV occurring; but this risk is also shaped by the relationship. For example, we could imagine an aggressive man, who might wish to use GBV, but this could be reduced if his wife were also aggressive.

This relationship context is also influenced by community factors: for example, a man’s work colleagues might encourage or discourage him from using GBV against his wife. And finally, community factors are influenced by the ‘societal’ (i.e. national) culture, which includes laws against GBV.

⁶⁴ World Health Organization. (2015) The ecological framework. Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/ecology/en/>

⁶⁵ Same as reference 63

14) CAUSES

a) Cultural differences regarding Gender-based violence

There are debates whether some cultures are more prone than other cultures, regarding gender-based violence. GBV prevalence rates appear to vary between ethnic groups: for example, in the USA, the 1995-6 'National violence against women'⁶⁶ survey suggested a GBV prevalence rate of 13% among women from Asia/Pacific Islander backgrounds, compared with 26% for African Americans, and 31% for native Americans in Alaska. Simister (2010)⁶⁷ found ethnic groups in Kenya differ greatly in their attitudes, regarding the acceptability of GBV.

There has been much debate about whether Islam has affected women's autonomy. For example, VerEecke (1989: 53)⁶⁸ wrote *"Among Africanists, some attention has also been paid to Muslim African women [...] Although many of these women's extra-domestic activities have been curtailed by Islam and by men who adhere literally to Islam's tenets and behavioural prescriptions, these studies emphasize how women can be highly active, especially in the economic domain. These activities are viewed as derived from traditional, pre-Islamic African social forms that have continued to operate within the confines of Islam."* This suggests Islam harms women's interests, but Islam's impact has been limited by traditional African cultures.

VerEecke (1989) wrote about Fulani (Fulbe) tribe, *"Islamic ideology and culture radically altered the world view and behavior of Fulbe women. Islam is highly prescriptive about nearly all aspects of life, penetrating into economic, political, and social domains. Thus, among Islamic societies from the Middle East to the West African Sudan, there are marked cultural and behavioral similarities. One of the many uniform aspects of Islamic culture is prescriptions for the position of women in relation to men. The Islamic view of women, which derives primarily from the Qur'an, has become elaborated as follows: men are socially and morally superior to women and can thus legitimately dominate them. [...] It is, therefore, the duty of men to provide for, guide, and exact obedience from women. If that fails, they can admonish or beat them."*⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention(CDC), National Institute of Justice (United States), Schulman, Ronca and Bucuvalas Inc.(SRBI). United States National Violence Against Women Survey (1995-1996). Retrieved from : <http://ghdx.healthdata.org/record/united-states-national-violence-against-women-survey-1995-1996>

⁶⁷ Simister J., Mehta P. (2010) Gender-Based Violence in India: Long-Term Trends.

⁶⁸,VerEecke C (1989) From Pasture to Purdah: The Transformation of Women's Roles and Identity among the Adamawa Fulbe, pp 58-59

⁶⁹ Same as reference 68

The section 4:34 of the Koran mentions: *“Men have authority over women because Allah has made the one superior to the others, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient. [...] As for those from whom you fear disobedience, admonish them and send them to beds apart and beat them”*⁷⁰. This suggests Muslim men are generally more violent towards women than non-Muslims, but WAS Nigeria 2003⁷¹ data rejects this suggestion: 6% of Muslim women had been beaten, compared with 12% of Christian women (the sample of respondents interviewed included 1,020 Christians and 1,259 Muslims).

It is sometimes claimed that Islam is harmful to women’s interests in other ways, apart from GBV: for example, Das Maitreyi (2003)⁷² claims that in many Islamic countries, women’s labour force participation is not low. But VerEecke’s view would not be accepted by everyone: for example, Nadia Hijab and Ivy Papps argue that the role of religion as an influence on women’s employment has been overstated.

b) Female Seclusion

‘Female seclusion’, or ‘purdah’, is where a woman does not leave her home, except with her husband – or, in some versions, her children. It occurs in northern India, and in parts of northern Africa such as the north of Nigeria: for example, *“Over 95 per cent of the married women in Kano City live in purdah”*⁷³. In Africa, some ethnic groups practise female seclusion, while others do not.

VerEecke (1989) wrote *“In North Africa and the Mediterranean Arab world, this system centers around the themes as embodied in the concepts honor (sharaf in Arabic, daraja in Fulfulde), and shame (’ird in Arabic and semteende in Fulfulde). The concept of honor has been so prominent in these societies that it has been considered a dominant cultural theme or symbol. A family’s honor is contingent upon honorable, respectable, and emulatable behavior: men in terms of their prestige or influence and women in their modesty and sense of shame. The honor of families is not a given but depends on the moral and virtuous behavior of its members. Any shameful act by a male member, such as adultery, verbal insult, or incest reduces the honor of a family. But even more*

⁷⁰Koran (632) passage 4:34 Retrieved from <http://www.bible.ca/islam/islam-wife-beating-koran-4-34.htm>

⁷¹ Oyediran KA1, Isiugo-Abanihe U. (2005) Perceptions of Nigerian women on domestic violence: evidence from 2003 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey pp 38-53. Retrieved from : <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/16485585>

⁷² Das, Maitreyi. (2004). Muslim women’s low labour force participation in India: Some structural explanations p 83

⁷³ Same as reference 72

*devastating to a family's reputation are a woman's shameful acts, such as losing her virginity, exposing parts of her body, overt public display, and of course any illicit sexual act. One Islamic means of preventing this is to require women to be in full or partial seclusion (purdah)."*⁷⁴

Islam is often considered to be the cause of female seclusion: for example, many Muslim women practice female seclusion. *"Islamic beliefs concerning the proper rôle and behaviour of women emphasise that seclusion is the appropriate living arrangement for married women"*⁷⁵. A proverb from northern Nigeria says *"a good Muslim woman crosses the threshold of her husband's house twice; when she is brought in as a bride, and when she is carried out as a corpse"*⁷⁶. However, seclusion may be a tradition which started before Islam began. In most countries, Muslims do not practice female seclusion. Some writers claim some aspects of life we associate with Islam are actually part of Arabic culture (rather than religion), being transferred to areas such as north India and north Africa by the Mughal empire – perhaps this could include female seclusion.

Many claim that female seclusion limits women's autonomy. Other writers, consider segregated women to be victims of patriarchy; *"those in purdah appear to be withdrawn, obedient, and deferent. Typically, their eyes are downcast, their smiles are rare, and their words are few"*⁷⁷.

Female seclusion limits women's income-earning activities; However, some writers have a less negative view of seclusion. Secluded women in northern Nigeria earn money by processing crops grown by their husband. Some writers see advantages to women being in seclusion. According to Werthmann (2002), female seclusion may *"provide a means of protecting female spaces in which women pursue autonomous activities"*⁷⁸.

⁷⁴ Same as reference 68, pp 59

⁷⁵ Same as reference 68

⁷⁶ Werthmann K, (2015) "Women of the Barracks". Muslim Hausa Women in an Urban Neighbourhood in Northern Nigeria pp. 112-130

⁷⁷ Same as reference 68

⁷⁸ Same as reference 76 p 119

c) Gender-based violence risk and witnessing Gender-based violence as a child

There is compelling evidence that ideas absorbed by children will go on to affect their behavior, when they become adults. For example, referring to data from Eastern Europe and Eurasia, CDCP & ORC Macro (2003: 213) : *“Among ever-married women who reported having witnessed abuse in the home as a child, the prevalence of having been physically abused during the past 12 months was almost three times as high as the prevalence among those who had not witnessed abuse in their childhood home”*⁷⁹. The following table shows GBV prevalence in children who have been witnessing GBV.

Table 1 : GBV prevalence, by country & if respondent’s father beat her mother

Country	No	Yes
Azerbaijan	8%	22%
Bangladesh	40%	70%
Cameroon	30%	52%
Colombia	25%	41%
Dominican Republic	15%	29%
Ghana	17%	33%
Haiti	11%	17%
India	21%	48%
Kenya	22%	46%
Cambodia	11%	23%
Liberia	27%	51%
Moldova	14%	32%
Mali	1%	4%
Malawi	15%	26%
Nigeria	12%	37%
Peru	26%	42%
Philippines	10%	20%
Rwanda	20%	33%
Sao Tome & Principe	24%	36%
Ukraine	9%	32%
Uganda	36%	54%
Zambia	34%	49%
Zimbabwe	21%	35%
Total	20%	41%

⁷⁹ U.S. Department of Health and Human Services for CDC, Atlanta, GA and ORC Macro, Measure DHS+, Calverton, (2003) Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health in Eastern Europe and Eurasia: A Comparative Report (English) Maryland, USA. Retrieved from: <https://www.dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-OD28-Other-Documents.cfm>

Source:DHS⁸⁰

Table 1, indicates a dramatic difference in GBV prevalence rates among respondents, depending on whether or not the (female) respondent had seen her father beat her mother. Using a weighted average of all countries in Table 01, among respondents who had not seen her father beat her mother, 20% had experienced GBV herself; among respondents who had seen their father beat their mother, this prevalence rate more than doubled to 41%. For every country in Table 1, the risk of the respondent experiencing GBV is much higher if she said her father beat her mother. This appears to suggest childhood socialisation is relevant to GBV; but it is not proof – there are many other possible factors, which might mislead someone. For example, if GBV prevalence rates were very different in working-class and middle-class families, we might find a respondent had a similar experience of GBV to her mother because both respondent & mother were in the same social class.

d) Bullying

It has been claimed that victims of GBV tend to be shorter and lighter than non-victims. For example, Hamel (2005) wrote *“The fact that one person, usually the woman, is smaller and weaker, is a crucial consideration in determining who is potentially at greater risk”*⁸¹. Similarly, Rico claimed *“It is generally understood by experts of gender violence that because of their greater height, weight, and muscular build, most males have a greater propensity to inflict harm on women than vice versa”*⁸².

e) Gender-based violence and economic resources

“Lack of economic resources underpins women’s vulnerability to violence and their difficulty in extricating themselves from a violent relationship. The link between violence and lack of economic resources and dependence is circular. On the one hand, the threat and fear of violence keeps women from seeking employment, or, at best, compels them to accept low-paid, home-based

⁸⁰ Kishor S., Johnson K., (2004) Profiling Domestic Violence. Available at : <https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/od31/od31.pdf>

⁸¹ Harris C., Jenkins M., Glaser D., (2006) Gender Differences in Risk Assessment: Why do Women Take Fewer Risks than Men?, University of California, San Diego Available at: <http://journal.sidm.org/jdm06016.pdf>

⁸² Rico N, (1997) Gender-Based Violence : A human rights issue. P 278 Retrieved from https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/5860/1/S9700545_en.pdf

*exploitative labour. And on the other, without economic independence, women have no power to escape from an abusive relationship”.*⁸³

According to Johnson & Ferraro (2000)⁸⁴, “*Research focusing specifically on low-income women has uncovered an extraordinarily high level of interpersonal violence*”. In several countries, a lack of alternative means of economic support keeps many women in violent relationships”⁸⁵.

In general, the financial vulnerability is one of the most serious and pervasive causes of the phenomenon. The fact that the woman is dependent and cannot rely on her own strength, on her own peers, makes it inevitable for her to escape from any abusive relationship. The stereotypes of the woman staying in the house taking care of the children while the man is the one allowed to earn his living independently aggravates the situation. Also, in the case where a woman earns more money than the man, we might have to deal with an ungrateful husband who feels like he’s failed his purpose. He feels inferior and that may lead to undesirably aggressive behaviors. In many cases, money undermines the human relationship and that’s the point where violence takes the lead.

There is evidence from recent time-use data that most housework is done by women, and most paid work is done by men. The reasons for this gender inequality in time spent on housework are not clear, and beyond the scope of this study; presumably this is one example of the many types of gender inequalities in every society.

Women may be less powerful if they earn more: a husband might be ungrateful if his wife earns too much. Even in modern societies, some men feel a sense of failure if they have a less successful career than their wife. The effect a particular resource has on marital power depends on whether couples consider it as a gift or a burden. Sensitive to their husbands’ feelings of failure, some wives respond by not resisting their husband’s dominance to “balance” his low self-esteem. This cause does not reflect only in eastern cultures and societies. It can be also seen in the western world, where stereotypes continue existing in our world, and threaten women’s and human right constantly.

⁸³ Grabe S, Grose R, Dutt A. (2015) Women’s land ownership and relationship power: A mixed methods approach to understanding structural inequities and violence against women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* pp. 7–19. doi: 10.1177/0361684314533485.

⁸⁴ Johnson M., Ferraro K. (2000) *Research on Domestic Violence in the 1990s: Making Distinctions*, p 958

⁸⁵ Ellsberg, M., & Heise, L. L. (2005). *Researching violence against women: A practical guide for researchers and activists*. Washington, DC: World Health Organization, PATH.

f) Is Gender-based violence relevant to “gender deviation”?

Many factors affect the likelihood of leaving a violent husband; perhaps a woman is more likely to remain with a violent partner if she thinks violence is widespread (because it is likely that her next partner will be violent). The victim's interpretation of what level of aggression is 'violence' is also relevant: The social construct surrounding the ideal of the "good woman" clearly sets the limits for acceptable norms beyond which verbal and physical assaults translate into the notion of violence. Thus, beating is not seen as an excessive reaction if the woman gives cause for jealousy or does not perform her "wifely" duties adequately, such as having meals ready on time.

If a man feels his gender identity is threatened by his partner earning more than himself, then he might do more than refuse to do housework: he may also become violent to his partner.

15) CONSEQUENCES

Gender-Based Violence has severe implications for individuals, families, and societies, both in the short term and the long term. These include the physiological harm to victims, psychological and mental trauma, and the effects on social relations within and beyond communities.

a) Corporal trauma

Medical research on GBV is primarily focused on the physical consequences that survivors have to deal with. These studies find that women who have survived GBV, particularly brutal forms such as gang rape and sexual mutilation, often suffer from extreme physical damage, including chronic pain, fistula, and infertility. Fistula and infertility often have direct consequences for the survivor's social and economic well-being and her standing in the community. A rape survivor from the civil war in Mozambique summarized her physical state as follows (Sideris 2003: 717) : *“I have pain in my stomach and I suffer from headaches since the war. I am not well –even to work. I only work because I have no one to support me. I mean that I am not well through what the Renamo has done to me. The Renamo made me crippled. They beat me and raped me. Now it is as if I am a crippled somebody.”*⁸⁶

Traumatic fistulas are caused by sexual violence, particularly by gang rape or vaginal and rectal torture. Fistula causes incontinence and therefore makes it impossible to control the passage of bodily fluids. This often leads to rejection by husbands and even by the community because of the resulting smell. Consequently, women suffering from fistula avoid social contact out of shame, suffer from social isolation, and cannot participate in regular social activities.⁸⁷ Furthermore, many victims are unable to work, lose their income, and cannot provide for themselves or their family. They are thus left in a vulnerable situation.

⁸⁶ Sideris, Tina. (2003) “War, Gender and Culture: Mozambican Women Refugees.” *Social Science and Medicine* pp. 713–724.

⁸⁷ Campbell JC. (2002) Health consequences of intimate partner violence. *Lancet* pp. 359 1331–1336. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(02)08336-8

Infertility is similarly devastating for GBV survivors. This is particularly true in traditional societies and cultural settings where women's reproductive abilities are central and where women are viewed as the sanctuary of culture. Without their childbearing abilities, women lose value and often cannot find a husband. Since being married often results in a minimum level of economic stability and security, survivors' inability to marry again puts them in a vulnerable position.

Furthermore, survivors of GBV are more likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections. Opportunities for diagnosis and treatment are usually limited if not nonexistent in (post)conflict settings.

In sum, the physical consequences of GBV not only have profound effects on the survivors' individual well-being, but also affect their social position and opportunities within their communities. In fact, as we will see below, the physical damage is directly related to the psychological and social consequences of GBV.

b) Psychological Trauma

Research on the psychological consequences has increased in recent years, yet the evidence base has been limited to certain localities. Much work draws on information from Bosnia, the eastern provinces of the DRC, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone, as well as from South America – for instance, Peru and Colombia. The use of extremely humiliating forms of sexual violence by armed groups, such as public gang rapes where family members are made to watch the violence, have been reported to cause a loss of dignity and respect, as a rape survivor from Rwanda's genocide explains: "*That experience is so shameful. I was humiliated. It is indescribable how rape humiliated me. You imagine [having] sex with two different men as a prostitute does.*"⁸⁸

Survivors are more likely to suffer from depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, and suicidal tendencies. They tend to experience deep mistrust towards acquaintances and strangers. Cultural taboos with regard to sexuality complicate disclosure and make rehabilitation more difficult. This is aggravated by the fact that in many post-conflict settings perpetrators and victims know each other and often live in the same communities, where the perpetrators continue to live with impunity. Symptoms such as PTSD and anxiety further contribute to a complete loss of self-esteem, extreme helplessness, and despair.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Henry Green, The Guardian (2011) Rwandan genocide: a survivor's story. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/13/rwanda-genocide-survivor-book-rebuild> [e-article]

⁸⁹ Same as reference 87

This isolation is captured well by a traditional leader in the eastern DRC when he explains what those who have experienced a GBV-related trauma go through and how that makes them suffer : *“People who undergo this trauma lose their sense of self [...] the effect is profound; the people [...] do not have the ability to reconstruct [...] We have people who do not even know how to begin again –they are a people dispossessed– and even those who return to their villages –they don’t even sleep in their homes.”*⁹⁰

Importantly, symptoms such as PTSD, anxiety, and emotional withdrawal should be understood as survival mechanisms in contexts where violence and threats to life continue to occur.⁹¹ In such situations, non disclosure and silence are ways in which survivors increase their chances of survival. In a (marginally) stabilized post-conflict context, however, non disclosure is often driven by cultural taboos and the fear of rejection and thereby makes evident the other impacts of surviving GBV, such as the loss of identity, social status, and self-esteem

It should not be forgotten that the traumatic effect of GBV also impacts people who have been made to watch such acts, who have felt powerless to save victims, or who have been forced to rape their family members themselves.

c) Societal Consequences

Gender-Based Violence is understood to have grave social consequences for survivors, families, communities, and societies.

Sexual violence has distinct characteristics that distinguish it from other forms of violence. It carries a message from the perpetrators not only to the victim but also to the community. In this sense it exploits emotionally charged values about sexuality, virtue, shame, and honor. The violation of such values increases the magnitude of the damage GBV does to social relations within communities. Feminist activist Catharine MacKinnon summarizes the impact in the following way *“It is rape as an instrument of forced exile, rape to make you leave your home and never want to go back. It is rape to be seen and heard and watched and told to others: rape as spectacle. It is rape to drive a wedge*

⁹⁰ Bartels, S., Scott, J., Mukwege, D., Lipton, R., VanRooyen, M. and Leaning, J., (2010). Patterns of sexual violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: Reports from survivors presenting to Panzi Hospital in 2006. *Conflict and Health*, [e-article] 4 (9).

⁹¹ Josse, E., (2010). ‘They came with two guns’: the consequences of sexual violence for the mental health of women in armed conflicts. *International Review of the Red Cross*, [e-article] 92 (877), pp.177-195.

through a community, to shatter a society, to destroy a people. It is rape as genocide.”⁹²

One of the most severe societal consequences of GBV is the stigmatization of GBV survivors. Rape survivors not only suffer from the physical and psychological effects of GBV but are often also ostracized by their own families and communities. Widespread GBV during conflict can and often does destroy the social order and self-worth of communities. Sideris (2002) quotes a woman in Mozambique as saying that *“when one woman was raped, the whole community was raped.”⁹³*

The cultural values and taboos related to sexuality and the view of the female body as a symbol of a group’s culture give patriarchal communities little room to integrate survivors. Societies end up in a collective state of shock not only because they have witnessed acts of GBV and death, but also because of the familial and communal rejection of their loved ones. *“This residual ‘damage’ to the fabric of society consists of disintegration of communities and families, ostracism with subsequent homelessness, damaged reproductive abilities, unwanted children and its sequelae, all while living in a persistent state of fear.”⁹⁴*

The effectiveness of GBV in damaging the social relations in communities rests on sociocultural norms that value the sexual virtue of women in extreme forms. This nourishes largely male perceptions of the public ownership of women’s sexuality and thereby explains why an attack against a woman is perceived as an attack against the whole community.

Unwanted pregnancies and “children born of rape” are considered as reminders of pain. The community’s collective pain is aggravated when survivors become pregnant as a result of rape and the memory of the attack is transmitted to the next generation. Sideris (2003) quotes a rape survivor from Mozambique: *“People in the community wouldn’t allow you back. People would say When the war was still on, if you brought a child from the camp or you were pregnant, “Oh Mrs So-and-So has got a small Renamo.” They said that child also will be a Renamo and it is the thing that has made them suffer.”⁹⁵*

A similar account is given by a female survivor in Rwanda who became

⁹² MacKinnon C., (2007) Are Women Human?: And Other International Dialogues p 187

⁹³ Sideris, Tina. (2002). “Rape in War and Peace: Social Context, Gender, Power, and Identity.” In: Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay and Meredith Turshen (eds). The Aftermath: Women in Post- Conflict Transformation. London : New York: Zed Books Ltd. 46–62

⁹⁴ Marecek J. (2012) The global is local: Adding culture, ideology, and context to international psychology. Psychology of Women Quarterly pp. 149–153. doi: 10.1177/0361684312441775

⁹⁵ Same as reference 87 pp 720

pregnant as a result of rape by the Hutu militia: *“I am wondering who will bring her [the child] up after my death. My aunt who survived the genocide doesn’t like my child as I do. She said that it will be an eternal torture to bring up an Interahamwe’s child as she will remind her how the Interahamwe have decimated our family.”*⁹⁶

The sociocultural image and valuing of the purity of women is associated with male attitudes that consider women to be the property of men. HIV/AIDS peer educators in the DRC, were asked how they felt about sexually assaulted girls. The answers are disturbing: *“We are boys, and we satisfy our physical [sexual] needs with her.”* *“There is our culture. One should respect our culture and there is no way that she can stay home.”*⁹⁷

However, there are also examples of men who are seemingly torn between feelings of spousal support and the sociocultural expectation to reject a wife who has been raped. There is anecdotal evidence that husbands are not necessarily the drivers of rejection, but that pressure or critical questions from the family or community are influential in the exclusion of rape survivors. Quoting a traditional leader: *“My wife has been raped, she went to the Panzi Hospital and she returned home to me [...] It is the members of my family who come, the grandparents: How can you tolerate a woman like that, she will contaminate, bring sickness, she will bring you anxiety.”*⁹⁸

This statement allows a small glimpse into the considerations of this man. The notion that the society takes the men hostage indicates the constraints that social norms place on individual behavior. The perceived pressure on men to reject their wives is also taken up by a participant of a focus group discussion in the eastern DRC : *“The husband will be obliged to abandon the wife – abandon her so that he can go and get married with another wife, one who was not raped. Therefore, everything about marriage or family cohesion is scattered.”*⁹⁹

The fear of sexually transmitted infections, above all HIV/AIDS, further shapes men’s attitudes about accepting wives who have been sexually assaulted. *“They destroy this women’s life because when the husband hears that his wife was raped, he won’t live with this woman again. Women are more vulnerable,*

⁹⁶ Mukamana D., Brysiewicz P. (2008) The Lived Experience of Genocide Rape Survivors in Rwanda, p 382

⁹⁷ Same as reference 94

⁹⁸ Same as reference 94

⁹⁹ Bartels, S., Scott, J., Mukwege, D., Lipton, R., VanRooyen, M. and Leaning, J., (2010). Patterns of sexual violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: Reports from survivors presenting to Panzi Hospital in 2006. Conflict and Health, [e-article] (9).

in a sense that it wasn't her choice but she suffers the consequences of the war."¹⁰⁰ Despite this acknowledgement, other young men from Goma said that the husbands' behavior is comprehensible since the soldiers who rape are infected with HIV and they need to protect themselves.

As for the survivors' anticipation of rejection, much qualitative research brings up the point that survivors worry about how their community will react to them and talk about them. Even the thought of what their family and community members might think of them causes survivors to experience further agony¹⁰¹. For GBV survivors the societal isolation and shame become as devastating as the sexual assault itself. This view is echoed by Hagen and Yohani (2010)¹⁰², who hold that in certain cultures rape survivors have to expect extreme shame from their community, which is why many women do not report it. Admitting to having been raped has the personal consequences of not being able to get married or of being rejected by fathers and husbands. Quoting a rape survivor from the Rwandan genocide: *"It is a big problem to be known as a rape survivor in the community. They didn't respect you, they isolated you, people said that we were no different from prostitutes because we accepted having sex with any man who wanted to have sex with us during the genocide."*¹⁰³

Survivors have been associated so much with dishonor that not only the relations between them and their husbands but also between them and their communities have been destroyed, with the result that they have been forced to move to places where nobody knows them.

Others have chosen to lie to their partners and communities in order to prevent these conflicts and the resulting isolation. A woman who was abducted and held as a sexual slave by the Interahamwe (Hutu militia from Rwanda) in the DRC and then returned to her community only to be completely rejected, stated: *"It is only after having exploited you for so long that they release you, knowing that you are totally destroyed and are now only good for nothing, then they ask you to go back to your village. Where it is shocking is that, as you are back to the village, far from giving any sympathy, your husband says, "Where will I go with a wife of Interahamwe? You would be better to remain with them in the bush and never see me again." She is then doomed to be homeless, without*

¹⁰⁰ Baker A., (2015) The secret war crime. Available at: <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>

¹⁰¹ Same as reference 88

¹⁰² Kristen, Hagen & Yohani, Sophie. (2010). The Nature and Psychosocial Consequences of War Rape for Individuals and Communities. International Journal of Psychological Studies.

¹⁰³ Bartels, S., Scott, J., Mukwege, D., Lipton, R., VanRooyen, M. and Leaning, J., (2010.) Patterns of sexual violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: Reports from survivors presenting to Panzi Hospital in 2006. Conflict and Health, [e-article].

any chance to be married anew, since she is targeted by the whole village, referred to as “that one was abducted then raped.”¹⁰⁴

What is often overlooked is that in the midst of war, the sides are not always as clear-cut and the communities not as homogenous as might be assumed. The cover of war is at times used to pursue private objectives that may have little to do with the conflict's cleavages.

In Dijkman et al.'s (2014) research on sexual violence in Burundi is stated that: *“There is still a lot of tension between neighbours, or even between family members and friends. Someone from the family had been killed by some neighbour, and as a revenge, a boy from this family can rape a girl from that neighbour's family. We are getting used to seeing death around us. Even if someone screams at night – before, we used to react to this, but nowadays, we close our windows and stay in. The solidarity that used to exist before has left us.”¹⁰⁵*

These interviews took place in the summer of 2012 in Burundi, almost seven years after the end of the civil war. It is noteworthy how present the sexual violence that occurred during the war remained and how it continued to influence the social order. The disruption of the social order is often also intensified by massive displacement, which destroys social networks. Within the weakened social structures of (post)conflict societies, the perpetrators of violence – soldiers and combatants, both active and demobilized – continue to terrorize civilians with impunity.

¹⁰⁴ Same as reference 90

¹⁰⁵ Dijkman N. , Bijleveld C. and Verwimp P., (2012) Sexual Violence in Burundi: Victims, perpetrators, and the role of conflict, p. 14 Available at: <http://www.hicn.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/HiCN-WP-172.pdf>

16) CODIFICATION AND STANDARD SETTING DEVELOPMENTS

a) Global Intervention

“Women can play a decisive role in addressing sensitive issues such as sexual violence. This is especially true in societies where women victims of rape also carry shame and stigma. In those cases, victims may prefer to confide in women. And when we women gain prominence for defending human rights, justice and the rule of law, they also serve as role models who inspire others. If we are serious about ending violence against women, including violent extremism, we have to intensify our efforts for women's rights. That is why we are raising our ambitions,”¹⁰⁶.

GBV is one of the biggest problems worldwide: *“the sheer scale of violence against women forces the question of what it will take to translate increasing recognition of the global prevalence of this abuse into meaningful, sustained, and widespread action”*.¹⁰⁷

Heyzer (1998: 18), discussing some of the landmarks in the struggle to prevent GBV, wrote *“At the beginning of the United Nations World Decade for Women (1976-85), the issue of violence against women was not on the agenda [...] it was the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna which really brought the issue of violence against women on to the international agenda”*¹⁰⁸. This suggests the global battle to end GBV is a relatively new one; but local groups have been working to improve women’s situation for centuries.

“The fight to end violence against women is both historic and universal. Historic, because gender inequality, which lies at the root of this violence, has been embedded in human history for centuries and the movement to end it challenges history, custom, and most critically, the status quo. Universal, because no society is an exception to the fact that violence against women is perpetrated through social and cultural norms that reinforce male power structures. The struggle is nothing less than a demand for full human rights to be unconditionally extended to all people everywhere”.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Ban-Ki Moon, (25/11/2015) statement of the former UN Secretary General in the International Day of Elimination of Violence Against Women. Retrieved from : <https://news.un.org/en/story/2015/11/516452-un-urges-zero-tolerance-highest-levels-leadership-end-violence-against-women>

¹⁰⁷ Zimmerman C., (2002) Violence against women : global scope and magnitude. Retrieved from: <https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736%2802%2908221-1/fulltext> [e-article]

¹⁰⁸ Heyzer N., (1998) Working Towards a World Free from Violence against Women: UNIFEM's Contribution pp 17-26

¹⁰⁹ Same as reference 107

Gender-Based Violence is an atrocity, a crime against humanity. Sadly, it seems difficult to imagine a time when there is no longer GBV. Even struggles which are widely seen as completed, such as the anti-slavery campaign in previous centuries, still have work to do.

b) The 1325 Resolution of the United Nations Security Council

Globally, at least one in three women will be beaten, coerced into sex or otherwise abused by an intimate partner over the course of her lifetime. In his campaign to end violence against women United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, stated: “*Violence against women and girls continues unabated in every continent, country and culture. Most societies prohibit such violence – yet the reality is that too often, it is covered up or tacitly condoned*”.¹¹⁰

Violence and discrimination against women continue to exist in a multitude of forms and on a global scale, depriving half the world’s population of their social, economic, and political rights. It can be argued that this perpetuation of violence against women is a result of the failure to provide equality under international law and to protect universal human rights.

Over the last three decades, the international community has utilized human rights instruments and international bodies of law to advance the conceptualization of women’s rights as human rights. Pursuant to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the notion of women’s human rights is based on the principle of universal, inalienable, and indivisible rights which are granted to individuals by virtue of their humanity. While the conceptualization of women’s rights as human rights is a fundamental benchmark for ensuring equal rights based on gender, it should be noted that the term “women’s rights” extends beyond the basic parameters provided for under a human rights framework.

¹¹⁰ UN Secretary-General’s (2015) Campaign “UNiTE TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN,” ‘Framework for Action: Program of United Nations Activities and Expected Outcomes 2008-2015’ Retrieved from : <http://endviolence.un.org/framework.shtml>

The fulfilment of women's rights requires a framework supplementary to that of universal human rights, one which addresses discrimination and inequality, violations of rights, and specific needs and challenges based on gender.¹¹¹ With this conceptualization of women's rights being equal to and extending beyond the basic human rights framework, a shift has occurred in State obligations, moving from negative obligations to positive obligations which require the State to respect, protect, and fulfil the full realization of women's rights. In fulfilling these positive obligations, the State is required to take measured steps to address the challenges faced by women in the realization of their rights, such as outreach programs which provide services to victims of domestic violence and provide information on legal options moving forward.

However, the continued prevalence of violence¹¹² against women points to evidence of gender-based discrimination and lack of gender equality within the legal realm.¹¹³ This gender-based discrimination within the legal realm is being evidenced by gaps in the protection of women's rights. First, the women's rights often fall victim to the public/private dichotomy and are pushed from the public sphere into matters which are considered "private", and therefore not within the jurisdiction and scope of State responsibility to protect.¹¹⁴ For example, in some States domestic violence against women is seen as a "private" issue, as it involves familial matters and is thus outside the State's jurisdiction, leading States to remain inactive in protecting women from violence. Moreover, the violation of women's rights is often relegated to a "secondary" crime, overshadowed by matters considered of greater importance, such as global and State security and stability.¹¹⁵ Lastly, numerous situations exist where

¹¹¹ Specific needs and challenges based on gender include, but are not limited to issues related to access to justice, education, and adequate general and reproductive healthcare. Discriminatory practices against women which are widely accepted as human rights violations and in need of special attention include, but are not limited to, issues relating to lack of economic empowerment, political participation, and participation in peace processes, as well as the need to address all forms of violence against women.

¹¹² This paper will adhere to the definition of "violence against women" as provided for in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. Article 1 defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". See UNGA 'Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women' (20 December 1993) UN Doc A/RES/48/104

¹¹³ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) (27 March 2009) 'Report on the Rights of Women in Chile: Equality in the family, Labor and Political Spheres' OEA/Ser.L/V/II.134, 43.

¹¹⁴ Bunch C and Frost S.,(2000) 'Women's Human Rights: An Introduction' in Cheris Kramarae and Dale Spender (eds), Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women, Global Women's Issues and Knowledge. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/46-46-2-PB%20(1).pdf, p. 2

¹¹⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325), passed in 2000, calls for a gendered perspective in peacekeeping, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, as well as the direct involvement of women in planning and implementing these concerns.

discriminatory practices against women, such as female genital mutilation and “honor” killings, are perpetuated under the guise of cultural norms.¹¹⁶

Adopted by the UN Security Council in 2000, SCR 1325 emphasizes women’s critical role in negotiating peace agreements and the need to eliminate sexual violence against women and girls. Its adoption constituted a monumental achievement for feminist activists and human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These groups had long advocated for SCR 1325 because of women’s marginalized roles in peacekeeping projects and the prevalence of sexual violence in conflict societies.

SCR 1325 and subsequent Security Council resolutions on WPS¹¹⁷ should be understood in light of the binding obligations and commitments reflected in their contents. This understanding of the Resolutions should integrate both the Security Council’s political commitment to act on women’s rights in conflict, and obligations from the legal framework. The key elements of the legal framework that uphold commitments held by all parties involved in conflicts include:

- The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW);¹¹⁸
- The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) General Recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations (CEDAW GR No. 30);¹¹⁹
- The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995 (BPFA) notably its two critical areas of concern on Violence against Women and Women in Armed Conflict;¹²⁰
- The UN General Assembly Outcome Document of its 23rd Special on Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century 2000 (UNGA Outcome Document); ¹²¹
- The UN Commission on the Status of Women Agreed Conclusions on the prevention and elimination of violence against women and girls 2013 (CSW Agreed Conclusions 2013).¹²²

¹¹⁶ Wadesango N. et al. (2011), ‘Violation of Women’s Rights by Harmful Traditional Practices’ pp. 121-129.

¹¹⁷ Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advance of Women, (2004). Landmark resolution on women, peace and security. Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advance of Women (OSAGI), 22 October. Available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/>

¹¹⁸ Same as reference 5

¹¹⁹ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1982) Available at: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/committee.htm>

¹²⁰ Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, (16 November 2000), A/RES/S-23-3 (UNGA Outcome Document)

¹²¹ UN Resolutions (2000) Available at: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/reports.htm>

¹²² UN Commission on the Status of Women, Agreed Conclusions on the prevention and elimination of violence against women and girls, (15 March 2013), E/CN.6/2013/11

The four pillars of SCR 1325 (participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery) reflect states' existing obligations, especially to fully implement international humanitarian law and international human rights law to protect women and girls during and after conflicts.¹²³ The text of SCR 1325, by reflecting other sources of international law, reinforces the commitments of UN Member States to take action on upholding the rights in the legal framework on women, peace and security. The Resolution directly references treaties, calling all parties to armed conflict to fully respect their obligations under the: Geneva Conventions 1949 and 1977 Additional Protocols; the Refugee Convention 1951 and 1967 Protocol; and other UN Treaties including CEDAW and its Optional Protocol 1999; the CRC and its two Optional Protocols 2000; and the Rome Statute 1998. The Resolution also reflects international treaty and customary law protections under each pillar. As shown below, many of the binding treaty obligations reflected in SCR 1325 are from CEDAW. These are later picked up and elaborated in the CEDAW GR No. 30, adopted by the CEDAW Committee thirteen years after SCR 1325 on 18 October 2013¹²⁴.

The participation pillar largely reflects the obligation of nondiscrimination under international law, encompassed most comprehensively by CEDAW. As Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin note¹²⁵, under a formal equality model found in other human rights treaties, "the language of non-discrimination makes it difficult to emphasise the particularity of women's lives in ways that benefit women: it compresses women's lives into cumbersome and inaccurate categories. It also precludes the possibility of special programs for women".¹²⁶ Non-discrimination under CEDAW addresses the Convention's central purpose, to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and girls, as well as its complementary purpose of ensuring the enjoyment of rights on the basis of equality of women and men.

Non-discrimination is best understood as "the elimination of classifications, acts, or practices which are based explicitly on sex or which have an indirectly discriminatory effect, so that women enjoy access to the benefits and opportunities available within existing social structures".¹²⁷ Under CEDAW, the obligation of non-discrimination requires both substantive and transformative

¹²³ UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (30 October 2000) UN Doc S/RES/1325, preparatory paragraph 6 (PP 6) (SCR 1325)

¹²⁴ SCR 1325, operative paragraph 9 (OP 9)

¹²⁵ Charlesworth H., and Chinkin C., 'The New United Nations 'Gender Architecture': A Room with a View?' (2013) 17 Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law, pp. 1-60

¹²⁶ Same as reference 125

¹²⁷ Same as reference 125

equality. States must take positive steps to address women's political, economic, social and cultural exclusion, guaranteeing not just formal opportunities but the substantive enjoyment of these opportunities (substantive equality). States must achieve systemic, transformational changes to remedy the exclusionary structures that prioritize the views and interests of privileged groups (transformative equality).

As the CEDAW Committee emphasizes in its GR No. 30, the obligation of non-discrimination towards women and girls affected by conflict necessitates an intersectional perspective on discrimination, especially in relation to conflict situations. Although intersectionality is not addressed in SCR 1325, it is briefly addressed in subsequent resolutions and is a key feature of the CEDAW GR No. 30 that adds value to understanding the resolutions on WPS.

The CEDAW Committee in general proves to be the milestone where the 1325 resolution relied upon. Its recommendations are a manifestation against gender-based violence and it inevitably brought violence outside of the private and into the realm of human rights.¹²⁸

Apart from its recommendation No. 30, the recommendation No. 35 is also a huge landmark, because with its clauses it can be used as a tool for accelerated implementation of regional and international obligations to eliminate gender-based violence against women. Specifically, it entails the recognition the prohibition of gender-based violence has become a norm of international customary law; It expands the understanding of violence in order to consider the violations, also violations of sexual and public health. It stresses the need to change social norms and stereotypes that support violence, in the context of gender inequality that happens in the name of culture, tradition or religion; It clearly defines different levels of liability and obligations of the State for acts and omissions committed by its agents or those acting under its authority and also, for failing to act with due diligence to prevent violence at the hands of private individuals and companies, protect women and girls from it, and ensure access to remedies for survivors; Finally it emphasizes at the need for women to participate more actively in the public sphere and promotes their autonomy.¹²⁹

SCR 1325 also emphasizes the responsibility of all States to end impunity and prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls. It stresses the need to exclude these crimes from amnesty provisions

¹²⁸ OHCHR (2017) Committee on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Available at : <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/GR35.aspx>

¹²⁹ UN (1979). Convention on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. New York Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx>

(where feasible). This reflects states' obligations under customary IHL and treaties.¹³⁰

Furthermore, The Resolution calls all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account women and girls' particular needs, including in designing these camps and settlements.¹³¹

Finally, gender-responsive, victim-oriented reparations for rights violations are an essential complement to the UN's existing monitoring and accountability mechanisms. The ability of transformative reparations to challenge structural discrimination helps achieve the overarching aims of SCR 1325 and the legal framework. As Rashida Manjoo notes in her Report as Special Rapporteur on violence against women, "violence against individual women generally feeds into patterns of pre-existing and often cross-cutting structural subordination and systemic marginalisation".¹³²

To achieve transformative equality in a meaningful way requires the long lasting effect of preventing future rights violations, including acts of sexual violence in conflict and other grave human rights abuses against women and girls. Existing UN processes must be combined with transformative remedies to produce transformative gender equality in situations of conflict.

¹³⁰ SCR 1325 (2000) OP 11; Preamble, Articles 7(g), 8(2)(b)(xxii) of the Rome Statute; Common Article 3, Geneva Conventions; Article 14(1) Third Geneva Convention; Article 27(2) Fourth Geneva Convention; Article 75(2) Additional Protocol I; Article 4(2) Additional Protocol II; Article 4(e) of the Statute for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda; Article 3(e) of the Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone; see the section on "access to justice" in the CEDAW GR No. 30. See also ICRC Customary IHL Database, "Rule 93. Rape and Other forms of Sexual Violence", available from: https://www.icrc.org/customaryihl/eng/docs/v1_cha_chapter32_rule93#Fn_17_4.

¹³¹ SCR 1325 (2000) OP 12; Article 78, Additional Protocol I; Article 22, African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child; Article 23, See ICRC Customary IHL Database, "Rule 131. Treatment of Displaced Persons", available from: https://www.icrc.org/customary-ihl/eng/docs/v1_cha_chapter38_rule131#Fn_6_23; see also Articles 1-3 and 15 of CEDAW; paras 54 and 57 of CEDAW GR No. 30.

¹³² Manjoo R., (2013) Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, p. 71

c) SCR 1325, The other resolutions on Women, Peace and Security and International Law

The Security Council Resolutions on women, peace and security (WPS) that follow SCR 1325 also reflect and reinforce existing principles of international law:

1. SCR 1820 (2008) which reaffirms that rape and sexual violence are war crimes.¹³³
2. SCR 1888 (2009) which creates the office of the Secretary-General's Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict.¹³⁴
3. SCR 1889 (2009) which outlines women's agency and participation in peace-building.¹³⁵
4. SCR 1960 (2010) which addresses the accountability gaps in SCR 1325.¹³⁶
5. SCR 2106 (2013) which deals with HIV/AIDS in conflict and post-conflict settings.¹³⁷
6. SCR 2122 (2013) which is known as the SCR on women's leadership.¹³⁸

As with SCR 1325, understanding these resolutions as part of a broader legal framework enhances the protections for women and girls affected by conflict. These resolutions should be read together with SCR 1325 for two key reasons. First, they provide a fuller picture of the Security Council's agenda on WPS, reinforcing many of the provisions of SCR 1325. Second, they uphold international human rights law (IHRL) international humanitarian law (IHL) and international criminal law obligations not addressed by SCR 1325. In doing so, more accurately reflect states' obligations under the legal framework. Reading SCR 1325 together with these resolutions on WPS would oblige states to incorporate a fuller spectrum of rights into their implementation of SCR 1325, via National Action Plans (NAPs) laws, policies, programs and other measures.

All resolutions highlight the need for gender-responsive access to justice, which is a basic human right that enables the enjoyment of other human rights. Access

¹³³ UNSC Resolution,(2008)S/RES/1820 Retrieved from:<https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1820>

¹³⁴ UNSC Resolution(2009)S/RES/1888 Retrieved from: <https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1888>

¹³⁵ UNSC Resolution (2009) S/RES/1889 Retrieved from: <https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1889>

¹³⁶ UNSC Resolution (2010) S/RES/1960 Retrieved from: <https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1960>

¹³⁷ UNSC Resolution (2013) S/RES/2106 Retrieved from:<https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-2106>

¹³⁸ UNSC Resolution (2013) S/RES/2122 Retrieved from: <https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-2122>

to justice is not mentioned in SCR 1325 (although accesses to justice concerns are addressed by various provisions). The resolutions reflect Articles 1-3, 5(a) and 15 of CEDAW and the GR No. 30, especially the latter's substantive protections for women and girls' right to access justice throughout the conflict cycle.

In general, if we see the closes of these resolutions we can perceive the addition that each one of them makes to the landmark resolution 1325. The SCR 1820 promotes access to justice in the context of rape and sexual violence, while it struggles to give emphasis in equal protection of women and girls under the law.

The SCR 1888 urges the governments to ensure that survivors of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence are treated with dignity throughout the justice process and are not denied their right to fair trial. The SCR 1888 calls for a "holistic national approach" to addressing sexual violence in conflict by enhancing criminal accountability, responsiveness to victims and judicial capacity.

Furthermore, the SCR 1889 offers the opinion of the establishment of a more gender-responsive law enforcement and justice mechanisms for victims of rights violations, especially in conflict and post-conflict situations.

The SCR 2122 goes even further than that, by specifying the need for gender-responsive legal, judicial and security sector reform and other mechanisms in these situations.

Finally, regarding health services SCRs 1888 and 1889 recognize the particular needs of women and girls post-conflict and especially their urgency for socio-economic reintegration services, livelihood assistance, land and property rights and employment. The SCR 1889 encourages Member States, in post-conflict situations, to guarantee greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions for women, through education, income-generating activities and access to basic services especially health services related to sexual, reproductive and mental health.

SCR 1960 incorporates an intersectional view of discrimination, reaffirming the rights of rural women and persons with disabilities in the context of post-conflict and post-rights violation support, including socio-economic reintegration. These provisions as a whole reflect Articles 1-3, 4(1), 5(a), 10-12 and 14 of CEDAW. Women's rights concerning education, work and health services, including protections for vulnerable groups such as rural women and those with disabilities, are addressed in the CEDAW GR No. 30. The resolutions also

reflect Articles 1, 3, 6, 12 and 13 of the ICESCR. In doing so, they recognize the interrelationship and integrity of all human rights.

d) Differences between people trying to combat Gender-based Violence

If we were to see the struggle to end GBV as a movement (like the suffragette movement or anti-Apartheid movement), it may be important to acknowledge tensions within it. Various groups of people who are opposed to GBV may see such violence very differently, such as

:

- It is sometimes alleged that religion contributes to the problem of GBV, and of women's subordination generally. For example, traditional Christian marriage vows required a wife to 'love, honor and obey' her husband, whereas a husband did not promise to obey his wife.
- Some women's groups are often associated with lesbianism, which is unacceptable to many religious people.
- Some people with radical political views (e.g. feminism) are opposed to hierarchies, and hence would object to a church-based group – especially if it were headed by a man, which most religions are.
- In some groups (such as collectives which run hostels for battered women), only women can be members.

For these and other reasons, it seems unlikely that we will see a single organization which can represent everyone opposed to GBV. This has advantages, in that there is less risk of an organization being taken over by one or more individuals who prevent the organization from being effective. Such tensions have applied to other struggles: for example, in the campaign to win votes for women in the UK, the suffragists were a women-only group, whereas the suffragettes accepted women and men as members.

Despite the above tensions, there is also much common ground. For example, there was worldwide agreement that the rape of Muslim women in 'rape camps' during the Bosnian war was unacceptable, and a crime against humanity. The threat by Taliban fighters to murder any girls who go to school in Afghanistan may appear to put Islam in a bad light, but other evidence suggests the Taliban are not really Muslims: if they read the Koran, they would know that education of girls is a requirement for all Muslims; and Taliban have often attacked

mosques.

It may seem unsurprising that many women who have experienced GBV will not trust men, and do not feel safe in the company of men. In such cases, there seems no reason to criticize women for excluding men.

e) Working with others

Many writers encourage campaigners and activists to work together, to gain strength from a supportive network. Ellsberg & Heise (2005: 155)¹³⁹ point out that working with victims of violence can be upsetting for researchers: *“Just as violence research raises special issues around respondent safety, the emotional sensitivity of the topic raises special issues for building and sustaining your field team. Working on a violence project can be extremely taxing, and it is important — both for ethical reasons and to ensure the quality of the data — that researchers take active steps to protect the emotional well-being of team members. This means that research plans and budgets need to include specific measures for addressing the emotional consequences of doing gender-based violence research.”*

¹³⁹ Ellsberg, M.; Arango, D.; Morton, M.; Gennari, F.; Kiplesund, S.; Contreras, M. and Watts, C. (2015) 'Prevention of Violence against Women and Girls: What Does the Evidence Say?' The Lancet, pp. 155–166

f) Local, national and International Media

Sometimes, press, radio, and television can be persuaded to publicize campaigns against violence. It may be a good idea to get role models (such as sporting celebrities, film stars, and musicians) to publicly state their opposition to GBV.

g) Women's Groups

There is widespread agreement that such services should be organized by women, for women. Many writers report evidence that government-run agencies fail to provide adequate help for victims, and may try to persuade a GBV victim to go back to her violent husband. In many countries, there are networks of women's groups, who are actively working to make women safe. An example is Women's Aid, in the UK¹⁴⁰. Such organizations provide many types of help, but one of the most important is refuges for victims of GBV – where a woman (and her children, if she has any) can stay in a place of safety until she can find a new home. Such shelters have been found to be very beneficial to many women who stay there, although they may not be appropriate for all GBV victims.

h) National Governments

Almost every country in the world has signed the UN '***Universal declaration of human rights***', which should – in theory – guarantee everyone 'freedom from fear'. This, and other international agreements, suggests every government should be working hard to ensure the safety of citizens. Where governments fail, it may be appropriate for activists to demand more action. In democratic countries, one way to achieve this is to persuade politicians that they're more likely to be elected if they work to keep women safe.

¹⁴⁰ NGO Women's Aid website : <https://www.womensaid.org.uk/>

i) International instruments which oppose to Gender-based violence

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) it is stated that “*No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*”.¹⁴¹ UN Women (formerly UNIFEM) and the Secretary-General of the UN (Antonio Guterres) seem to offer hope for GBV victims in their campaign “**Say NO – UNiTE to End Violence against Women**”.¹⁴² The website www.saynotoviolence.org has helpful insights and ideas for activists. In addition to UN agencies, regional organizations can accelerate the process of change - for example, SANGAT is a group in Asia¹⁴³. In Africa, the GBV Prevention Network is a helpful focus for activists.¹⁴⁴

j) Intervention : A three-stage process

An intervention to reduce the prevalence of GBV and HIV in a group of poor women in South Africa showed that over a two year period, there was a 55% fall in the prevalence of intimate partner violence as a result of this intervention. This is encouraging, because it tells us that the risk of GBV can be reduced. But another point to note about this GVHC intervention is that they were able to tell if it worked¹⁴⁵.

Campaigns such as ‘Unite to end violence against women’¹⁴⁶ attempt to reduce the prevalence of GBV. To assess if such campaigns work, a three-stage approach may be appropriate: first, a baseline survey of as many countries as possible, to establish current GBV prevalence rates, using consistent questions in each country. The second stage would be an intervention, such as UN WOMEN’s campaign, or a series of concerts like ‘Live Aid’. The third stage would be a follow-up survey a few years later, in the same countries, to assess if GBV prevalence rates fell due to the intervention.

¹⁴¹ Same as reference 1

¹⁴² UN Women Campaign (2008) Orange your Day, available at:

<http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/take-action>

¹⁴³ SANGAT website : <https://www.sangatnetwork.org/>

¹⁴⁴ GBV Prevention network in Africa website : www.preventgbvafrica.org

¹⁴⁵ Abramsky T., Devries K., Kiss L., Francisco L., Nakuti J., Musuya T., Kyegombe N., Starmann E., Kaye D., Michau L., and Watts C. (2012) A community mobilisation intervention to prevent violence against women and reduce HIV/AIDS risk in Kampala, Uganda (the SASA! Study): study protocol for a cluster randomised controlled trial

¹⁴⁶ UN campaign, (2008) Unite to end violence against women available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en>

UNECE¹⁴⁷ seeks to improve international comparability of GBV data and discuss standardizing questionnaires between countries. Perhaps UNECE and 'UN WOMEN' can persuade agencies such as DHS, CDC, and WHO to share a consistent methodology, and organize their next surveys as a global baseline survey.

Survey data can make a difference to campaigns. In East Europe and Eurasian countries studied by DHS surveys, *“Traditionally, none of these countries had established laws and mechanisms to protect women from spousal abuse. Survey data have produced the first population-based nationally representative information on violence against women ever available. Dissemination of these data can have important implications in mediating changes in the legal and support service environments of these countries. Dissemination of findings, however, needs to reach potential users outside the health community, which may require extra efforts. There are already several examples from some countries of specific uses of the data in making legislative changes”* (CDCP & ORC Macro, 2003: 219)¹⁴⁸.

The struggle to bring an end to centuries of GBV will not be primarily due to a single individual who passes laws against GBV. Some politicians will be persuaded to pass laws, but it will often be because they think it will get them re-elected (persuaded by anti-GBV activists, perhaps by arranging petitions). Some police forces will be persuaded to enforce laws against GBV, but it will be an uphill struggle for groups – who may need to visit their local police station many times, to persuade police officers to do their job.

The real difference will be made by millions of ordinary people (almost all women), who care enough about their friends & neighbors to work together in small groups to stop GBV. History won't record your name; nobody will say “thank you”; many people you meet will consider you a nuisance; but you will bring the nightmare of GBV under control, forever.

¹⁴⁷ UNECE report (2015) Gender statistics. Retrieved from:
<https://www.unece.org/stats/ces/in-depth-reviews/ga.html>

¹⁴⁸ US Agency for International Development (2006) Responding to Gender-Based Violence: A Focus on Policy Change - A Companion Guide Retrieved from:
<http://www.policyproject.com/gbv/Documents/CompanionGuide.pdf>

k) Give choices to Gender-based violence victims

Perhaps activists should aim to give every GBV victim a whole set of choices, so that each woman can decide what she wants to do next. Some women might choose to forgive their husband, if there are networks to ensure her safety (e.g. if he agrees to accept 'anger management' counseling, and a local women's group is ready to rescue her and take her husband to the police, if he is violent again). Another GBV victim may decide her husband is not worth the effort, and choose to leave him (if she has support when making the transition, such as transport to another city and help in finding a home and a job).

Here are some ideas which have been effective in combating GBV. It's not a complete list, there are many things that can be done :

- A GBV victim may choose to leave a violent husband; a network of refuges for battered women is often an essential step for a woman (and her children) to reach safety.
- In India and other countries, the police are unwilling to help victims of domestic violence. A specialist government-run organisation such as a women's police force may help encourage GBV victims to seek help. But groups of anti-GBV activists might persuade their local police station to support GBV victims.
- Some women might find it helpful to have the option of marriage counseling, or other forms of support. Some marriages & cohabiting relationships are worth saving.
- Some men could benefit from 'anger management' counselling. It might be offered by volunteers, if the government cannot afford such a service.
- Medical and psychological treatment could help a man control his addiction to alcohol.
- Tax and benefit systems can encourage some types of behaviour (such as feeding children properly), and discourage others (such as drinking alcohol).
- Health care providers *"should be made aware of the prevalence of IPV and the reluctance of victims to seek treatment, and should initiate inquiries about domestic violence experience during routine health visits. Such screening may contribute to reducing the frequency and severity of intimate partner*

violence and could provide early interventions for domestically abused victims” (CDCP & ORC Macro, 2003: 219)¹⁴⁹.

- Self-defence classes could help a woman protect herself from a violent husband or partner. Perhaps schools could play a role in this.
- Some women may find earning money in their own right is vital to give them bargaining power: a woman with enough income might be able to say to her husband ‘if you hit me, I will leave you’.
- Education is vital, to reduce GBV in future. Cultural barriers prevent female access to education in many countries: in India for example, *“Boys are educated because they must fulfil their role as providers, but girls will do household work and thus do not need advanced schooling”*¹⁵⁰.
- *“Most women suffering current physical abuse were more likely to talk about the abuse with a family member or a friend than to seek legal or medical help”* (CDCP & ORC Macro, 2003: 218)¹⁵¹. Perhaps campaigners can find creative ways to help women seek help – perhaps cafés or other drop-in centres could be part of the process by which women start to seek help.
- Family members and neighbours can be encouraged to intervene if a woman is being abused.
- Some women gain strength from the support of other women. One such approach is women’s empowerment groups, popular among some groups of feminist women. Self-help groups for women can be very beneficial, such as SANGAT¹⁵²
- In India, the women’s movement must play a central role in helping women to make progress: women can act more effectively if they are united, so that campaigns can be coordinated.¹⁵³
- The ‘white ribbon campaign’ is an example of a large-scale organization of men against domestic violence; it began in Canada, but has spread to dozens of other countries.¹⁵⁴
- Various types of professionals such as medical staff, police officers, and

¹⁴⁹ Same as reference 148

¹⁵⁰ Same as reference 72

¹⁵¹ Same as reference 148

¹⁵² Same as reference 143

¹⁵³ Same as reference 72

¹⁵⁴ White Ribbon website available at: <https://www.whiteribbon.ca/>

social workers can play a vital role in recognizing the signs that GBV has taken place, and advising GBV victims of possible solutions.

- Role models may be important, for child socialization and adult socialization. It would help if the contributions of successful women were recognized (in, for example, science and medicine).
- The media can be encouraged to portray positive images of women and girls, and help ordinary women to see that GBV is not inevitable. Television and radio are among the options for activists to publicize problems and solutions.
- More women in politics may be important in most countries. Helping more women to become elected as Members of Parliament, cabinet ministers, prime ministers, and presidents could be a way to make laws more supportive of women's interests.

Often, a person acting as an individual can achieve a lot. But it is clear (from research reported in the bibliography) that a women's group is often a very effective way to help GBV victims.

17) CONCLUSION

Gender-based violence continues to exist as one of the most extreme and pervasive forms of discrimination, severely impairing and nullifying the enforcement of women's rights. While the strong correlation between the problems of discrimination and violence against women has been consistently highlighted, women's rights as international human rights did not gain such recognition before the 21st century. After late blooming of women's rights is evidenced in the underlying tones of inequality in many societies. However, the global community must overcome the historically constructed inferior role of women in both the public and private realm, as these *“patriarchal disparities of power, discriminatory cultural norms and economic inequalities serve to deny women's human rights and perpetuate violence.”*¹⁵⁵

There is no easy way to end GBV. But GBV is a huge global problem, and it is vital that campaigners and activists find a way to bring change. The seriousness of the different forms of gender-based violence, given the magnitude of this violence and its consequences for individuals and society, makes it imperative that urgent initiatives be taken to support and protect victims, and to ensure that women are able to assert and exercise their rights as human beings and that society has instruments at its disposal to punish aggressors. It is equally vital that preventive strategies be designed and implemented at the political, legislative, legal and educational levels; the positive effects of such strategies will become evident over the medium and long term.

It is vital that specific measures be taken to uphold the human rights of women and to address the gender-based violence to which they are subjected. One starting point in this regard is the need to reaffirm the irrefutable and enduring nature of the rights of women, together with the obligation to protect and guarantee these rights under all circumstances and to guard against any effort to subordinate them or annex them to a larger agenda which would undermine their substantive validity.

There may be a billion women who are at risk of GBV; that's a billion reasons to act.

¹⁵⁵ OHCHR (2011) Monitoring and protecting the human rights of women-Chapter 28, p. 3
Available at:
https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Chapter28_MonitoringAndProtecting.pdf

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