

# Patriarchal violence – an attack on human security

A broad survey of measures to combat patriarchal violence and oppression, particularly acts committed in the name of honour directed at women, homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons

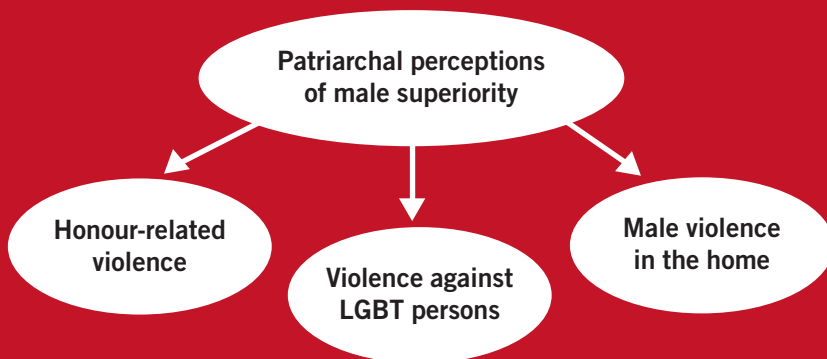


REGERINGSKANSLIET

Government Offices  
of Sweden

*“Before, I defined violence as blows, rape or sexual abuse. Now I see it as everything that violates my right to be treated as a human being.”*

*(Indian woman, active in an organisation for women’s rights, quoted in UNICEF’s book, ‘Breaking the Earthenware Jar’, 2000)*



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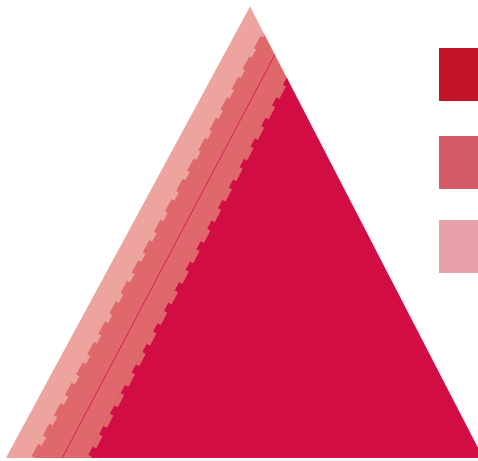
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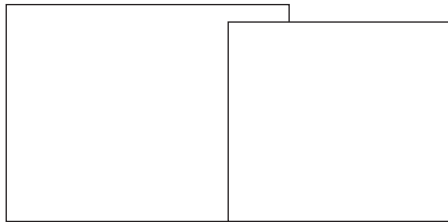
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-  Patriarchal violence and oppression against women
-  Violence and oppression in the name of honour
-  Violence and oppression against homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons (LGBT persons)



"Security" versus violence against women?

# Introduction

The background of the slide is a solid dark red color. A diagonal line, composed of several overlapping, semi-transparent bands of lighter red and pink, runs from the bottom-left towards the top-right. The word "Introduction" is written in a clean, white, sans-serif font in the upper-left quadrant of the slide.

*Patriarchal violence is defined in this study as the violence that is found throughout the world and that is rooted in the patriarchal power structures it defends.*

The following, commissioned by the Government, is a broad survey of measures to combat patriarchal violence and oppression, particularly acts committed in the name of honour and acts directed at women, homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons.

## 1.1 Summary

Patriarchal violence is defined in this study as by the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, namely as a collective term for the violence that is found throughout the world and that is rooted in the patriarchal power structures it defends. The study shows that while men are usually exposed to violence outside the family, women and girls are primarily the victims of violence *in the home and within the family*. This has not only made the violence invisible and placed victim groups at risk but also made it more difficult to provide protection against extensive, systematic violence and oppression.

The survey shows that a wide range of measures have been introduced at the international level over the past 10–15 years, the aim being to start breaking the silence over patriarchal violence and oppression. The UN World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 stressed that violence against women and girls, which had long been defined as a health concern, is in fact *a rights issue and must be treated from a rights perspective*. In Beijing, speakers emphasised the importance of addressing violence against women in *all* parts of the world, and throughout the female life cycle. Since then, however, funding allocations, conferences and resolutions have come to focus more closely on extreme forms of violence and oppression, such as genital mutilation, trafficking in women and children for sexual purposes, and crimes in the name of honour. Also, the taboo on discussing violence, threats and discrimination directed at homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons (LGBT persons) has begun to weaken. Thus, while extreme forms of violence and oppression against LGBT persons are now receiving wider attention,



less attention is being paid to the question of how perceptions of female subordination also generate less extreme forms of violence and oppression directed at women, including the everyday violence that is still afflicting women all over the world, regardless of their sexual identity, class or ethnic affiliation.

Internationally, Sweden has played a proactive role in multilateral efforts to combat patriarchal violence, both in the UN and in development cooperation contexts, by

- ▶ helping to strengthen the regulatory framework governing human rights (HR)
- ▶ taking a lead in emphasising the importance of broad-based efforts to promote gender equality as a means of addressing the underlying causes of violence
- ▶ taking a lead in emphasising the role of men in efforts to achieve gender equality
- ▶ taking a lead in emphasising the importance of women and adolescents having the right to their own bodies and to sexual and reproductive health and rights
- ▶ pressing for action against crimes committed in the name of honour and other forms of extreme violence and oppression, including genital mutilation.
- ▶ taking a lead in combating violence and oppression against homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons.

Nowadays, people are becoming increasingly aware of the widespread and systematic nature of the violence, and also of the underlying causes in the form of gender power, the gender order and current perceptions of the male role and masculinity. The statistics show that an estimated one woman in three has been exposed to violence at some point in life – and that in the past 10–15 years alone, the practice of aborting female foetuses together with the violence directed at women and girls claimed more victims than the two world wars and all other wars of the 20th century combined.

Hitherto, the growing attention paid to patriarchal violence has focused on strengthening regulations, action plans and guidelines in organisations and public authorities, both internationally and in Sweden. In addition, measures have been taken to assist the victims of the violence, primarily in the form of sheltered housing. Less has been done, however, to punish the

*Sweden has played a proactive role in multilateral efforts to combat patriarchal violence.*

*There are no signs that the violence is on the decline, either internationally or in Sweden.*

perpetrators, to influence and change structures that sustain the violence, and to address the violence and oppression in HR-related contexts. Also, there is still a considerable knowledge gap as regards the kind of action that is most effective in curbing the violence and oppression.

Nor are there any signs that the violence is on the decline, either internationally or in Sweden.

## 1.2 Background

The Swedish Government has long been working actively at both the national and international level to promote gender equality, to combat violence against women and to highlight the role of men in these connections. In recent years, growing importance has been attached to the problem of violence in the name of honour and violence against LGBT persons, and to the task of exposing the underlying causes.

In December 2004, Sweden hosted a major international conference on patriarchal violence against women, focusing on violence in the name of honour. It had a variety of aims, such as addressing the causes of the abuse directed at girls and women, highlighting both the obligations of states to take action and the important role of civil society, gathering together actors from different arenas for dialogue and exchanges of experience, disseminating information about the violence and its causes, and encouraging further commitment, e.g. in international processes and forums. The concluding report from the conference (Annexe 1) states that the causes of the violence include patriarchal structures and perceptions of female subordination and male superiority, which are to be found throughout the world but which vary greatly in their extent, depending on the degree of gender equality present in the society concerned. The final report thus emphasises that it is not just the open violence that needs to be combated but also oppression and underlying values, through broad-based efforts to promote gender equality and strengthen the rights of women and girls.

The conference also noted that issues relating to violence

against women have little priority on the global political agenda. The Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs promised the conference, however, that Sweden would work actively to break the silence on this issue and would consistently address and combat both violence against women and HR violations.

The present survey, which represents a follow-up to the conference in December 2004, is further evidence of Sweden's strong level of commitment in this area. At the same time, in accordance with the Government's directions, the study widens the focus to embrace patriarchal *oppression*, especially in the name of honour, and violence and oppression against *homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons (LGBT persons)*.

*The present survey is further evidence of Sweden's strong level of commitment in this area.*

### 1.3 Mission

On 14 April 2005, the Government commissioned the above survey, which aims to show by means of illustrative examples what action is being taken internationally on the issue, e.g. in various UN bodies, the EU, the Council of Europe, what civil society and individual governments are doing, and what is being done in Sweden. Mrs Gerd Johnsson-Latham, deputy director within the Swedish Government Offices, was assigned to carry out the survey. Conclusions and other normative statements in the text are the comments of author.

### 1.4 Presentation

The study covers the work that has been carried out both internationally and in Sweden, subdivided into five mutually synergic levels of action:

- Level 1:** Addressing and codifying the violence and oppression in conventions, laws and other key documents
- Level 2:** Clarifying the systematic nature, extent, manifestations and costs of patriarchal violence and oppression

*Patriarchy:  
Where power  
both in the home  
and in the public  
sphere lies with  
men. Male domi-  
nance, where the  
degree to which  
women are  
oppressed may  
vary.*

**Level 3:** Acknowledging and analysing the underlying causes of violence and oppression

**Level 4.** Developing institutional measures: funding, training, joint action, guidelines

**Level 5:** Operative measures in the form of victim protection, etc.

The study ends with conclusions and a description of possible priorities for future work in this field.

## 1.5 Method

As the study had to be completed within a relatively short period, there was no scope for in-depth analysis of the matters under discussion. Rather, the study gives a general picture of the situation, drawing on examples of government measures against the violence and oppression and the underlying causes of such violence. The survey has taken the form of a desktop study analysing prominent international and Swedish actors and reports. This review of documents and websites has been supplemented by meetings and discussions with a number of relevant actors in Stockholm, New York and Islamabad. (Reference literature both for individual chapters and for the survey as a whole is listed in Annexe 4.)

## 1.6 Key concepts and definitions

The study deals with a number of concepts, which (excepting intersectionality, hegemony and LGBT) *according to the Swedish National Encyclopaedia* may be defined as follows:

**Patriarchy:** Where power both in the home and in the public sphere lies with men. Male dominance, where the degree to which women are oppressed may vary. Social system in which

women are in a subordinate position to men.

**Gender power system:** Structures and processes in society on which men's domination over women is based.

**Gender:** the totality of ideas and actions that combine to create social gender identity in individuals. A cultural process that collectively attributes traditionally male/masculine or female/feminine qualities to individuals. Also used in queer theory, which to a greater extent emphasises gender as a diverse concept and in which heterosexuality is seen as the basis of the gender order.

**Power:** When A gets B to act in accordance with A's wishes, even if the act conflicts with B's own wishes and interests.

**Oppression:** Harsh measures imposed on (a certain group of) people for the purpose of keeping them in a state of powerlessness.

**Gender equality:** When women and men enjoy equal opportunities, rights and responsibilities in all significant areas of life. Actual and formal equality of the sexes. The principle of gender equality also embraces the right to be regarded first and foremost as a human being, not as a woman or a man.

**Discrimination:** Special treatment of individuals or groups that represents a departure from the justice principle: that all people shall be treated as equals.

**Integrity:** The right to have one's personal character and inner sphere respected. Closely linked to human dignity. In form, violations of personal integrity may be either physical or psychological.

**Honour:** Unwritten code of conduct that involves loss of face on someone's part if offended against, especially in groups where loyalty is considered paramount.

**Intersectionality:** Multiple discrimination where dimensions such as gender, class, ethnicity and age determine the status and power of the individual.

*Integrity: The right to have one's personal character and inner sphere respected. Closely linked to human dignity. Violations of personal integrity may be either physical or psychological.*

*The term 'male violence against women (and girls)' is used to emphasise that according to the WHO, out of 20 perpetrators 18 or 19 are men.*

**LGBT** persons (as defined by the Swedish Federation for Gay and Lesbian Rights): Homosexuality and bisexuality refer to sexual orientation. Transsexuality involves a cross-boundary ('crossover') gender identity. A transsexual (child/adult, woman/man) may be either homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual.

**Right:** Basic ethical and legal concept. Of fundamental importance is the distinction between conventional rights, which are rooted in social arrangements, and natural rights, which according to certain schools of thought exist independent of such arrangements.

**Systematics/systematic:** Occurring in accordance with a given system. Systematic as an adjective is used to describe a consistently performed act of some kind. *She was subjected to – beatings for several years.*

**Hegemony:** Derives from the Greek term hegemonia 'authority', 'commander', 'leadership', from *emenon*, 'leader', 'position of authority'. In a political context, it denotes the maintenance of social power structures not only through coercion but also through the compliance of the subordinate groups themselves, who accept and help to support these structures, e.g. by aspiring to power and privilege in the prevailing system.

In conclusion, we note that the literature reviewed for the purposes of the survey contains *such concepts as patriarchal violence, male violence against women (and girls), violence towards women, gender-based violence, and domestic violence – all of which refer to phenomena that differ slightly in character. The term patriarchal violence is used here as it is used by the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, I – to a greater or lesser extent – and that is rooted in the patriarchal power structures it defends.* In these connections, both women and men – as well as transgender persons, whatever their identity – may be either victim or perpetrator, or both. The term 'male violence against women (and girls)' is used to emphasise that *according to the WHO, out of 20 perpetrators 18 or 19 are men.* The term 'gender-based violence' is used if the purpose is to make clear that the picture is not entirely uniform, as an estimated 1–2 of the 20 perpetrators

are women. 'Violence against women' is used when the victims but not the perpetrators are referred to.

In the present survey, all the above terms are used at some point, depending on which reports and issues are being commented upon.





# Measures at various levels

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*The survey shows how the international silence on the violence issue has become less compact over the past 10 years.*

*Although the silence is no longer as compact as it used to be, there are still no reports of a decline in the level of violence and oppression.*

## 2. 1 Measures at Level 1: Addressing and codifying violence and oppression in conventions, laws, etc

In the international sphere, measures for dealing with patriarchal violence and oppression, particularly violence and oppression in the name of honour, directed at women and at homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons (LGBT persons), have to a great extent focused on the development of *regulatory frameworks*. These have taken the form of conventions, declarations, resolutions and action plans, in the UN, the EU and the Council of Europe, etc. In this endeavour, governments have been key actors, deciding through negotiations how far-reaching or limited the various agreements were to be.

Similarly, at the national level, legislation and action plans have provided the regulatory framework for combating the violence.

Government positions have often evolved in dialogue with civil society and the research community. Via campaigns and reports, these actors have frequently been instrumental in persuading governments to introduce stronger regulatory measures to deal with the violence.

The survey shows how the international silence on the violence issue has become less compact over the past 10 years. In pursuit of this, Sweden and other countries have worked actively in the UN, the EU, the Council of Europe and development cooperation frameworks, etc, when dealing with HR issues. Sweden has also been particularly active in emphasising the importance of broad-based measures to promote gender equality, of measures to combat violence, of the responsibility of men in this connection, and of the need to discuss the concept of masculinity as it relates to violence. However, although the silence is no longer as compact as it used to be, and despite growing awareness of the wide extent of violent behaviour and its causes, there are still no reports of a decline in the level of violence and oppression.

### **2.1.1 Patriarchal violence: from a health issue to a rights issue**

The reports on which the survey is based show that patriarchal violence and oppression, including violence against women, are global problems that for generations have been concealed in the bosoms of families, hushed up, enveloped in feelings of shame and characterised by an unwillingness to single out the perpetrators for fear of reprisal. The stigma attached to violence against women and girls is comparable to that surrounding HIV/Aids. As a result of this, the international community was unable to agree on its inclusion on the agenda when negotiating CEDAW, the *UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, which entered into force in 1981.

References to the violence were also absent from the basic UN convention on civil and political rights adopted by the UN in 1966, at a time when the extent of domestic violence and its systematic nature were not as widely known (or acknowledged) as they are today.

Instead, violence against women was treated mainly as a health issue, e.g. by the *World Health Organisation (WHO)* and the *World Bank*. In 1997 and 2002, the WHO published major reports on violence against women and girls, revealing extensive injuries such as broken bones, burns, visual disorders and mental ill-health, etc, resulting from what the agency termed 'violence in the home'. The WHO provides regular reports on the subject, and presented its latest studies in the spring of 2005.

*The UN convention on women, CEDAW, was drawn up when it became clear that the 'gender-neutral' HR conventions had failed to note how gender discrimination made women particularly vulnerable in a number of respects.* As CEDAW makes no specific mention of violence against women, a general recommendation by the committee monitoring compliance with the convention was added to it in 1992. This recommendation (No. 19, which is not legally binding) states that gender-based violence is also to be regarded as discrimination under the convention and is therefore prohibited, *regardless of whether the violence is practised by private individuals or by public authorities.* This is taken to mean that the prohibition covers domestic violence as well.

The final report from the UN World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993 and the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, attached to the UN

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*The 1994 Vienna document defined violence against women as serious violations that curtail or completely invalidate women's human rights.*

High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), represented a breakthrough for this issue at the international level. The Vienna document defined violence against women as serious violations that *curtail or completely invalidate women's human rights*.

In 1993, the General Assembly adopted the *United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*. It 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”.

The document goes on to state that violence against women represents a violation of their human rights and urges member states to combat the violence by exercising due diligence to prevent, investigate and punish such offences and to develop the necessary sanctions. States are also urged to support victims and to make available *adequate resources* for activities related to the elimination of violence against women.

The adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child by the General Assembly in 1989 lent greater weight to the children's perspective. This accord has been ratified by more states than any other, despite originally being thought controversial due to its emphasis on children having rights of their own. The convention establishes standards for children's health, education, social security, play and leisure time, and acknowledges their right to an adequate standard of living. Article 19 outlines children's right to protection, and enjoins the signatory states to “take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse”. Sweden for its part further reinforced the children's perspective via a Government Communication to the Riksdag, Skr 2001/02:186.

The Platform for Action from the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 built on the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, stating that violence throughout the female life cycle today includes such practices as the murder of baby girls, sexual abuse, genital mutilation, marital rape, marital violence and violence against wid-

ows and old women. The Beijing document also notes that many women are even more vulnerable in that they are subjected to double or triple discrimination due to such factors as class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and disability, etc – in other words, what is now termed intersectionality. The Platform for Action also states that violence against women reflects both a lack of gender equality in society and perceptions of women as inferior to men.

*The statutes of the International Criminal Court, ICC, state that rape and sexual violence may constitute war crimes during armed conflicts and peacetime acts of genocide. UNIFEM, Amnesty and other actors in civil society interpret this to mean that domestic violence – due to its widespread nature and systematic application – may be viewed as a violation of human rights. However, Sweden and the rest of the EU view violence against women as a factor that inhibits women's enjoyment of their human rights.*

The document from the follow-up to the UN's World Conference on Women in Beijing in 2000 (Beijing +10), adopted in New York, notes that all states are required to exercise due diligence and do their utmost, via legislation and other measures, to prevent and punish violence against women when this constitutes a criminal act. The document also makes clear the responsibility of states to aid the victims. *Failure to exercise this responsibility ('erga omnes')* may result in states being judged guilty of a breach of human rights.

International law has also made advances in this respect as the result of a verdict delivered in the Latin American equivalent of the European Court of Human Rights, the *Inter-American Court of Human Rights*. There, in July 1988, Honduras was found guilty of failing to protect a woman from HR violations when she was subjected to systematic violence by her husband. UNIFEM and others regard this case as having set an international precedent and as acknowledgement that systematic violence against women represents a breach of human rights.

Awareness of violence against women was also heightened by the adoption of *Security Council Resolution 1325* in 2000. The need for action against such violence is strongly supported by a number of countries in the South, as illustrated by the fact that it was Namibia and Bangladesh who brought the matter before

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*The international regulations governing what are termed 'human rights' only address rights that states feel they can guarantee and criminal acts committed by the state, never by private individuals.*

the Security Council. These countries emphasised the role of women as actors at all stages of conflict management, and not just as victims and passive objects requiring the care and attention of men.

*The European Convention* for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, from 1950, is the only convention that has been fully incorporated into Swedish legislation. Thus Swedish law, like the convention, enshrines everyone's right to life, the prohibition of torture and slavery, the right to freedom and security, and the prohibition of discrimination (Section 1, Articles 2, 3, 4, 5 and 14).

On a number of occasions, the UN General Assembly has adopted resolutions calling for the elimination of domestic violence against women. These resolutions define the violence as a social problem and as a reflection of the unequal power relations between women and men. The resolution adopted in 2004 urges states to criminalise such violence and to strengthen the empowerment of women and improve their economic position by giving them the right to both land and ownership and the right of inheritance, etc. It also emphasises the need for development assistance in combating the violence.

In the EU, the tendency is for issues relating to violence against women only to be discussed if and when the country occupying the presidency is prepared to raise them. Thus the EU member states are sometimes in a position to take collective action against the violence directed at women and girls, as for instance when considering a Danish initiative to develop common indicators as a means of drawing attention to the violence. However, it is up to the individual states to formulate their own national legislation and social action in this respect, and their positions on the issue tend to vary considerably. As a result, the EU members have effectively limited the competence and resources of the European Commission in this sphere.

The international regulations governing what are termed 'human rights' only address rights that states feel they can guarantee and criminal acts committed by *the state*, never by private individuals. These 'rights' have been defined in inter-state negotiations at the UN, and are narrower than the 'rights' conferred by natural law, as defined for instance by the Swedish National Encyclopaedia. Gender-neutral human rights presuppose the

presence of a legal system that is conscious at every level of how perceptions of male superiority and female inferiority can colour judgements concerning the actions of victims and perpetrators in connection with inter alia sexual offences, which often has a decisive effect on the outcome of such cases.

Of all the agreements listed above – UN conventions, UN declarations, action plans and platforms from the UN’s world conferences, resolutions and recommendations from the CEDAW committee – only the conventions are legally binding. It is worth noting that the other texts are more explicit than the conventions in stating that domestic violence *may* be regarded as a violation of human rights. Their existence gives legal experts a certain amount of ‘leeway’ in interpreting the obligations of states in the HR field, particularly in view of the fact that *a state may be judged a perpetrator when failing to intervene against what may be defined as systematic violence.*

In the UN’s *operational activities* (for development), the term commonly used is ‘gender-based violence’. This identifies neither victim nor perpetrator but suggests that gender inequality is the cause of the violence. The term ‘violence against women’ appears frequently – but seldom ‘male violence against women’ or ‘patriarchal violence’. UNIFEM, UNICEF and other UN actors, however, have published comprehensive reports on violence and oppression directed at women and on the causes of the violence, and these often label the perpetrators and use the term patriarchal violence. This insight has helped bring about a greater awareness both of the extent and systematic nature of the violence and of the links to oppression and patriarchal power structures. This in turn has led to calls from civil society, including Oxfam, for tougher HR instruments to protect women more effectively in what is often described as a woman’s most dangerous (work)place – her own home.

Greater awareness of the situation has also led UN funds, programmes and specialised agencies to formulate guidelines and action plans dealing with violence against women and/or gender-based violence.

One problem with the UN’s operational activities is that they are very limited, fragmented and poorly coordinated, and that too little attention is devoted to the perpetrators and the underlying structures that sustain and legitimise the violence.

*It is worth noting that other texts are more explicit than the conventions in stating that domestic violence may be regarded as a violation of human rights.*

*A crucial instrument in government efforts to combat the violence is Sweden's gender equality policy, which stipulates that women and men are to enjoy the same opportunities, rights and responsibilities in all significant areas of life.*

*At the national level in Sweden*, the Government cites *gender power structures as a cause of male violence against women*. Thus in a speech in 2005 to the UN Commission on the Status of Women, the Swedish Minister for Gender Equality Affairs, Jens Orback, stated that implementation of the agenda from Beijing 1995 could only be achieved if states perceived and acknowledged existing gender power structures.

In Sweden in 1998, the Act on Violence against Women was passed, introducing a new offence into the Penal Code. It covered both repeated violations punishable by law and directed at a woman close to the offender (gross violation of a woman's integrity) and similar acts involving children or others close to the offender (gross violation of integrity). When deciding what penalties to impose, courts must take special account of *the frequency or systematic nature* of such acts. The penalty is imprisonment for at least six months and at most six years.

A crucial instrument in government efforts to combat the violence is Sweden's gender equality policy, which stipulates that women and men are to enjoy the same opportunities, rights and responsibilities in all significant areas of life.

The national action plan for human rights (2005) describes in detail what measures are to be taken at the national level to strengthen respect for human rights in Sweden.

The Government's integration policy objectives, as set out in the relevant bill, 1997/98:16, emphasise that the statutory opportunities, rights and responsibilities apply to *all citizens*, and that the policy focus should be on upholding fundamental democratic values and promoting the equal rights and opportunities of both women and men.

In the international sphere, Sweden has done much, especially in the UN, to strengthen the international regulations governing violence against women. One example is the adoption of the key paragraph in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (para 9), which establishes the principle that no state may disregard the human rights of any individual by referring to traditional customs or practices. The wording was approved after tough negotiations during which states such as the Vatican, Iran, Sudan, Guatemala and Malta long advocated the right of individual countries to claim precedence for customs, practices and religion over human rights. If the approach advocated by the



EU, the countries of southern Africa and others had not carried the day, the Beijing platform's tough wording on right of inheritance, sexual and reproductive health, abortion, and girl's rights, etc, would have been undermined by a paragraph turning the entire plan into a 'menu' from which states could pick and choose. Had this happened, the Beijing platform would never have become the key document it represents today, despite the fact that it contains tough wording on matters such as sexual and reproductive rights and the right to land.

In the UN, Sweden has been *actively involved in HR-activities*, primarily in the General Assembly and in the OHCHR. By adopting resolutions focusing on individual countries and important thematic concerns, the General Assembly and the High Commissioner can address the situation in countries where the HR situation is at its worst. Such resolutions also provide an opportunity for introducing special human rights mechanisms, including special rapporteurs appointed to monitor developments in a particular country or to keep track of a particular issue.

The final document from the UN's 2005 World Summit in New York on 14–16 September (paras 157-60) contains a decision-in-principle to create a Human Rights Council in order to strengthen the United Nations' HR machinery. It also urged that the mandate, tasks and size, etc, of such a council be completed as soon as possible.

*The Swedish Government's HR work* is based on a written communication to the Riksdag, Human Rights in Swedish Foreign Policy (2003/04:20), known simply as the Human Rights Communication. The document outlines the Government's ambitions concerning the equal rights of women and girls, with particular reference to the enjoyment of human rights.

The efforts of the UN Special Rapporteurs (both those monitoring countries and those monitoring themes), including the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, are actively supported by Sweden, and are referred to in Swedish speeches and Sweden's work with resolutions in both the General Assembly and the OHCHR. Sweden also takes an active part in the negotiations on General Assembly and OHCHR resolutions concerning measures to eliminate all forms of violence against

*Sweden attaches high priority to the task of combating human trafficking, particularly the trade in women and girls as well as sexual and reproductive health and rights.*

women and girls. In addition, among other activities, it seeks both to bring honour-related violence onto the UN agenda and the agendas of other international forums, and to persuade states to combat such violence wherever it arises.

Sweden attaches high priority to the task of combating human trafficking, particularly the trade in women and girls, and calls attention to the fact that states are under obligation to take whatever action may be required to prevent such practices – and also that a state’s failure to act in this respect represents an HR violation.

Sweden works actively to bring to an end traditional practices that represent a threat to the lives and health of women and girls, including genital mutilation. Sweden also attaches high priority to issues relating to women’s sexual and reproductive health and rights, including their right to make their own decisions concerning their sexuality and childbearing – issues that have been decisive in strengthening the position of women and combating violence against women in Sweden.

Furthermore, Sweden has actively sought the introduction of measures to combat honour-related violence, e.g. via the UN resolution on this matter. Sweden also arranged a meeting of experts on the subject of honour-related violence in the autumn of 2003, and in 2004 organised an international conference attended by some 200 delegates. This conference resulted in a five-point call for action from the chair (see Annexe 1). In addition, Sweden has been active in the HR sphere in the UN by bringing violence against LGBT persons onto the agenda – for instance in a study focusing on children (under 18) – and has also addressed this issue when individual country reports have been dealt with by the UN’s HR committee.

The overall assessment of Sweden’s actions with respect to patriarchal violence should take into account the commitments that Sweden has agreed to under the UN and Council of Europe conventions. These emphasise the duty of states to *exercise due diligence and make every possible effort*, by legislative and other means, to prevent and punish criminal acts and to aid the victims. They also note that failure on the part of the state to comply with the above may mean that it is guilty of a breach of human rights. Besides these legal obligations, there is reason to assess the actions of states in relation to their national commit-

ments, especially in the areas of gender equality, integration and anti-discrimination. This is given due attention in the Government's own survey of the HR situation in Sweden in 2005, which provides a basis for the Swedish national action plan in the HR field. It shows that international organisations have on a number of occasions expressed regret at the fact that international HR conventions – with the exception of the European convention in this field – are *not* directly applicable in the eyes of Swedish law courts and administrative authorities.

***Important sections of the research community and civil society in the West, East and South alike*** have long been pressing for stronger regulations against patriarchal violence and oppression, often focusing on the violence of men (and boys) against women and girls. Many of the leading actors in civil society are well established in bodies such as the UN, where they enjoy *ECOSOC status*, giving them the right to attend and speak at UN sessions that are open to non-governmental actors.

Several women's organisations and networks, involving lawyers, political and labour actors and others, have been working for decades to persuade individual states and the international community to address the issue of male violence against women and girls in a more committed way, not least by means of stronger regulation. Some organisations have focused on violence in connection with armed conflicts, among them the Swedish foundation Kvinna till Kvinna (Woman to Woman), which has both worked actively in the field and published a series of nationally and internationally acclaimed manuals in order to deal more effectively with the violence, to aid the victims – and to bring the issue of violence against women onto the overall security policy agenda.

Religious communities and human rights organisations, too, have emphasised the need to introduce clearer provisions against the violence directed at women and girls. The Lutheran World Federation, for instance, focused on violence against women during the ecumenical decade 1988–98. The Church of Sweden followed this up with an initiative of its own, a publication entitled 'Why the Church says NO to Violence against Women' (2002). Noting that religion is often used as a means of oppressing women, it argues that religion can also have the opposite effect by showing that violence divests both victims

*Several women's organisations and networks, lawyers, political and labour actors and others, have been working for decades to persuade individual states and the international community to address the issue of male violence against women and girls in a more committed way.*

*A number of Muslim groups, in Turkey and elsewhere, have taken firm steps to deal with the violence, and many Muslims as well as groups in the Catholic Church are now calling for action against patriarchal violence, including honour-related violence.*

and perpetrators of their human dignity and by stressing the importance of addressing not only the violence and oppression but also the factors that contribute to them.

A number of Muslim groups, in Turkey and elsewhere, have taken firm steps to deal with the violence, and many Muslims as well as groups in the Catholic Church are now calling for action against patriarchal violence, including honour-related violence. The same is true of the Syrian-Orthodox Church in Sweden (St Jacob's in Södertälje), which in dialogue with Save the Children Sweden has acknowledged that honour-related violence is to be found amongst its members. It has also noted that even if families may cast out their members, the church can never do so.

Interpretations of the role of religion as a rule-setting institution are discussed in various publications, including 'A Woman's Place: Religious Women as Public Actors', from the World Conference on Religion and Peace/Women's Program. This publication notes how the views and opinions of female believers in religious communities throughout the world are being suppressed and obscured, especially *where only men have the right to interpret the texts*. It shows how men's interpretative privilege legitimises perceptions of female inferiority and thus provides greater scope for fundamentalist, women-hating elements – thereby also encouraging open violence against women.

In recent years, the Male Network in Sweden has begun actively opposing violence against women as has the Fryshuset youth centre in Stockholm, primarily through its 'Electra' and 'Sharaf's Heroes' projects. These groupings have also presented *alternatives to violent masculinity* in a way that has not been seen since the 19th and early 20th centuries, when men like John Stuart Mill alerted public opinion to the problem of male violence against women. Today, the White Ribbon campaign centring on North America and the Swedish Male Network opposing male violence against women are examples of wide-ranging, groundbreaking movements that are actively helping to make the point that not all men accept such practices. Also, a number of crisis centres are performing an important task in treating violent men.

In recent years, numerous international, regional, national and local organisations have been set up to address the problem

of *violence in the name of honour*. Among them are the French organisation Ni Putes Ni Soumis (Neither Whores Nor Submissives), which acquired a Swedish sister organisation, Varken horor eller kuvade, in October 2005. Other organisations include KA MER in Turkey and the Women's Network and Terrafem in Sweden. The problem for these groups – besides a lack of funds – is that only a few have access to the UN in the form of ECOSOC status. Today, the girls and young women who represent the victims of violence and oppression in the name of honour would seem to be the group most in need of greater support, so that their voices may be heard and their problems dealt with in international regulations, surveys and studies.

*Heterosexual men who are the victims of male and/or female violence appear to be another group without adequate exposure in the debate.*

A number of organisations are active in the LGBT sphere:

ASTREA	(Lesbian Foundation for Justice)
IGLHRC	(International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission)
IHLIA	(International Homo/Lesbisch Informatiecentrum en Archief)
GALA	(Gay and Lesbian Archives of South Africa)
ILGA	(International Lesbian and Gay Association)
IGLYO	(International Lesbian and Gay Youth Organisation)
Noah's Ark	Red Cross Foundation (Sweden)
RFSL	The Swedish Federation for Gay and Lesbian Rights

These organisations operate at the international, regional and/or national level. As in the case of organisations active in the fight against honour-related violence, LGBT organisations are often poorly represented in the UN.

### **2.1.1 Violence in the name of honour**

Violence in the name of honour has been defined as one dimension of patriarchal violence by, among others, Ms Radhika Coomaraswamy, the former UN Special Rapporteur on

*The problem for many groups – besides a lack of funds – is that only a few have access to the UN in the form of ECOSOC status.*

*The home and the family is a dangerous place where violence against women and girls is rife, given the male perception that the females of the family were inferior to the men and boys.*

Violence against Women. In her report 'Cultural Practices within the Family that are Violent towards Women' from 2002, she describes the home and the family as a dangerous place where violence against women and girls was rife, based on the male perception that the females of the family were inferior to the men and boys.

Coomoraswamy stated that a distinctive feature of this violence is not its physical manifestations but the fact that it is encouraged by the collective as part of a structural and institutionalised oppression and represents a means of exercising control over individuals, primarily women and girls, in societies where honour is equated with control over women's sexuality.

Coomoraswamy's report and other UN documents note further that besides women, girls and LGBT persons, heterosexual boys and men may also be victims of honour-related violence. This takes a different form, however, as men's lives are not controlled and circumscribed in the same way as the lives of women and girls. Boys and men, though, may be forced into marriage, which is particularly distressing for homosexual men, although not to the same extent as for girls and women (both heterosexual and LGBT), who unlike men are often subjected to marital rape, often by an older man. Boys are also oppressed in that they are allotted the role of guardians of sisters and female cousins – and are coerced into carrying out executions on behalf of the family as unlike their older relatives they are too young to be punished.

Mothers, too, often play a very active part by demanding that their daughters *accept the chastity, obedience and subjugation forced upon them themselves when they were young, often in exchange for their upkeep.*

*Young girls, however, are the principal victims, both in number and in the level of violence and oppression to which they are exposed. As the Swedish psychologist Vidar Wetterfalk once put it, their bodies are literally caught in the firing line between modernity, where also women have human rights, and the sharply contrasting old patriarchal values.*

*Violence in the name of honour has been a matter for the UN since 2002 as the result of a periodic General Assembly resolution. The text makes reference to the UN's Universal Declaration of*

Human Rights and the duty of states to protect these rights, including *the right to life, freedom and security*. It also emphasises the need to treat all violence against women and girls, including honour-related violence, as a criminal offence, and stresses the importance of addressing the basic causes of this violence. The resolution further underlines the importance of promoting women's empowerment in order to combat such offences. It urges states to take the necessary steps to stop crimes of this nature, to raise awareness about the responsibility of men to promote gender equality, and to bring about changes in attitude so as to eliminate the gender stereotyping that underpins perceptions of female inferiority.

In his 2002 report on the subject of honour-related violence against women, *UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan* called on all member states to *criminalise* such offences and to *punish* the perpetrators. The Secretary-General emphasised that it was incumbent on member states to take all necessary steps to prevent violence in the name of honour, to earmark resources for the purpose and to train judges and others with a view to countering the violence. He also noted the importance of information campaigns, broad-based training and education, dialogue with religious leaders and support for civil society.

In 2005, the UN's Commission on Human Rights decided to launch a study on violence against children, and stated explicitly that the questions it addressed would include both violence committed in the name of honour and violence against LGBT persons.

In a resolution brought before the European Parliament in June 2005, MPs expressed their dismay at the extent of violence committed in the name of honour, and urged both the parliament and its member states to move firmly against such acts. The European Parliament has urged states to involve immigrant organisations and religious communities in the work being undertaken in this connection, in order to reach not only the victims but also the perpetrators.

In Sweden, honour-related violence is not the subject of separate legislation but falls under the Penal Code. It is, however, dealt with in a significant number of official guidelines to various government agencies.

In the Swedish development cooperation field, no projects or

*Young girls are with their bodies, literally caught in the firing line between modernity, where also women have human rights, and the sharply contrasting old patriarchal values.*

*Insofar as LGBT aspects are discussed in connection with the UN's operational activities, it is almost always with reference to homosexual men and the fight against HIV/Aids.*

programmes specifically target violence in the name of honour. A number of initiatives have been taken, however, to combat other kinds of extreme violence and oppression directed at women and girls, in the form of female genital mutilation. This may be compared to the huge resources – around SEK 250 million – earmarked in Sweden's development cooperation programme for action against human trafficking, particularly trafficking for sexual purposes.

### **2.1.3 Violence against homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons (LGBT persons)**

The term LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) is still relatively unknown in the UN, except in HR circles, where the issue has been discussed for several years. When Swedish cabinet minister Mona Sahlin referred to LGBT in Sweden's speech to the UN General Assembly marking Cairo +10 in the autumn of 2004, it was one of the first times the term had been used in that forum.

Insofar as LGBT aspects are discussed in connection with the UN's operational activities, it is almost always with reference to homosexual men and the fight against HIV/Aids. UNICEF is now helping to break the silence on this matter by addressing children's sexuality and identities, including LGBT issues, in a global study of schoolchildren. Brazil has also been trying for several years to push through a resolution in the UNCHR against discrimination aimed at LGBT persons, but has been unsuccessful, due to reluctance in many quarters to have the matter mentioned at all.

Thus while the LGBT issue has been addressed in HR contexts, not least through the efforts of Sweden, the EU and Brazil, it has hitherto largely been neglected in the development cooperation sphere, as is apparent from the 2005 study by Sida, 'LGBTI issues in the world: A Study on Swedish policy and administration of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Transgender and Intersex issues in international development cooperation'.

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Generally speaking, as pointed out by Yakin Erturk, in her report to the UN General Assembly in 2003 as the UN's



Special Rapporteur on Violence, violence against women is universal, multifaceted and linked to intersectionality and multiple discrimination, and also has dimensions such as class, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation.

As Erturk notes, the past decade was spent establishing norms, standards and instruments – while work in the coming decade should focus on designing and applying innovative strategies for dealing with the violence. Part of this work, as Erturk makes clear in her annual report to the UNCHR, should involve countering the attacks on women’s rights that are coming from many directions in the form of opposition to their sexual and reproductive rights. Erturk also warns that there is a tendency today to turn a blind eye to the way violence and oppression is viewed by certain groups, on the grounds that as the West is also experiencing the problem it is not in a position to grade patriarchal structures or condemn patriarchies in the South. She *also warns that the focus on ethnic discrimination often obscures the fact that gender-based discrimination and oppression of women is present among minorities.*

*This type of discrimination has, incidentally, been addressed in the Swedish research community. Hans-Ingvar Roth describes it as ‘intragroup discrimination’, a type of discrimination within a group, such as a family, that tends to be obscured or overshadowed by the discrimination practised by a majority against a minority.*

Erturk notes how, for instance in numerous UN negotiations, fundamentalist elements have taken advantage of what some people might describe as tolerance of ‘cultural differences’ to gain acceptance for intolerant positions that drastically curtail women’s rights.

Sweden deems it important to bear in mind that attitudes to gender equality, oppression and violence tend to differ around the world – although there are also a number of common patriarchal patterns. These differences are due to such factors as the gains that have been achieved concerning women’s rights, not least in Sweden, as a result of diligent efforts on the part of women’s organisations and activists, often in confrontation with powerful patriarchal forces. These gains have given women the right to abortion and birth control, access to education and

*Erturk also warns that the focus on ethnic discrimination often obscures the fact that gender-based discrimination and oppression of women is present among minorities.*

*It is difficult to differentiate between violence against (heterosexual) women, violence in the name of honour, other extreme forms of patriarchal violence and the violence to which LGBT persons of both sexes are exposed.*

training regardless of gender, financial independence, equal right of inheritance, and other advantages. Women's organisations around the world are pressing for similar reforms, even in regions like Iraq and Afghanistan where fundamentalism is strong and its champions have been strengthened by ongoing armed conflicts and foreign intervention.

## 2.2. Measures at Level II: Clarifying the systematics, extent, manifestations and costs of patriarchal violence and oppression

### 2.2.1 The violence statistics<sup>1</sup>

There are a large number of unreported cases of violence directed at women and LGBT persons, including violence committed in the name of honour, which is often under-reported by the victims and inadequately recorded by the police and other authorities.

It is also difficult to estimate and differentiate between violence against (heterosexual) women, violence in the name of honour, other extreme forms of patriarchal violence and the violence to which LGBT persons of both sexes are exposed. The violence statistics, therefore, should be seen as estimates rather than exact figures. With these reservations, data is provided in the present survey showing how the violence is prevalent, systematic and widespread.

UNICEF describes violence against women as a global pandemic, while the World Bank report 'Women and Violence' (Davies 2000) estimated that it claimed the lives of 3.5 million women and girls a year.

The WHO (World Health Organisation) estimates that about 1/3 of all women and girls in the world have been exposed to rape or to physical violence of some other kind at least once during their lifetimes. Much of the violence – about

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<sup>1</sup> See reference literature. Most of this section is based on the WHO report 2002.

2/3 – is directed at girls under 15 years of age, and in the US a study shows that fully 1/3 of the violence that occurs is directed at girls under 10. Threats of violence and oppression also occur, to an extent that is difficult to define, to establish and to verify.

The WHO estimated in a study in 2002 that men perpetrate 90–95% of all violent acts, whether in war or peacetime. Among the victims of male violence, three in four are men, while among perpetrators the proportion is even greater – 18–19 out of 20.

The WHO notes that in the year 2000, some 830,000 violent deaths were reported. Most of the victims – 520,000 – were not victims of war but of violence in peacetime. According to the WHO, there are considerable gaps in the record due to the fact that many cases reported as ‘accidents’ are believed to have been murders, and both the practice of aborting female foetuses and the murder of newborn baby girls go unrecorded.

In 1997, the WHO proclaimed violence against women a priority health issue. It estimated that 69 per cent of women worldwide had been beaten and that about half of all the murders of women had been committed by their own partners. Injuries, deaths, pain, depression and suicide were also part of the picture. The WHO noted that women, too, were sometimes the perpetrators, both in heterosexual and same-sex relationships.

*The WHO stated further that women were particularly at risk in countries where little progress had been made towards gender equality, where it was widely accepted that men had control over women's freedom of movement, their bodies and their chastity, and where few – if any – sanctions were imposed on men who behaved violently towards women.* By way of example, the WHO cites the case of Calcutta, where one woman in five is exposed to such severe injuries at the hands of men that they suffer broken bones, burns, visual disorders and severe internal haemorrhaging. The WHO also singles out refugee women and girls, migrant women and the disabled as particularly vulnerable groups exposed to degrading treatment or the threat of it.

Systematic violence and the gross abuse of women in armed conflict has increasingly been highlighted, e.g. in Resolution 1325 adopted by the UN Security Council in 2000. A UNIFEM report on this issue in 2003 shows that armed conflict seldom leads to freedom or a lower level of violence directed at women,

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*Global estimates of 'missing' women and girls suggest that the number of female victims of violence and murder over a decade would exceed the total number of deaths in the first and second world wars combined – without making any greater media impact.*

not least because *women, even when they are members of armed units, often remain unarmed and are subjected to gross acts of violence and sexual abuse, by their own side as well.*

The WHO has found that not only open violence but also the threat of violence creates ill-health among women and girls in the form of depressions, anxiety and the like.

Amartya Sen, the 1998 Nobel Laureate for Economics, has observed in his book “Development as Freedom” that *violence against women is now leaving its mark in demographic surveys which show that 100 million women and girls are 'missing' across the globe as a result of the abortion of female fetuses and the murder of newborn baby girls (who are strangled, left out to starve, etc).* The WHO has published a survey displaying a similar pattern. It shows that recorded births in China in 1994 numbered 100 girls for every 117 boys, while in Bihar in India in 1991 there were only 820 girls in the 0–6 age group for every 1,000 boys. Today, this significant female deficit has created an opening for Chinese gangs who raid neighbouring countries in South-East Asia and carry off girls and young women in order to sell them on the marriage market or as prostitutes in China.

*Global estimates of 'missing' women and girls suggest that the number of female victims of violence and murder over a decade would exceed the total number of deaths in the first and second world wars combined – without making any greater media impact.*

The WHO estimates that some 2 million girls a year are subjected to genital mutilation, including the very extensive pharaonic type of circumcision, and that about half a million women and teenage girls a year die in connection with (often unwanted) pregnancies. Many of the victims are teenage girls who were rape victims or who were married off at an early age, often to much older men, and denied access to contraception. In the case of teenage girls – and, globally, of all women of fertile age – pregnancy is the principal cause of death. For poor women in the South, says the WHO, every pregnancy is potentially lethal. In addition, millions of girls and women die of HIV/Aids after being infected by husbands who have had extra-marital relations.

One national study in Sweden, entitled ‘*Slagen dam*’

(‘Battered Lady’), showed that 46 per cent of all women had experienced violence or the threat of violence. Thus the study was based on how the women themselves viewed the experience. The violence defined in this particular study includes shoving and being held fast, forms that might reasonably be described as milder than the violence recorded in most other countries. Thus the report may give an exaggerated picture of the level of violence in Sweden. It identifies such violence as a social problem of the utmost importance, however, where the visible part is simply the tip of an iceberg of threats, fear and violations of integrity, and of the subjugation of girls and women.

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) notes that over the past ten years, murders of women in Sweden averaged 20 per annum. According to Statistics Sweden, the number of reported assaults on women in Sweden in 2003 was 22,400, which represents an increase of 32 per cent on the years 1990–2003.

The same source estimates that in 2004 there were more men than women among the victims of violence, but that women were more exposed to *threats*. In the majority of cases of violence and threats against women, the victim was a single mother and the perpetrator a former partner. According to Statistics Sweden, the number of known threats or acts of violence is around a quarter of a million, in a country of 9 million people. As several such acts are probably attributable to one and the same perpetrator, the ratio of violent persons would appear to be one in 20 at the most – or about 5 per cent of all Swedish men. Based on this rough estimate, the number of victims would appear to be about as large, i.e. approximately 5 per cent of the population. There are other estimates, however, including the ones published by Amnesty in 2004 and Stockholm University’s report to the EU (Balkmar 2005, based partly on ‘Battered Lady’), which put the number of threats and acts of violence in Sweden in 2003 at 1.3 million. Such a figure would suggest that Sweden is roughly at the global average, with one woman in three being exposed to violence at some point during her lifetime.

The difficulty of calculating the number of victims of violence is confirmed by the UNICEF report ‘Breaking the

*In the majority of cases of violence and threats against women, the victim was a single mother and the perpetrator a former partner.*

*The acts are committed, often without witnesses – or in the presence of witnesses who are dependent on the perpetrators and therefore seldom dare report or confirm what they have seen.*

Earthenware Jar', for instance. Studies of violence against women in Bangladesh, India and Nepal showed variations in the incidence rates between surveys of as much as 20–40% and 65–80%.

A clear pattern in both Swedish and international studies (BRÅ, WHO) of violent behaviour is that men are largely exposed to violence from unknown men outside the home and outdoors, and often in the presence of witnesses. *In the case of most women and girls, however, the acts are committed by people they know, often a male partner or close relative, in their own homes, often without witnesses – or in the presence of witnesses who are dependent on the perpetrators and therefore seldom dare report or confirm what they have seen.*

The WHO maintains that being assaulted by one's partners is more traumatising than being assaulted by someone unknown, and leaves a deeper emotional scar. Living with violence has been equated with torture, where the perpetrator switches back and forth between violent behaviour and solicitude and where the violence eventually becomes a part of everyday life. The violence can also result in post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As noted by the WHO, it is the victims of male violence who bear the shame – not the perpetrators.

Male violence also has an adverse effect on children's health and happiness, as children develop behavioural disorders, sleep problems, eating problems, deep anxiety, depressions and feelings of shame and guilt.

Over and above the reports referred to above on violence and oppression, there are a large number of studies and websites, etc. These are so numerous that they cannot be properly dealt with in this preliminary study. They frequently contain comprehensive surveys of the extent and causes of the violence, often as an argument for taking more active steps to deal with it. One example worth mentioning is a highly detailed description and analysis published by the British aid organisation Oxfam, entitled 'Ending Violence Against Women' (2005). Also in the above category are facts and figures published as part of Amnesty International Sweden's campaign in 2004–2005 highlighting violence against women in Sweden, which in turn was a part of a wider Amnesty International campaign on this issue. The Swedish report caused a stir both in Sweden and abroad, where

it was reported for instance in the International Herald Tribune, and led to calls for more active counter-measures, particularly at the municipal level.

*The actual extent to which acts of violence and oppression are honour-related* is still not known as such violence is seldom reported or recorded as such. Also, many deaths in this category are registered as accidents or suicides, which leaves a significant credibility gap in the records.

In Sweden, too, the extent of such violence is a matter for discussion. The responsible officers at the National Criminal Investigation Department (Århe-Älgamo) estimate that 2–3 girls a year are murdered in the name of honour, while many more suffer other kinds of violence, threats or oppression. Sweden's county administrative boards estimated in 2004 that 1,500–2,000 girls and young women were exposed to honour-related violence and that 10–15 per cent of the victims subsequently required sheltered housing. Others, including the Fryshuset youth centre in Stockholm, have concluded on the basis of their observations in individual housing areas that a majority of all young girls in 'honour cultures' are afflicted. The figures, then, are highly unreliable.

*As pointed out in the Sida study on the subject in 2005, violence and oppression directed at LGBT persons* often occurs in the name of upholding social norms and protecting morals, and on the basis of gender stereotyped perceptions of patriarchal and heterosexual supremacy. As 'deviants', LGBT persons are exposed to everything from murder, rape, assault, hate crimes, honour-related violence, forced marriages and forced medication (to help 'transform them into heterosexuals') to open discrimination.

In a number of countries with both strong patriarchal structures and honour-related violence, homosexuality carries the death sentence. In many countries, it is a criminal offence to commit a homosexual act but not to be a homosexual, bisexual or transsexual. Thus while (open) sexual practice may not be tolerated, the society in question accepts the person's sexual identity. In many parts of the world, however, condemnation is rigorous. A number of African heads of states, for instance, have talked about eradicating homosexuals, while religious leaders have made statements that have served to intensify the isola-

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*François Bourguignon, chief economist of the World Bank, estimated in 1999 that the costs of male violence in the US – in the form of medical expenses, destroyed property, loss of income, penal care, insurance payments, etc – corresponded to 3 per cent of the country's GDP.*

tion, insecurity, fears and exposure to discrimination of LGBT persons.

The Swedish Ombudsman against Discrimination due to Sexual Orientation (HomO) has expressed concern that the number of *reports* of crimes of a homophobic nature committed in Sweden increased by 76 per cent in 2000–2003. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the number of actual crimes increased. The Ombudsman is working persistently to reduce discrimination and to make it easier for people to live freely and openly, in terms of both sexual behaviour and sexual identity.

Sida's study in 2005 notes that the prohibition on sexual acts between male homosexuals in a number of countries makes the discrimination there visible. In the case of women in the LGBT group, however, discrimination is often less visible, despite the fact that it is redoubled by the gender-based discrimination to which they are also exposed. Swedish studies (Balkmar) also show that *the LGBT research undertaken in Sweden focuses more often on men than on women. Sida has further noted that applications for project grants relating to LGBT issues have dealt almost exclusively with men who are either homosexuals, bisexuals or transgender persons.*

### **2.2.2 Economic costs of the violence**

François Bourguignon, chief economist of the World Bank, estimated in 1999 that the costs of male violence in the US – in the form of medical expenses, destroyed property, loss of income, penal care, insurance payments, etc – corresponded to 3 per cent of the country's GDP. In countries with large paramilitary groups and a high crime rate (such as Colombia and El Salvador), the World Bank puts the equivalent cost at approx. 20 per cent of GDP, and in Europe 3 per cent. A study carried out by Göteborg University in the spring of 2005 shows that the cost of such violence in Sweden corresponds roughly to SEK 1,000 per capita/year.

Swedish economist Stefan de Vylder describes violence – with war as its ultimate consequence – as the single greatest threat to sustainable development in many countries. He also identifies violence as a frequently neglected obstacle to economic and social development. To the more immediate costs of violence are



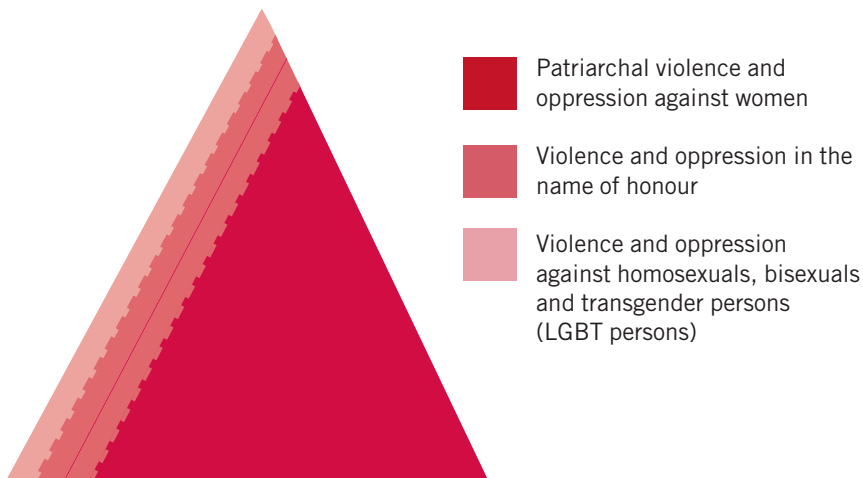
often added costs in the form of depressions and anxiety that tax both the victims and the communities they live in.

The World Bank described violence against women as a leading cause of ill-health, of heavy healthcare costs for women and of a high rate of maternal mortality. *The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has published widely reported studies showing the connection between increased male violence in the home and a higher level of violence in the community at large – and has argued that measures to prevent domestic violence may be a way of reducing both violence in society and armed conflicts.*

### 2.2.3 The relationship between violence and oppression

As the figure below shows, the violence discussed in the present report – patriarchal violence and oppression, particularly in the name of honour and directed at women and LGBT persons – can be expressed graphically as a pyramid. *Extreme* patriarchal violence and oppression occupies only a small part at the top, while the second and third layers represent general patriarchal violence and oppression, and threats of violence.

The pyramid makes clear that heterosexual women comprise the great majority of victims at all three levels – extreme violence, other violence, and threats. A small proportion of the victims (marked on the left side of the triangle) are victims of patriarchal violence in the name of honour, while a further share (white field) are victims in the LGBT category. A small part of the latter overlaps the category of victims exposed to honour-related violence.



*The pyramid makes clear that heterosexual women comprise the great majority of victims at all levels – extreme violence, other violence, and threats.*

*Violence also makes it harder for people to get an education and a profession, and limits their freedom, their range of choice and their well-being.*

The boundary between violence and oppression tends to be indistinct. Open violence is often relatively easy to detect as a result of the injuries it causes. Oppression is more difficult to define but in accordance with the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women may be said to include such things as threats, taunts, ridicule, abusive treatment, arbitrary punishment and violations of privacy, etc.

Below is a general outline of common forms of oppression and violence, as defined in a number of studies on the subject:

<b>oppression/threats</b>	<b>physical violence</b>
deprivation of liberty	
forced marriages/child marriages	blows, kicks
abuses of integrity, ridicule,	sexual violence
enforced chastity	manslaughter, murder, executions

Violence also makes it harder for people to get an education and a profession, and limits their freedom, their range of choice and their well-being, in marked contrast to the rights concerning people's freedom from oppression laid down in the European Convention and other documents. Violence also conflicts with the objective of a world community capable of ensuring the peace, freedom and security of all people. Consequently, it is *surprising that neither the UN Secretary-General's report to the UN summit in 2005, 'In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All', nor the UNDP's Human Development Report 2004 on 'Cultural Diversity' discusses the question of male/patriarchal violence and oppression as a constraint on the lives, freedom and security of women.*

The majority of reports examined for the purposes of the present survey show that violence and oppression against women and girls is often sanctioned or accepted, despite the fact that in many UN reports, for instance, it is defined as the most flagrant manifestation of gender inequality – and also as the cornerstone of the system that keeps women in a subordinate position.

Levels of violence are often thought to be influenced by the general status of women in society (in terms of education, political representation, professional activity, etc). Violence is to be

found in all countries, in all religions and in all social classes. It may seem strange that even in countries like Sweden and its Nordic neighbours, described abroad as having achieved a relatively high level of gender equality, male violence and threats of violence directed at women are not uncommon.

In some countries, the violence may be officially sanctioned in that no punishment is provided for, or in that little or nothing is done to ensure compliance with the operative law. Violence may also flourish where it is clearly prohibited but where the penalties are relatively mild and proof is hard to come by when it is a case of one person's word against another's and there are seldom witnesses to the event. Or where few convictions are secured, due to factors such as unfair demands on the chastity of women but not men, or men's 'rights' vis-à-vis women, in the form of unpaid services in the home, etc.

With reference to the discussion on structural discrimination based on ethnicity, interesting models were presented in the spring of 2005 in two Swedish government reports (SOU 2005:41 and SOU 2005:56). These, however, *made no mention of patriarchal violence within ethnic minorities – as a cause of honour-related violence in Sweden, for instance – nor of the patriarchal structures that are to be found in the majority society and which make the concept of 'them and us' more complicated than would appear from the reports, as both 'them' and 'us' would need to be disaggregated into women and men whose conditions and average access to power vary considerably.*

As shown by development economist Naila Kabeer, the level of patriarchy can be determined by means of indicators illustrating women's freedom of movement, opportunities for them to earn a living, and their access to sexual and reproductive health and rights. Such an analysis, according to Kabeer, reveals a 'belt of patriarchy' mainly across Western Asia.<sup>2</sup> Applying a similar technique, the UN shows differing levels of patriarchy in its Gender Development Index (GDI), which seeks to classify countries' progress in this area by for instance assessing the level of female education and representation. These indicators are documented annually by the UNDP in its Human Development Report and show how countries with strong patriarchal struc-

*In some countries, the violence may be officially sanctioned in that no punishment is provided for, or in that little or nothing is done to ensure compliance with the operative law.*

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<sup>2</sup> See Kaber

*Patriarchal perceptions of male supremacy, which dominate in many parts of the world, result in the perpetrators going free.*

tures where women are exposed to violence and oppression, including honour-related practices, all have low GDI ratings.

## 2.3 Measures at Level III: Acknowledging and analysing the causes of violence and oppression

Lars Jalmert, a Swedish researcher specialising in men's studies, summarises what many reports reflect: *that men are not afraid of losing their honour but of losing their power, their prestige and their position of superiority (and the service that goes with it).*

Reports of patriarchal violence – including its extreme forms such as honour-related violence and violence targeting (heterosexual) women and LGBT persons – often discuss the structural causes. These may be grouped as follows:

### 2.3.1 People's basic outlooks and perceptions of male superiority

Patriarchal perceptions of male supremacy, which dominate in many parts of the world, result in the perpetrators going free as the emphasis is on the differences between people rather than the similarities – and because the male is thought to represent the norm and the female the deviant, the 'other'.

Reports of patriarchal violence (Mojab, Höglund etc) often make reference to the power structure under which women and men are allotted different roles – far exceeding their biological ones – and which means they enjoy different rights as regards things like chastity, ownership, inheritance, education, careers, and so forth. As in the case of religion, things like 'culture', 'tradition' and 'attitudes', which are often interpreted by men, tend to be 'man-made' constructs of gender stereotypes, complete with rules on how people are to behave, dress and relate to one another. This severely curtails individual freedom (of choice) in fundamental areas of life, both for heterosexuals and for LGBT persons. It also forces individuals to 'confirm' their sexual identities – and thus their 'rights' – on a day-to-day basis, by choosing aggressiveness or passivity, type of clothing, gestures, whether to be bold or submissive, and so forth.

In the prevailing power structures, which are governed by *informal codes that reward how (heterosexual) men behave towards and communicate with one another, women and male LGBT persons are regarded as deviants incapable of fully understanding or accepting male codes*. These codes are defined in a number of studies as the ‘homosocial competence’ that is of decisive importance for a person’s access to centres of power. Failing to master these codes – or openly disregarding them and behaving in a way that is not ‘prescribed’ for one’s particular sex – often means being marginalised and rendered invisible. Sometimes it leads to taunts, oppression and open violence.

Individual women and LGBT persons can of course gain access to power, e.g. by supporting or failing to question prevailing structures. Many reports cite this as a reason why individual women and groups of women can exercise power – and practice violence – directed both at subordinate men and at other women, but almost always within the framework of patriarchal structures.

Research reports also show that in a number of cultures, *transgender* individuals have an identity that far exceeds sexuality and gender. They tend to play a more mystical role in society, such as shamans who have a leading role in their group, and become *bearers of exceptional authority precisely because they transcend boundaries*<sup>3</sup>. This perception is similar to the one advanced by the Franco-Romanian philosopher Julia Kristeva, who argues that it is those women who defy traditional sex roles that tend to break new ground by virtue of their thinking, their bodies and their actions.

The emphasis on women and men as more dissimilar than similar, and perceptions of women as inferior and subordinate by nature, are cited in a number of reports (e.g. by UNICEF and Mojab) as a reason for the violence directed at (heterosexual) women and LGBT persons – and the reason why the violence seldom has any implications for the perpetrator in the form of punishment or condemnation. Men’s interpretative privilege as the superior sex who set and define social norms also makes it difficult for women throughout the world to be considered credible when they describe acts of violence, threats and sexual abuse.

*Power structures are governed by informal codes that reward how (heterosexual) men behave towards one another, while women and male LGBT persons are regarded as deviants incapable of fully understanding or accepting male codes.*

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<sup>3</sup> “Sex and Gender”

*As noted by UNIFEM, UNICEF and others, economic/social constructs in society are often an important explanation for the development of violence against girls and women.*

### **2.3.2 Social and economic constructs as causes of the violence**

As noted by UNIFEM, UNICEF and others, economic/social constructs in society are often an important explanation for the development of violence against girls and women. One social construct is the system whereby the bride's parents pay a dowry in connection with her marriage and *she moves home to her husband's family* to look after his parents in their old age – leaving her own parents behind. Because of this practice, many parents in Southern Asia, for instance, abort female foetuses so as to avoid the cost of a daughter who will anyway leave home.

Controlling women's sexuality is important to men who want to ensure that the children they will support in their marriage are their own. This need for control becomes even greater if the family lives in the husband's clan and is due to inherit him. If the husband lives with the woman's family, however, or if the financial situations of the two partners are *more* equitable, as for instance in the Nordic countries, men do not have the same need to control the behaviour and sexuality of girls and women. This has caused people such as the Male Network in Sweden to point out that in democratic societies such as those in the Nordic region it should be possible to eliminate all forms of honour-related violence – and in time all other kinds of violence directed at women.

Women's lack of property is described in poverty analyses and elsewhere as a basic cause of the violence as it means women cannot leave husbands who beat them without running the risk of becoming destitute outcasts forced into prostitution for their upkeep. Basically, then, it is not biological but economic factors, often in combination with social, cultural and religious arguments, that have determined how societies and power structures are built. Given this, it is only natural that a key aim in Swedish gender equality work at the national level has been to strengthen women's financial independence vis-à-vis men.

In its report, 'Breaking the Earthenware Jar', UNICEF sums up the situation of many women in the modern world when it states that "women do not HAVE property – they ARE property".

### **2.3.3 Power, prestige and male supremacy as causes of the violence**

As noted by UN Special Rapporteur Erturk, men's honour and prestige is often linked to the degree of control they have over women. Thus the violence may be due to perceptions that beating women and striking fear into them yields certain advantages in the form of status, respect, superiority and access to resources, etc.

A less discussed male privilege worldwide is that *the power structure and 'sex roles' save men a great deal of leisure time*, every day throughout the year, in that they do not have to perform low-status, time-consuming tasks that are coded as the responsibility of women – and can instead devote themselves to discussions and decision-making, in the name of both sexes.

### **2.3.4 The myth that men benefit from patriarchal structures and violence**

It is often held that men stand to gain from violence against women and from the subordination of women. *Many, however, including the Male Network and men's emergency centres (advice bureaux) in Sweden, argue that this is a myth, and that most men stand to lose from an aggressive masculinity leading to excessive demands on them as family providers, strong-minded and anxiety-free, etc. In many societies, this in turn leads to workaholism, alcoholism, violence in the form of gang conflicts, crime, wars, etc, and in general a shorter life span for men compared with women.*

Awareness that men, too, lose out on the violence is still very limited, however, and should be given greater emphasis.

The heroisation of men as freedom fighters, gun in hand, in wars, in the media and in games, is cited in reports by UNICEF and others as a cause of the type of male behaviour that kills men, women and children throughout the world. Several UN reports also note how violence escalates during armed conflicts and leads to further degradation of women when men seek to humiliate the male fighters on the other side. Women are thus reduced to being the property of men, not only abused but used as pawns on the male battlefield as well. Moreover, they often fall victim to men of violence from their own country.

*A less discussed male privilege worldwide is that the power structure and 'sex roles' give men a great deal of leisure time, every day throughout the year, in that they do not have to perform low-status, time-consuming tasks.*

*A distinguishing feature of structures that sanction violence and oppression in the name of honour is the not always corrects perception of the male as family provider.*

### **2.3.5 Modernity and globalisation as a threat to the traditional power and prestige of the family provider.**

As noted by Mojab and others, a distinguishing feature of structures that sanction violence and oppression in the name of honour is the perception of the male as family provider, while other members of the family are provided for and protected – in exchange for being kept in a subordinate position. Mojab notes that the family and clan traditionally stood for the maintenance of law and order but are now increasingly coming into conflict with emerging modernity as national authority/the state takes over the functions for which the group and the family (the menfolk) once had responsibility: maintaining law and order, administering justice, and providing education, health-care and care of the elderly, etc – to the extent that government revenue and authority permit. These conflicts with government authority are evident in regions such as Western Asia but may be accentuated when people move to Western Europe, for instance, where the state is strong and where many decades of work on behalf of women's rights has weakened the more extreme patriarchal structures.

However, it is worth noting that in the West, too, where central government has long been in a strong position, the right of the state to influence families is regularly called into question. The US, for instance, has ratified neither the UN convention on women (CEDAW) nor the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, principally on the grounds that the state has no business regulating family affairs. This attitude is currently being reinforced by neo-conservative elements, who hold up the nuclear family as the ideal, actively oppose marriage between homosexuals and are opposed to women's sexual and reproductive rights.

### **2.3.6 Women's demands for justice and human rights**

'Voices of the Poor', the major study published by the World Bank in the late 1990s, cited women's growing demands for justice as a reason for the increased violence noted in many poor countries in the South and East. The report was widely criticised for recommending that women should exercise more restraint in their demands for more rights and a better position, as such demands risked intruding on 'family harmony'. Similar



points of views had been expressed by the Vatican and others at Beijing 1995.

*Honour-related violence and oppression* is defined in a number of reports as an extreme manifestation of the violence and oppression directed at women and LGBT persons. The reason for this is that it based on explicit perceptions of women's subordination vis-à-vis men and on perceptions concerning the right of husbands and clans to exercise control over women's behaviour, sexuality and childbearing. Also, violence and oppression in the name of honour differs in that it is legitimised by laws and practice, e.g. through impunity or very short sentences, and is encouraged and sanctioned by the collective.

It is important to bear in mind that honour killings, which often take the form of outright executions – and which in Oxfam's study are placed on a par with genocide, due to the collective support such acts enjoy – are closely associated with extreme forms of oppression directed at women, such as forced marriage, child marriages and arranged marriages, and with harsh demands for chastity on the part of girls, which severely restrict their opportunities for development in life. Girls are prevented from taking part in activities in their free time, and are watched over by male relatives, particularly brothers. Much fewer restrictions are imposed on the lives of boys, including LGBT persons, and then principally in the form of limits on their *sexual* – but not societal – behaviour.

Extricating oneself from a forced marriage or an arranged marriage by demanding a divorce is also prohibited, as it jeopardises the honour of the family. Marital violence, threats, beatings and rape are all regarded as an internal family matter. Numerous suicides among heterosexual women and LGBT persons of both sexes are judged to be a result of people being unable to escape from failed marriages.

*Also, violence and oppression in the name of honour differs in that it is legitimised by laws and practice, e.g. through impunity or very short sentences, and is encouraged and sanctioned by the collective.*

## 2.4 Measures at Level IV: Developing institutional measures: funding, training, joint action, guidelines

Besides conventions and other regulatory documents, institutional measures have proved an important means of strengthening the framework for action against patriarchal violence and oppression.

Such measures may be divided into funding, training, joint action and guidelines. All these measures are in evidence, often in different combinations and often in the form of *fixed-term action programmes* emphasising processes in the form of education and training, joint action and guidelines, usually more at the national than the local level. The pattern appears to be the same internationally/multilaterally as in Sweden.

By way of illustration, a couple of such measures are presented below.

### 2.4.1 Funding appropriations

Financial support in connection with the Swedish government bill on Violence Against Women comprised a general investment in a range of areas and an appropriation of approx. SEK 40 million for measures to combat the violence.

Overall, the government bill led to a series of measures in a variety of fields such as better statistics, a review of police action, research into violence against women, a national rapporteur (the Centre for Battered and Raped Women, Uppsala County Council), contributions to the UN Special Rapporteurs, support for NGOs, information to people seeking residence permits, better treatment, further training programmes, support for women's emergency shelters and crime victim services, and a parliamentary inquiry into children in violent domestic environments.

During the 1990s, the National Board of Health and Welfare gave some 20,000 people training on issues associated with male violence against women, and a number of activities in this sphere were supported via government funding to the National Police Board and the Centre for Battered and Raped Women.

A major initiative is planned for 2005 that will upgrade the

Uppsala Centre for Battered and Raped Women to a national knowledge-based centre for action against the violence. The centre is already developing methods for looking after battered women, training staff in a number of relevant government agencies dealing with such matters, and conducting both medical research and interdisciplinary research into the causes and incidence of violence against women. In its Statement of Policy in the autumn of 2005, the Government announced that the Uppsala facility was to be made a national centre for permanent state activities and for knowledge and resources relating to male violence against women and violence in same-sex relationships.

Sweden's work with *honour-related violence* has meant developing special methods and measures in order to deal with violence and oppression in cases where the perpetrators are protected by the collective. *For the period 1 July 2003–31 December 2007, the Government has earmarked SEK 180 million for measures to support young people who risk being exposed to honour-related violence from close relatives.* The funds are largely to be channelled via county administrative boards and are to be used for protected housing, training for staff who come into contact with the problem, joint action, the development of action plans, and support for efforts to change attitudes. The county administrative boards may also provide funding to organisations working against honour-related violence. The Kurdish and Iranian national associations in Sweden, for instance, have been granted funding for a project promoting “equality of the sexes as a means of preventing violence against girls and women”, the aim of which is to show how gender equality is a decisive factor in combating the violence. The Fryshuset youth centre in Stockholm has been granted funding that will enable it to start additional groups of ‘Sharaf’s Heroes’, whose activities in seeking to influence attitudes among boys and young men have received widespread publicity, at the international level as well.

The Nordic Council of Ministers contributed funds to the Swedish Network Against Violence Towards Women in the Name of Honour, which enabled the network to organise a Nordic conference in Stockholm in the autumn of 2004.

*The European Commission has a large appropriation for violence against women, known as the Daphne Programme, to which organisations can apply for funding for action in this sphere. A total of 50*

*‘Sharaf’s Heroes’, seeking to influence attitudes among boys and young men have received widespread publicity, at the international level as well.*

*A comparison can be drawn between the funding provided to municipalities for combating violence against women in Sweden, which averages about SEK 5 per capita/year, and the government appropriation to Sweden's external defence, which is a thousand times larger per person: approx. SEK 5,000.*

million euros has been allocated for the programme's second phase, 2004–2008. The aim is to encourage the development and implementation of innovative programmes to combat violence against women and girls, and to disseminate awareness of good practices throughout the EU zone, not least among the Union's new members. Funding applications are accepted from NGOs, government agencies and training providers working with programmes to combat violence against women.

Funding resources for action at various levels against male violence in society have generally been limited. A comparison can be drawn for instance between the funding provided to municipalities for combating violence against women in Sweden, which averages about SEK 5 per capita/year, and the government appropriation to Sweden's external defence, which is a thousand times larger, or approx. SEK 5,000. Thus a thousand times more money per person is being invested in combating the risk of external violence than in action to prevent the actual violence that is being visited upon women and girls in Sweden.

#### **2.4.2 Training and manuals**

Among available training initiatives in the form of manuals, etc, the following are of particular interest:

- ▶ In recent years, the *UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)* has developed guidelines and trained personnel sent into the field on peacebuilding operations. The aim is to avoid a situation in which UN personnel assist in trafficking for sexual purposes or engage in sexual harassment, etc, during their term of service, and to help refocus attention on UN's fundamental principles concerning the equal worth of all people.
- ▶ *Kvinna till Kvinna* ('The Woman to Woman Foundation') has issued a series of publications, including 'Tänk om' ('Rethink') in 2004, to raise awareness about male violence against women, and has stressed the importance of broad-based gender equality work during post-conflict reconstruction. In 2005, the organisation also issued a publication entitled 'Security on Whose Terms: If Women and Men Were Equal', which looks for instance at how the security of women is undermined by sexual violence.

- ▶ *The Swedish UNIFEM committee* has published a manual about CEDAW and its application. Among other things, it describes how the convention can be used to strengthen women's rights in Sweden.
- ▶ A wide circle of actors, including Swedish UNIFEM, has organised a series of '20 November conferences' in the Riksdag to draw attention to honour-related violence, and has published comprehensive reports from these meetings.
- ▶ The *UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)* has published guidelines on the subject of 'Sexual Violations Against Refugees'.
- ▶ The *UN Development Programme, UNDP*, has developed and disseminated models for work focusing on men and masculinity, primarily in Latin America.
- ▶ The *Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Sida* have jointly published several editions of 'CEDAW: A Manual', targeting work in the development cooperation field. It includes information about which conventions various partner countries in this field have ratified.
- ▶ *The Swedish Government Offices* have taken an active part in the development of a recommended code of conduct for Swedish personnel serving abroad in development cooperation projects and programmes and on UN missions, one of the aims being to combat trafficking in women. Based on this code, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Sida have produced a set of ethical guidelines for all service abroad.

The *Ministry for Foreign Affairs* has also initiated a study on homosexual, bisexual, transsexual and intersexual (LGBTI) individuals via Sida, for the purpose of strengthening measures to protect and support these groups in connection with development cooperation projects and programmes. This study is a pioneering work in that it outlines proposals for consistent efforts to reduce discrimination against LGBTIs and to improve their situation.

*The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has also initiated a study on homosexual, bisexual, transsexual and intersexual (LGBTI) individuals via Sida.*

The Government Offices have also initiated efforts to strengthen the protection of LGBT persons in Sweden

### 2.4.3 Joint action

In connection with the Swedish government inquiry into violence against women, which led to the 1998 bill, a number of agencies were jointly instructed to increase their efforts to combat the violence and to draw up an action programme for their respective work in this field by the end of 2003. The mandate emphasised the importance of collaboration between government agencies and organisations. In December 2004, a government committee that followed up and evaluated this joint assignment delivered its final report, entitled 'An Empty Gesture'. The report presented an overall analysis and account of the extensive obstacles and rigid structures that stood in the way of consciousness-raising efforts in the gender sphere. The committee's proposals will now provide a basis for the Swedish Government's further efforts to combat violence against women.

### 2.4.4 Guidelines

There are today a number of new sets of guidelines and manuals dealing with *violence and oppression in the name of honour*:

- ▶ In collaboration with the National Board of Health and Welfare, Sweden's *county administrative boards* have compiled an interim report (2003–2004) on the action they have taken across the country against honour-related violence. The report notes that young men are being exposed to threats and violence because of their sexual orientation. Assessments of what further action to take will be based on this report. It shows among other things that the bulk (approx. 2/3) of government appropriations to the county administrative boards have gone to 70 beds for victims in sheltered housing.
- ▶ *The county administrative boards and the National Board of Health and Welfare* have also conducted a joint study into the need for support in the form of national guidance to social services and other operations (including school activities) in the fight against honour-related violence. The study recommends the establishment of such a function to help build up

and reinforce competence in this field.

- ▶ *The Västra Götaland County Administrative Board* has published a Swedish manual, 'On Violence in the Name of Honour: The Obligation to See and Help Girls and Women at Risk'. It deals with the kind of honour-related violence that includes oppression and which is directed primarily at public officials and employers in the school, social services and police sectors.
- ▶ *The Stockholm County Administrative Board* has put together a resource team against honour-related violence, and has published information about it in a special brochure (2005).
- ▶ *The County Administrative Boards of Blekinge, Kalmar and Kronoberg* have published 'The Honour Problem: A Manual' (2005)

The Women's Forum organised a major international conference on theme of honour-related violence in the autumn of 2005, and has also published 'A Resource Book for Working against Honour-Related Violence' (2003).

The Swedish Gender Development Network has produced a manual about honour-related oppression in everyday life, threats and violence, primarily targeting young girls.

*In the development cooperation sphere*, the Swedish Government and Sida are seeking to combat violence against women and girls and gender-based violence by means of action at several different levels in both the short and the long term.

The link between oppression and discrimination is one of the themes of a publication from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs entitled 'Power and Privilege: On Gender-Based Discrimination and Poverty' (2004).

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs argues that the violence cannot be successfully combated without greater awareness of the problem and active steps both to fight discrimination and to bring about changes in the kinds of attitudes that denigrate not only women and children but also those men who fail to behave in accordance with certain hegemonic perceptions of masculinity and manliness.

Efforts in the development cooperation field may be grouped

*In the development cooperation sphere, the Swedish Government and Sida are seeking to combat violence against women and girls and of gender-based violence by means of action at several different levels in both the short and the long term.*

*Multilateral actors as well as the EU and individual states, have attached most weight to regulations in the form both of conventions and of overarching analyses, surveys, guidelines, etc to combat violence.*

as follows:

- a) general, strategically oriented action on behalf of gender equality to promote the empowerment, the education and training and the economic, legal and social position of women and girls.
- b) efforts to change men's attitudes, and
- c) specific measures against the violence, including the protection of victims.

## 2.5 Measures at Level V: Operative measures among victims and perpetrators

The present survey indicates that multilateral actors such as the UN, the World Bank and other development banks, as well as the EU and individual states, have attached most weight to regulations in the form both of conventions and of overarching analyses, surveys, guidelines, campaigns, and the development of joint approaches, etc, that strengthen the infrastructure via which the violence can be addressed and the victims protected. Less attention has been paid, however, to costly, resource-consuming operative input such as programmes and projects.<sup>4</sup>

From an examination of the reports provided by multilateral actors such as NGOs, it would seem that civil society is shouldering a heavy burden, probably the heaviest of all, regarding the support and protection of individual victims. The pattern is similar to the Swedish one, with strong initiatives at central government level, in such forms as legislation and education/training, but weaker ones via the municipalities and locally, where women's organisations and other actors dominate.

Civil society representatives at both international and national level are often the most visible actors when it comes to working operatively against violence and oppression, and to protect and assist victims – and also to enter into dialogue with the perpetrators. A striking feature in this respect is the extent to which women dominate as actors at all levels, e.g. via international

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<sup>4</sup> UNIFEM report "With and End in Sight"



women's rights organisations such as the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) and Equality Now, and via regional networks such as the one for female lawyers in southern Africa, and also nationally in the form of women's emergency shelters and other women's organisations.

A more exhaustive survey would be required to show what is being done across the board both in the way of general efforts to foster gender equality and in developing strategies for dealing with the underlying causes of male violence and oppression. The following, therefore, confines itself to an account of direct measures against the violence and oppression in the form of some illustrative examples.

*As noted above, the international community including the UN has yet to come up with an overall evaluation of what action has been taken and what works well in the fight against patriarchal violence, and therefore we do not know what types of measures have – or can have – the greatest impact in reducing the violence.*

### **2.5.1 Internationally**

#### *Campaigns against violence towards women*

During the period 1997–99, The UN Development Fund for Women, UNIFEM, conducted a global campaign against violence towards women, financed with the limited amount of funding available at the time, from a fund set up for the purpose. Evaluating the campaign in a publication entitled 'With an End in Sight' (2000), UNIFEM states that while conventions and legislation are important, these have had a limited effect and must be supplemented by multidimensional initiatives against the violence. Ending impunity for perpetrators is also seen as a key issue, along with the training of judges and other legal experts, and police, etc, who are often prey to stereotyped perceptions of men's rights vis-à-vis women. UNIFEM also emphasises the importance of internal training within institutions – which are often part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

In addition, it stresses the need to *step up resources in the form of funding and personnel* to deal with the widespread problems involved.

UNIFEM views changing men's own attitudes and perceptions of their 'right' to use violence and to link masculinity with

*UNIFEM states that while conventions and legislation are important, these have had a limited effect and must be supplemented by multidimensional initiatives against the violence.*

*The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE, and its Office for Democracy and Human Rights, ODIHR, works under a mandate to promote human rights and democratic development.*

violent practices, as an issue of the utmost importance. A major UNICEF report in this respect is *'From Violence to Supportive Practices'*, which focuses on the situation in India and which was inspired by the thinking of Swedish author Eva Moberg. Ms Moberg has long addressed the problem of male violence against women and has called on the Swedish Government to initiate a world conference under UN auspices that would *deal with male violence without laying the guilt at the door of all men.*

*Violence against women as a security problem and a national problem*

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE, and its Office for Democracy and Human Rights, ODIHR, works under a mandate to promote human rights and democratic development. Combating violence and discrimination directed at women, homosexuals and bisexuals is to be a key activity in this respect. The participating countries' commitments in the OSCE framework are not legally binding but carry considerable weight in the political and practical spheres. Work on behalf of gender equality in the OSCE is based on its 'Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality'.

This document deals with both internal issues within the organisation and external issues relating to the obligations of the participating states. The ODIHR focuses on such matters as promoting respect for women's human rights, combating violence against women and supporting female victims of gender-based violence. In the case of violence against women, its activities are both direct and indirect. For example, it provides assistance and guidance aimed at elaborating and revising laws concerning equality between the sexes, it helps with institution building, with the training of police forces in gender issues, with training and capacity building among women and women's organisations in various areas of work, with general information about human rights and women's rights, and with leadership training. The ODIHR also seeks to promote tolerance and non-discrimination by collecting and reporting data concerning compliance with the relevant regulatory frameworks.

*Since the OSCE secretariat has noticed that discrimination within its own structure is reflected in the way staff behave in their external*

work, the organisation also aims to address the issue of gender equality internally.

### *Police activities*

In recent years, the *National Swedish Criminal Investigation Department* has actively sought to bring the perpetrators of violent honour-related crimes to justice, which has involved establishing close ties both with individuals and government agencies in many parts of Sweden as well as with international police authorities, etc.

*Euroapol's* mandate is to fight serious international organised crime, which is not taken to include honour-related violence as such offences are not defined as organised (in the current meaning of the word), despite the documentary evidence that they are based on common patriarchal perceptions of men's right to control and punish women.

In the UK, *Scotland Yard* makes fairly extensive efforts to punish the perpetrators of violence against women, including honour-related violence.

## **2.5.2 Nationally**

Many of the initiatives taken at the national level to combat violence against women in various countries, not least via NGOs, are recorded and compiled by UNIFEM. In connection with an international drive against violence towards women in 1997–99, it evaluated the various components and found them to include the following: campaigns, trauma counselling, medical aid, legal counselling, the training of officials in public and local administrations and of police and social workers, etc, emergency phone lines, dialogue groups with local and religious leaders to discuss the violence and its causes, support for prostitutes exposed to violence, tribunals against violence, and support in the form of employment projects to enable women to gain greater financial and social independence from men who beat them.

There are a number of actors in Sweden who represent examples of this approach:

- ▶ *www.kvinnofrid*, an Internet portal run by the National Board of Health and Welfare together with more than a dozen

*The Male Network seeks to achieve a fairer gender balance in society and promotes action against male violence and abuse.*

other government agencies, providing information about legislative texts and other official documents and links to public authorities, county administrative boards, municipalities and universities, of relevance to the issue of violence against women.

- ▶ *The Swedish Society for the Protection of Children's Rights in the Community, BRIS*, which provides support via emergency phone lines and participates actively in the public debate.
- ▶ *The Swedish Federation for Gay and Lesbian Rights (RFSL) and the Swedish Association for Sex Education (RFSU)* are active in a number of fields, providing information and counselling and seeking to influence public opinion.
- ▶ *The Swedish Government Offices via its report, 'Vill man ha jämställdhet?' ('Do We (Men) Want Gender Equality?')*, which emphasises the need for further research on men and violence, for follow-ups to previous studies concerning Swedish men, for a national programme to promote dialogue on hegemonic (i.e. dominant) forms of masculinity, applying the model used by Save the Children Sweden in its own dialogue programme, and for increased funding to crisis centres for men.
- ▶ *The Male Network*, which both seeks to achieve a fairer gender balance in society and promotes action against male violence and abuse.
- ▶ *The National Association for Male Crisis Centres*, including the Manscentrum Foundation in the county of Stockholm.
- ▶ *The Swedish Association for Victim Support*, which helps crime victims in Sweden.
- ▶ *Save the Children Sweden's Dialogue Programme*, which conducts a dialogue with fathers and men about non-violence, gender equality and the need for good male role models for boys caught between the dominant norms of Swedish society and those found within families' traditional cultures.

- ▶ *The women's emergency shelters, including the National Organisation for Women's Shelters and Young Women's Shelters in Sweden (ROKS), the Swedish Association of Women's Shelters (SKR), organisations focusing on immigrant women and girls, such as Terrafem, and women's networks.*

### **Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgender persons**

Via the departments for equal rights operated by Sweden's municipalities, the RFSL has contributed support and training to help overcome lack of awareness about LGBT issues.

- ▶ *The Office of the Ombudsman against Discrimination on grounds of Sexual Orientation, HomO, has a broad mandate to counteract homophobia and discrimination based on sexual orientation in all areas of public life. Homophobia is defined as an ideology, a perception or a conscious valuation whereby an individual, a group or a society expresses a deeply negative view of homosexuality or of gay, lesbian or bisexual people. To adopt a homophobic attitude is to offend against the principle of the equal worth and rights of all people.*

HomO is a supervisory body responsible for ensuring compliance with the following three laws:

- The Act on a Ban against Discrimination in Working Life on grounds of Sexual Orientation
- the Equal Treatment of Students at Universities Act
- the Prohibition of Discrimination Act.

Besides monitoring compliance with these laws, HomO's task involves combating homophobia and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in other areas of social life.

The Ombudsman may not alter court verdicts, issue sentences or award damages, or change the decisions of other public authorities.

Transsexuality/transsexualism is a gender identity issue, and therefore falls within the remit of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman, JämO.

A broadening of the term 'refugee' has been discussed at the Swedish Government Offices with a view to enhancing protection of persecuted LGBT persons who for long have been given sanctuary under the provisions of the Aliens Act regarding peo-

*Homophobia is defined as an ideology, a perception or a conscious valuation whereby an individual, a group or a society expresses a deeply negative view of homosexuality or of gay, lesbian or bisexual people.*

ple 'otherwise in need of protection'. In November 2005 the Swedish Parliament decided that people who have a well-founded fear of persecution due to their sex or sexual orientation are to be granted refugee status instead.

### **Development cooperation**

- ▶ Studies and special inquiries are being undertaken with a view to improving both policies and field activities in partner countries. Examples include studies concerning sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) via the RFSU and others, and studies of LGBT issues in three countries – India, Moldavia and South Africa.
- ▶ Support to the World Bank's Trust Fund for Gender Mainstreaming, for instance in areas such as violence against women and girls, and gender-based violence.
- ▶ Support for legislative measures, economic counselling and training for women in a range of countries, including Kyrgyzstan, the Balkans, Nicaragua and India.
- ▶ The promotion of human rights and social development goals such as democracy, good health and education by providing support to women who have been exposed to beatings and sexual violence, in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe, channelled via the WHO, UNICEF, UNIFEM, Swedish organisations and local NGOs.
- ▶ Protection and support for the victims of trafficking in humans for sexual purposes, in countries and regions such as Ukraine, Russia and West Africa.
- ▶ The roles and responsibilities of men are reflected in a number of projects, including ones implemented by the Swedish Male Network in the form of training in Russia and Ukraine for parliamentarians, military personnel and others on the theme of male roles in a society in transition. Funding is also being provided to the 'Men as Partners' network in South Africa, which engages in investigative and educational activities in areas such as SRHR, violence against women and girls, and sexual violence.

ce. Action is being taken against male violence towards women and girls and towards other men through the activities of women's emergency shelters in South Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, the Balkans, India and in Gaza/the West Bank, via emergency phone lines, protected housing, psychological and legal counselling, and rehabilitation programmes.

- ▶ The training of policymakers, police, courts and healthcare personnel, e.g. in Cambodia (via Forum Syd and Diakonia), China, Angola, Bangladesh and in Central America. In Nicaragua, Sweden has helped create special police stations for women and children via the national police authority's Women and Children's Commission.
- ▶ General Swedish assistance to peace support operations and crisis management initiatives is to reflect Security Council Resolution 1325 on the participation of women and Resolution 1460 (2003) on children in armed conflicts.
- ▶ Certain types of gender equality training for Swedish personnel taking part in UN peacekeeping missions, and support for the establishment of gender equality counselling services both at the DPKO (the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations) and on peace missions.

### *2.5.2.1 France, a case in point*

Many countries have action programmes against violence towards women in general, but there appears to be a lack of more concentrated efforts to combat both violence in the name of honour and violence directed at homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons.

One country that has taken action against violence in the name of honour is France, which has large groups of immigrants from North and West Africa, where girls and young women are particularly at risk from it. The debate on violence against immigrant women, and on their situation in general, has been waged with varying degrees of intensity since the early 1990s.

The influx of immigrants from North and West Africa, bringing with them male-dominated cultural patterns, patriarchal traditions and a patriarchal view of female roles, has resulted in

*Many countries have action programmes against violence towards women in general, but there appears to be a lack of more concentrated efforts to combat violence in the name of honour and violence directed at homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons.*

*There are many unreported cases of honour killings, as many deaths among immigrant women that are registered as suicides or accidents may in fact have been murders in this category.*

girls and young women belonging to these groups in France being exposed to honour-related violence.

There are numerous unreported cases of honour killings, as many deaths among immigrant women in France that are registered as suicides or accidents may in fact have been murders in this category.

According to estimates by the immigrant organisation GAMS – quoted by the authorities – some 70,000 girls in the 10–18 age group in France are in danger of being forced into marriages against their will. Within such marriages, violence is rife.

According to the Turkish organisation Elele, the male ‘code of honour’ is applied much more strictly and rigorously among Turkish immigrants in France (approx. 400,000) than it is in their native country. Also, says Elele, ‘honour violence’ against women is more physical and more brutal among Turkish groups in France than among other immigrant communities where it is practised.

The situation of girls and young women in France exposed to the risk of honour-related (and other) violence is the subject of a broad public debate, and is no longer as taboo as it is said to have been some 10–15 years ago. Government representatives and public administrations have shown themselves keen to address the problem, although more pressing and down-to-earth ‘economic issues’ come higher on the agenda. Finally, civil society in the shape of numerous women’s organisations appears strongly committed to the task of tackling the problem.

The victims of the violence include boys and young men who do not fit in or who are not prepared to conform to the violent attitude evident among gangs, while boys and young men who are, or who are thought to be, homosexual are victims of harassment or group rape.

It is among the suburban youth gangs – burdened by many other social problems – that observers in France see a breeding ground for the radicalised and politicised Muslim movement that is now said to be gaining in strength. The movement includes ‘self-proclaimed imams’ who spread dubious messages concerning both the role of women and the teachings of the Koran in relation to women. In 2004, one of these ‘imams’ was expelled from a mosque outside Lyon because he specifically urged that wives and women who failed to behave in accor-



dance with his interpretation of the Koran be stoned and subjected to other bodily punishment.

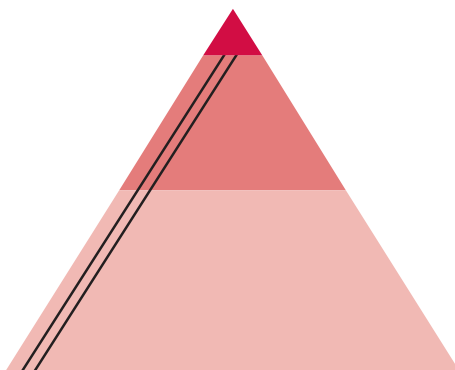


# Summarised assessment

A decorative graphic consisting of a diagonal line that runs from the bottom-left towards the top-right. The line is composed of several overlapping, semi-transparent bands of different shades of red and pink, creating a layered, textured effect. The background is a solid, deep red color.

*Less attention and fewer resources have been directed at 'everyday violence' and oppression, and the underlying causes in the form of perceptions, valuations and power structures.*

*In sum, it is fair to say that patriarchal violence and its basic causes are being addressed on a number of different levels, both internationally and nationally, by a wide variety of means. In general, the bulk of corrective measures focus on the most serious and extreme manifestations of violence, symbolised by the upper section of the triangle.*



The upper part represents extreme forms of violence and oppression, including criminal offences and lethal violence.

The middle part represents other forms of violence and oppression.

The lower part refers to oppression and threats of violence.

Both violence and oppression in the name of honour and violence directed at LGBT persons are marked by narrow fields on the left side of the triangle to show that these victims, too, suffer patriarchal violence. However, they are fewer in number than heterosexual women, who make up the principal share.

Less attention and fewer resources have been directed at the lower levels of the triangle, i.e. 'everyday violence' and oppression, and the underlying causes in the form of perceptions, valuations and power structures. Both in Sweden and to an even greater extent abroad, these severely curtail the security, integrity and freedom of women and people in the LGBT category.

The patriarchal exercise of power is practised to varying degrees in different societies and in different forms, depending on such factors as class, ethnicity and historical time, etc. In extreme patriarchies, women are regarded as the property of men, and are denied the same rights as men in terms of inheritance, education and income. Men are allowed to control women's and girl's sexuality and chastity, and are deemed to have the 'right' to infringe on their lives in the form of premeditated murder or executions in the name of honour. Both at home and abroad, Sweden opposes all reference to patriarchal honour

as grounds for individuals taking the law into their own hands and committing murder or acts of violence – or threatening violence in order to force women and LGBT persons into obedience and compliance with patriarchal structures.

The present survey in general motivates the following summarised comments as a guide to further consideration of the issues in hand:

### 3.1 Measures at various levels

*Level 1: Addressing and codifying violence and oppression in conventions, laws, etc*

Over the past 15 years, the regulations for dealing with violence against women, including violence in the name of honour, have been strengthened considerably by the introduction of a wide range of instruments, particularly in the United Nations and at national level, although the violence is still not adequately covered by any individual convention.

The obligation of states to show ‘due diligence’ in punishing the perpetrators of such offences, protecting the victims and taking preventive measures facilitates efforts to counter the violence. As a result both of the development of regulatory frameworks and of the obligation incumbent upon states to intervene and take legal action against perpetrators in certain cases, domestic violence, too, may now be judged a violation of human rights.

The present survey indicates that UN resolutions have in recent years focused more closely on extreme forms of violence against women and girls, such as crimes in the name of honour. However, less attention has been paid to ‘everyday violence’ and the worldwide oppression that is also associated with discrimination against women and perceptions of female subordination. There is a danger that this will mean action against male violence and patriarchal violence *focusing principally on the extreme forms of such violence rather than on the broad extent of it and the underlying causes.*

*There is a danger that action against male violence and patriarchal violence focus principally on the extreme forms of such violence rather than on the broad extent of it and the underlying causes.*

*We currently have very little knowledge as to the types of action that are required, not only to protect the victims but also de facto to reduce violence against women.*

*Also, hitherto there is nothing to suggest that the stronger regulations have contributed to an actual decline in the level of patriarchal violence.*

*We currently have very little knowledge as to the types of action that are required, not only to protect the victims but also de facto to reduce violence against women.*

### *Level 2: Clarifying the systematics, extent, manifestations and costs of patriarchal violence and oppression*

The reports that have been studied in the course of the survey show that patriarchal violence is widespread, systematic and structural in character, and is based on perceptions of female subordination and men's 'right' to practice violence in what is regarded in many societies and religions as the male domain: the family.

Awareness of the extent to which violence is directed at women and girls has increased considerably, as has awareness of the connections between violence, threats and their underlying causes. Today, there is much greater awareness of how male elites in male hegemonic structures use violence and threats of violence to maintain their privileges (see for instance the 2004 study by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs on gender discrimination as a cause of poverty).

Both awareness and reporting of honour-related violence are more limited but are beginning to increase, primarily through the efforts of the UN Special Rapporteurs on Violence against Women, and with the aid of civil society, including researchers and women's organisations, often at the local level.

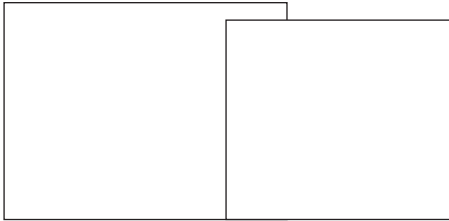
*The level of awareness concerning violence and oppression directed at LGBT persons is still more rudimentary, also when this occurs as a manifestation of honour-related violence.*

Despite the fact that reports show male violence and patriarchal violence and oppression to be systematic, to represent an obstacle to development in many countries, and to afflict hundreds of millions of women and girls, very few analyses have been conducted into the costs of the violence to the individual and the state.

The information that is nevertheless available in this area has

had only a marginal impact on key political discourses concerning security, freedom and sustainable development. Instead, discussions and knowledge concerning women remain part of a separate agenda and have not been properly integrated into priority policy areas and arenas, as can be seen for instance from the current efforts to mainstream gender equality into the UN's human rights agenda.

The field on the left represents the discourses on security, freedom, etc, while the field on the right, separated out, represents policy matters 'defined away' as women's issues.



It is interesting to note, however, that in a leader on 22 June 2005, Sweden's largest daily newspaper, Dagens Nyheter, introduced masculinity issues into the discourse on security policy by noting that *'macho' attitudes at high levels in international politics pose a serious threat to the peace and security of all.*

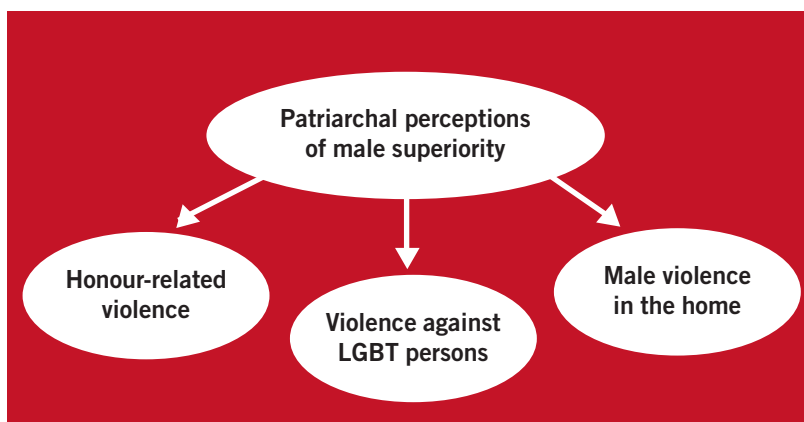
### *Level 3: Acknowledging and analysing the underlying causes of violence and oppression*

Information about the causes of violence both in UN documents and in reports from NGOs and researchers show that violence and oppression in all its various forms is based on *perceptions of the subordination of women vis-à-vis men, on an emphasis on the differences between women and men rather than the similarities, and on stereotype perceptions of men as violent and women as passive.*

*Hitherto, awareness of how the violence relates to oppression and an underlying view of women as inferior beings still seems to have had little impact on strategies and initiatives to combat it. So instead of tackling the perceptions of female subordination that are at the root of the violence, there is a tendency to address the actual manifestations of it, such as 'honour violence', violence directed at LGBT persons, and male violence in the home.*

*The field on the left represents the discourses on security, freedom, etc, while the field on the right, separated out, represents policy matters 'defined away' as women's issues.*

Despite the enormous extent of the violence, significantly less has been done to establish permanent posts for the purpose and/or to make resources available for operative action, e.g. via civil society.



*Level 4. Developing institutional measures: funding, in-service training, joint action and guidelines*

Considerable efforts have been made both by individual states and by the international community to formulate guidelines, train staff and to a certain extent develop joint consultations in order to combat patriarchal violence in its various forms.

Despite the enormous extent of the violence, significantly less has been done to establish *permanent posts for the purpose* and/or to make resources available for operative action, e.g. via civil society. Coordination also appears to be lacking in many cases, and the dialogue between relevant actors dealing with the issue tends to be sporadic, despite a number of initiatives to promote *greater coordination*.

*Level 5. Action in the form of programmes and projects*

While much of value is being done, not least by NGOs, relatively few measures have targeted the perpetrators and the underlying structures that support and sustain both extreme 'chastity cultures' and general perceptions of men's superiority and greater competence.

To achieve results in these areas, there is a need for i) a political will, ii) economic resources, and iii) innovative strategies – and iv) dialogue between different discourses and groups that in many administrations, both internationally and in Sweden, have been kept separate, and between government agencies and key actors in civil society.



### 3.2 Possible supplementary measures focusing on the causes of oppression and violence

Given the present tendency to focus on the most serious forms of criminal violence, there is reason to consider introducing supplementary measures *to tackle the basic causes of the violence and oppression as well, by:*

- ▶ combating economic systems that give rise to violence against women
- ▶ strengthening the right of women to property, inheritance and earnings
- ▶ combating gender stereotypes and heteronormativity
- ▶ seeking to ensure full respect for human rights
- ▶ raising awareness of human rights
- ▶ mobilising men more actively against the violence, showing that this is in their own interests
- ▶ promoting an all-round, integrated definition of freedom and security that takes account of violence against women
- ▶ exposing the basic outlook that gives men the 'right' to oppress and discriminate against women, girls and LGBT persons.
- ▶ supporting women's organisations, e.g. programmes monitoring for accountability
- ▶ combating cultural relativism, which undermines the principle of human rights as universally applicable
- ▶ promoting the empowerment of victims of discrimination against women and LGBT persons, including victims of violence in the name of honour.
- ▶ mobilising religious and political leaders by for instance offering financial assistance so that the family becomes a safe place for women and girls
- ▶ encouraging economists and others to look into the costs to society of male violence against women.

*Given the present tendency to focus on the most serious forms of criminal violence, there is reason to consider introducing supplementary measures to tackle the basic causes of the violence and oppression as well, by: combating economic systems that give rise to violence against women.*

# Annexe 1

## International Conference on ‘Combating Patriarchal Violence Against Women – Focusing on Violence in the Name of Honour’, Stockholm, 7–8 December 2004: Call for Action from the Chair

“Patriarchal violence is a threat to individual freedom and life, to gender justice and development. It must be addressed in all its forms, and at all levels. It occurs throughout the world and in all classes and groups of societies. It differs in expression but is basically rooted in perceptions of male superiority and female subordination. It is often a last resort in male efforts to maintain existing power structures when women and girls challenge the fact that they are denied rights that men and boys are entitled to by birth as males.

Violence in the name of honour is one form of patriarchal violence that is often associated with a lack of bodily integrity, of freedom of movement, of gainful employment and of economic independence. A special characteristic of the violence is that it is openly encouraged and sanctioned, within both families and communities.

UN General Assembly Resolution A/C.3/59/L.25 establishes the duty of states to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and punish the perpetrators of crimes committed against women and girls in the name of honour and to provide protection to the victims, and states that failure

to do so violates, impairs and nullifies the enjoyment of their human rights. The resolution highlights the responsibility of men to promote gender equality and to change attitudes in order to eliminate gender stereotypes. It also stresses the importance of support to victims, including protection, counselling and healthcare, and measures to enhance their sexual, reproductive and psychological health.

Thus, the chair of the international conference on patriarchal violence, held in Stockholm on 7–8 December 2004, issues the following Call for Action:

The root causes of all patriarchal violence must be addressed, by combating perceptions of male superiority and female subordination as well as interpretations of masculinity that reinforce patriarchal structures and male violence.

Violence in the name of honour must be combated as an obstacle to women’s enjoyment of human rights. Interpretations of honour as being closely associated with female chastity must be challenged. It is never acceptable for customs, traditions or religious considerations to be invoked so as to avoid the obligation to elimi-

nate violence against women and girls, including violence in the name of honour.

Violence against women must be addressed from a rights-based perspective as part of a broad range of measures to promote gender equality, by empowering women and girls and by raising awareness among men in order to end their silence on the subject of patriarchal violence. Measures must be taken in the areas of legislation, employment, education and sexual and reproductive health and rights.

Respect for women's enjoyment of human rights is intrinsically linked to democracy. International conventions must be implemented by incorporat-

ing them into national legislation. States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights, including the right to life, liberty and security of persons, and to give this priority by providing adequate resources.

To be more effective in addressing patriarchal violence, particularly violence in the name of honour, international cooperation should be encouraged and expanded, including cooperation in the UN, Interpol and Europol, and among regional organisations such as the EU, the Council of Europe, the OIC, ASEAN, the SADC and the SAARC. NGOs and other actors in civil society are important partners for governments in this pursuit."

# Annexe 2

## A case in point: France and violence in the name of honour

France, being a major immigrant country, is experiencing considerable problems with honour-related violence directed at girls and young women from foreign backgrounds.

- ▶ Some 70,000 girls in France risk being forced into marriage
- ▶ Some 20,000 women and 10,000 girls have been subjected to or risk being subjected to genital mutilation
- ▶ An estimated 8,000–15,000 men are in polygamous relationships in France
- ▶ A number of cases of group rape in ‘immigrant suburbs’
- ▶ Isolation, psychological violence, peer group pressure, harassment.

According to estimates by the immigrant organisation GAMS – quoted by the authorities – some 70,000 girls in the 10–18 age group in France are in danger of being forced into marriage against their will. Within such marriages, violence is rife.

According to the Turkish organisation Elele, the male ‘code of honour’ is applied much more strictly and rigorously among Turkish immigrants in France (approx. 400,000) than it is in their native country. Also, says Elele, ‘honour violence’ against women is more physical and more brutal among

Turkish groups in France than among other immigrant communities where it is practised.

The situation of girls and young women in France exposed to the risk of honour-related (and other) violence is the subject of a broad public debate, and is no longer as taboo as it is said to have been some 10–15 years ago. Government representatives (past and present) and public administrations have shown themselves keen to address the problem, although more pressing, down-to-earth ‘economic issues’ come higher on the agenda. Finally, it is clear that civil society is strongly committed to tackling the violence problem: numerous women’s organisations are engaged in the task.

Among Turks in France, mixed marriages are virtually non-existent, and future wives and husbands are usually brought in from Turkey. For young men in Turkey, who are often distant relatives of the bride, arranged or forced marriages are a way for them to obtain residence permits in France. The situation is toughest for young Turkish women who come to France as a result of forced marriages. They cannot speak the language, have no friends or acquaintances and frequently live in isolation – often physically

shut away by their husband's family. The problem of forced marriages was seldom addressed in the past, and the French authorities were reluctant to embark on campaigns against the phenomenon for fear of stigmatising certain immigrant groups.

There was no public debate on forced marriages in France until four years ago, when a teenage girl, Fatoumata, from a family of Senegalese immigrants wanted to continue studying. As she had a French boyfriend, her father decided just a few days before she was due to sit her final exams at school to force her to return to Senegal, where she was to be married off. Her classmates protested and received the support of politicians, among them the minister of education at the time, Jack Lang, who intervened personally. After having been kept locked up for four months, Fatoumata was given back her passport and managed to return to France. Today, she heads a women's liberation organisation.

Marriage without the consent of both partners is prohibited under French law, and for the French government, which is seeking to improve the situation of immigrant women in the country, combating forced marriage is a priority. The most important component in this endeavour, in the government's view, is adult education and information campaigns targeting the immigrant groups concerned, particularly through schools and immigrant organisations. Legislative means

are also being used to combat forced marriage and to make it more difficult. The French government also wants to address other forms of violence – genital mutilation (female circumcision), polygamy and the right of men in certain countries to cast out their wives (divorce exclusively at the husband's initiative and without the wife's consent). In March 2002, five Somali women who had forced their daughters to undergo circumcision were given conditional prison sentences of 2–3 years.

Also among the victims of the violence are boys and young men who do not fit in and are perhaps not prepared to share the tough, 'macho' mentality of the gangs. Boys and young men who are, or who are thought to be, homosexual are said to have been exposed to harassment and group rape.

It is among the suburban youth gangs – burdened by many other social problems – that observers in France see a breeding ground for the radicalised and politicised Muslim movement that is now said to be gaining in strength. The movement includes 'self-proclaimed imams' who spread dubious messages concerning both the role of women and the teachings of the Koran in relation to women. In 2004, one of these 'imams' was expelled from a mosque outside Lyon for specifically urging that wives and women who failed to behave in accordance with his interpretation of the Koran be stoned and subjected to other bodily punishment.

# Annexe 3

## Abbreviations and acronyms

ASTREA	Lesbian Foundation for Justice
BRÅ	Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande Rådet)
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
ECOSOC	The UN Economic and Social Council
GALA	Gay and Lesbian Archives of South Africa
GDI	Gender Development Index
LGBT	Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender
ICC	The International Criminal Court in the Hague
IGLHRC	International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission
IGLYO	International Lesbian and Gay Youth Organisation
ILGA	International Lesbian and Gay Association
IHLIA	International Homo/Lesbisch Informatiecentrum en Archief
ILO	International Labour Organization
HomO	The Office of the Swedish Ombudsman against Discrimination on grounds of Sexual Orientation
HR	Human Rights codified in conventions
CHR	UN Commission on Human Rights
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM	UN Development Fund for Women
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation

# Annexe 4

## Reference literature

Below, the reference literature is divided up in accordance with the survey sections, in the order in which it appears in the text.

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### **Links**

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The extensive range of Swedish literature (most of them available only in Swedish) on the subject may be divided into four main categories:

- ▶ Government communications on human rights in Swedish foreign policy, etc, and Government communications to the Riksdag (parliament)
- ▶ Reports from official inquiries, including a comprehensive report from the Commission on Women’s Power in Society, reports on structural discrimination and on male violence against women, the ‘Empty Fist’ report, etc.
- ▶ A large number of manuals targeting public authorities and focusing primarily on violence in the name of honour
- ▶ A wide range of publications from bodies and individuals such as the Church of Sweden, Swedish Amnesty, Anna Höglund’s thesis on gender and war, and numerous publications from the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation ([www.iktk.se](http://www.iktk.se))



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