HE HIT YOU ONLY Once?

Azra Smailkadic
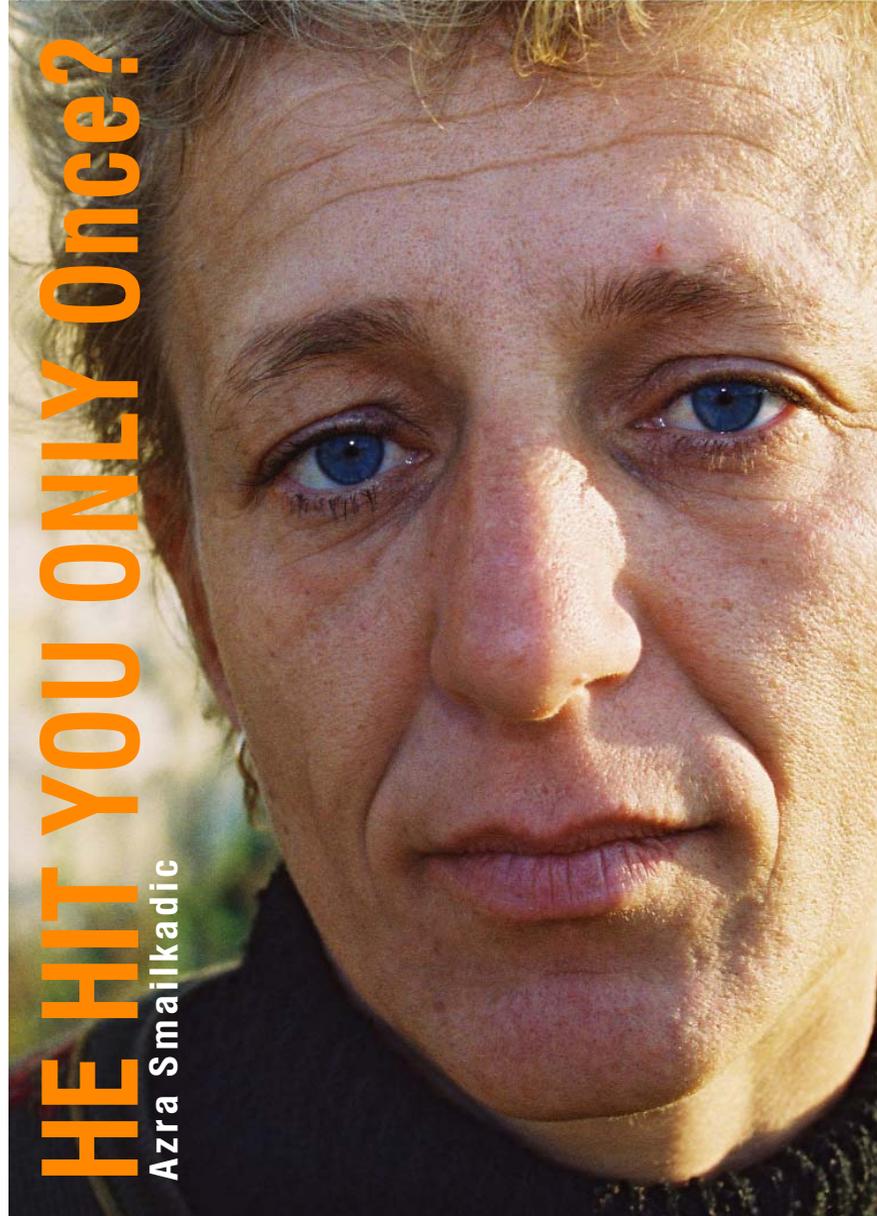
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"I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and nonviolence are as old as the hills." (Mahatma Gandhi)

Introduction

It sounds awful when we know that every three minutes one woman is being raped and every 18 seconds one is being beaten.[1] We say 'sounds awful'; by pronouncing these words we condemned violence against women and hence, wash our conscious? But did we really? Is it so important whether we are talking about domestic violence and 'low level' war or 'high level' war against women in the armed conflicts?[2] Does it really matter whether soldiers equipped with guns can kill more people or that physically stronger men can physically and/or emotionally harm vulnerable women and/or children?

Where is the difference if a woman was raped or forced into pregnancy by her husband or by some anonymous soldier? Violence is about the abuse of power, in whatever form it takes. Individuals who are dominant are in position to be violent towards those who are less influential or defenseless in a given situation. These abuses of power take place within hierarchical systems, like patriarchy.[3] However, patriarchy is not just situation where men are more influential than women. It is situation, whether in peace or war time, where women's human rights are not recognized and valued.[4]

Hence, it seems that it does not matter whether it is war or peace time, because all women in any way influenced by patriarchy are objective for different kinds of violence. It is true that contexts and shapes may be really different, yet "All women who live under patriarchal structures of power are target for sexual and psychological violence in the periods of so-called normal time and during the war."[5] Hence, like Cynthia Cockburn points out, violence against women has to be understood as "a continuum of violence from the bedroom to the battlefield."[6] Furthermore, Cockburn thinks that inhe-

rited patriarchal gender order is the base of our repressive civilization and source for modern wars.[7]

Additionally, in patriarchal societies, the misuse of male supremacy to take advantage of the women is the nucleus of male sexual violence.[8] For example, a specific kind of violence against women, rape is committed both in peace and war time. The rapist's goal is not to achieve sexual pleasure, but power and domination over woman.[9] As Andric-Ruzicic formulates it, "In its essence, rape is male violence against women."[10] Hence, *in this paper I argue that violence against women is a direct result of patriarchal social order, gender dichotomy and stereotypes. Additionally, it has been declared that although it is not the main source and direct cause, women's poverty may facilitate and even reinforce violence against women. Furthermore, this thesis emphasizes the existing link between domestic violence and violence against women in war. In my opinion, it is impossible to divide these two manifestations of violence which may lead to a horrific materialization of violence - genocide or particularly femicide (physically and metaphorically speaking).*

Still, essence of all these aforementioned expressions of violence is in fact - male violence against women.

In the first chapter I present theoretical background on the sources of violence against women, in particular dealing with questions of patriarchy and stereotypes. This chapter also provides analysis of poverty which unquestionably affects women more than men, disproportionately and differently. In the second chapter I deal with domestic violence. In the third chapter, I discuss violence against women during times of war, focusing predominantly on rape. The fourth chapter synthesizes the paper and highlights the continuum of violence against women in peace and war time.

The methodology includes qualitative and quantitative analysis and thus, paper combines analytical, polemical, critical and comparative approach. This paper does lack statistical data, which is due to the invisibility of problem, in general, very poor or non-reliable. An additional reason is pointed at by Fadila Memisevic that "statistic data do not make anybody cry."[11] Still, for the sake of this work, priority was given to qualitative information and thus, to real human stories. Hence, in order to connect theory and practice, this

paper discusses and analyzes the stories of two women, the victim of male violence. The first story is Alma's from Bosnia and Herzegovina[12] victim of domestic violence, who was interviewed by the author of this paper. The second narrative is by Marica from Croatia, a woman from Vukovar and survivor of a gang rape in the war.[13] In my opinion, these stories are extraordinarily significant for this paper, since they are distinguishing it from many others very much repetitive and merely theoretical academic essays. Hence, this paper does not contain typical case study, but substantially it utilizes some examples from former Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, besides storytelling, also books, essays, articles, human rights documents, reports and pamphlets, among all, are utilized to prove the main argument of this work. It is important to speak about this topic because violence against women is a deeply rooted and widespread social, political, emotional, anthropological, historical, psychological, sociological, pathological, evolutional and religious problem. Nevertheless, it is habitually considered as 'private' issue, kept in the dark and silence and moreover, protected against governmental interference. Hence, as such, it has become

perceived as normal and routine state of affairs. In addition, it remains generally ignored, neglected and largely misunderstood. Nonetheless, I am aware that structure of this thesis is very much complex and that each part requests many further analysis. However, the aim of this paper is in fact to provide the background for some potential further actions. Hence, the goal is not to provide direct solutions, but more to enlighten some manifestations of violence against women.

Notes

1 Dworkin A. "Pisma iz ratnog podrucja", Zenska infoteka, Zagreb, 2002 : 193 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

2 de Alwis M. "Uvod" in *Giles W. , de Alwis M., Klein E. and Silva N. (eds.) "Feministkinje pod paljbom"* (razmjene medju ratnim zonama), Zenska infoteka, Zagreb, 2004 : 91-92 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

3 Patriarchy is "a system of male authority which oppresses women through social, political and economic institutions". Available at: www.personal.utulsa.edu/~lara-foley/definitions.htm

4 Baker S., Jenkins K. (eds.) "Introduction" in *"Violence against Women in Eastern and Central Europe"*, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Prague, 1993 : 13

5 de Alwis M. "Uvod" in Giles W. , de Alwis M., Klein E. and Silva N. (eds.) "Feministkinje pod paljbom" (razmjene medju ratnim zonama), Zenska infoteka, Zagreb, 2004 : 91-92 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

6 Cockburn C., "Prostor izmedju nas : gradjenje rodnih i nacionalnih identiteta u konfliktu", Shura Publications, Opatija, 2003 : 6 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

7 Cockburn C., "Prostor izmedju nas : gradjenje rodnih i nacionalnih identiteta u konfliktu", Shura Publications, Opatija, 2003 : 162 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

8 Corrin C. (ed.) "Introduction" in *"Women in a Violent War"* (feminist analyses and resistance across Europe), Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1996 : 3

9 Mamula M. "Zdravstvene i psiholoske posljedice spolnog nasilja nad zenama *in Ajdukovic M., Pavlekovic G. (eds.) "Nasilje nad zenom u obitelji"*, Drustvo za psiholosku pomoc, Zagreb, 2000 : 95 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

10 Andric-Ruzicic D., "Ratno silovanje i politicka manipulacija prezivjelima" *in Giles W., de Alwis M., Klein E. and Silva N. (eds.) "Feministkinje pod paljbom"* (razmjene medju ratnim zonama), Zenska infotetka, Zagreb, 2004 : 107-108 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

11 Memisevic F. "For New Understanding of Woman as a Witness" in Tokaca M. (ed.) "The Sin of Silence - Risk of Speech", Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 2000 : 551

12 Abbreviation BiH will be used in further text

13 remark: Marica was not interviewed by the author of this paper; her story in original taken from Bennett O., Bexley J., Warnock K. (eds.), *"Arms to Fight - Arms to Protect"* (women speak out about conflict), Panos, London, 1995 : 235 - 237

Chapter I

The Fabric of Violence against Women

 "Recognizing that violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men..."[1]

There are countless manifestations of violence such as poverty, hunger, aspiration, intolerance, discrimination, chauvinism, racism, genocide[2] and femicide.[3] According to

the author Luc Reychler, violence is a situation in which the quantitative and qualitative life expectancies of a particular group or groups within a group of people, a state, a region or the world are significantly lower than other groups. Hence, violence is about shortening the life of a human being. There are different manifestations of violence, which include physical violence, structural violence, psychological violence, cultural violence, bad governance, organized crime and extra-legal activities. Armed violence is direct, visible and a more lethal force that kills faster. The other types of violence are indirect and less visible, but affect more people overall. Indeed, according to Mahatma Gandhi, poverty is the worst possible form of violence in the world. It affects one billion people who subsist on $1 a day and another 2.8 billion people who live on less $2 a day. In the West, poverty means a bad life, yet in the Third World it is something close to death.[4]

To understand the phenomenon of violence, we have to observe violence as a whole and include the less visible means of violence in order to convey a more realistic picture of the situation in the world. We should also acknowledge and bear in mind that the attention of the media and researchers is on sensational violence, such as terrorism. Again, it is important to highlight the fact that this kind of violence kills less then the other means of violence. By contrast, structural violence shortens the life of hundreds of millions of persons and bad governance reduces the life expectancies of approximately 1.5 billion people. Structural violence is in relation to greed and corruption, indifference and neglect, the harmful, negative side-effects of well intentioned policies and ignorance. Take for instance, the withdrawal of the Blue Helmets from Rwanda in 1994 when the genocidal violence started. In such a case, we can agree that bad governance kills as their withdrawal signaled to Hutu militia men that they could proceed with the manslaughter throughout the country. Another less visible form of violence can be traced to transnational organized crimes, which plays a significant role in deteriorating human security. Criminal organizations gain $300 to $500 billion annually from illegal activities, such as narcotics or human trafficking.[5]

In order to prevent violence more effectively, we have to look at the fabric of violence. Armed violence is linked with the other strands of the fabric. Possibly, armed conflict is just

consequence of other means of violence. Before the genocide erupted in Rwanda, the country was considered as relatively secure place. Such was probably also the case in the former Yugoslavia. A broader analysis of the violence in the two countries would probably give different results and warned us about growing tensions. Thus, the fabric of violence includes all physical means of violence (terrorism, guerilla, conventional warfare etc.) which are visible, direct and intentional as well as structural means of violence (political, economic and cultural exclusion) which are less visible, indirect, but again intentional.[6] In addition, the patriarchal social order and the resulting gender dichotomy, when reinforced by poverty, help to create the fabric of violence against women. Hence, the purpose of this chapter is to clarify how the apparatus of violence against women functions in order to further elucidate the notions of patriarchy and gender stereotypes.

Roots of Violence against Women

Violence against women exists in the private and as well in the public spheres of life. It presents a massive breach of one of the elementary human right, the right to a violence-free life. In many countries and most often in predominantly patriarchal societies, gender violence is regularly treated as some family issue and often by the very institutions and those that it would be least expected from. Still, "Violence against women is the primary social mechanism of control over women, which helps produce, reproduce and maintain the subordination, discrimination and unequal status of women in the society."[7] It is one of the fundamental social mechanisms by which women are required into inferior situation compared to men.[8] This phenomenon is visible in the society in many different shapes such as domestic violence, sexual assault and human trafficking and touches lives in many different ways. The most extreme situation, where all forms of gender violence are exposed and exacerbated happen during times of war and in instances of genocide and femicide.

These forms of violence exist in societies around the world and regularly overlap in our day-to-day life. The structure of and control over a society is such that some groups have more power than others, creating inequalities between the genders in the first place, but also between classes, races,

nationalities, the physically able and the physically challenged. Violence is an instrument regularly used by a group with supremacy to affirm, maintain or advance its control over a group with less power. This dynamic is clear between many groups in society and the methods of control are often very similar.[9]

Thus, violence is about the misuse of power and it can take many forms, such as physical, sexual and emotional abuse. In addition, there are economic, social and cultural violence that happen across all classes and groups in many societies. In many cases, women experience maltreatment for countless years before speaking out and many women have died victims of such violence. Women are killed by their violent partners, who in turn often receive light sentences for their crimes. Moreover, men living in patriarchal societies are commonly 'permitted' to be fanatical and aggressive, while women are 'projected' to be inert and subservient.[10] It is an essential principle in the practice of constructing masculinity, rather than the end state, that may be the basis of violence.[11] Hence, both the culture of patriarchy, which has existed for

more than 5.000 years and the gender stereotypes are the focal points where violence against women actually starts.

Rule of Patriarchy

Inside the family, the man is regularly perceived as the ultimate source of power and authority. Such an organizational model, with the man at the top possessing the control is evident in workplaces, schools, governments and other institutions, both national and international. The nature of our patriarchal societies is inherently hierarchal and organized so that the power flows from the top downwards. If men are at the top and women are at the bottom, then our societies are organized such that men can have power over women. Such patriarchal power can be fundamental and all encompassing in a society, ultimately deciding the fate of women and children. For instance, the men at the top of the hierarchy have power to decide not only whether or not women must have children but also the legality status of abortions.[12]

Throughout history, men were the ones who had power in the family and during the process of creating the modern

state, such a 'right' was formally granted to them. Male domination over women inside the family has existed for the centuries now, as well the social norms and continuum in laws. Women were long excluded from educational systems and they were deprived from playing active roles in politics. In many fields they were deprived of some rights, like the right to vote which was granted to women much later than to men. We should therefore not be altogether surprised that even today in the 21st century, women are often subordinated to their fathers and husbands. More often than not, they are still largely limited in making their own decisions, which explains partly the scale of the epidemy of gender violence. Peace researcher J. Galtung would further argue that "Violence will always emerge when some people are influenced by others who keep their real physical and psychological development on a much lower level than their potential one."[13]

Indeed, we should recall that up to 1970s, marital laws in many European countries prescribed the man's role as the 'head of the family' and expected the woman to conform to it. Although marriage is acknowledged in society as contract between man and woman, many feminists argue that this relation between husband and wife is far from being an equitable one. They habitually argue that marriage is only an association where one side, the husband's, has rights to be like a slave-owner over his wife. In 1825 William Thompson in his book "The address of one half of mankind, women, against the efforts of the other half, men, to keep them in political, civil and domestic slavery" offered the foundations for future feminist critics, who denounced marriage as an unequal contractal relation.[14] Thompson argues that women were in a way forced to sign this contract because the social customs and law greatly hindered the possibility of women to earn a living and live autonomously. Thus, marriage for a woman was the only solution and means of securing a descent life for herself and her children. Clearly, marriage was simply the law reinforcing the superiority of men, many of whom did not pay attention to women's interests and needs. To become a husband meant achieving patriarchal rights over his wife.[15]

Philosopher John Stuart Mill agrees with Thompson and argues that women are as a matter a fact only in a position to get married. To become a wife is the only possibility which is open and logical for woman. It is a result of her upbringing

and education combined with social and legislative pressures. According to Mill, gender difference leads to a division of labor among gender. The partition of 'male and female jobs' supports male patriarchal law, as a woman will never be paid for her domestic work in a household.[16] Thus, according to the author Christine Delphy, the most important forms of female subjugation are tied to men's control of women's reproductive rights as well as their capacities in the home. In general, men do benefit from women's provision of domestic work, child bearing and production of goods.[17]

Moreover, Mill and Thompson both agree that to become a wife is similar or worse than becoming a slave.[18] Kant dared to take his accusations a step further that Mill and Thompson, arguing that marriage is actually a contract that authorizes a man to use his wife sexually. Still, according to Kant, a husband owns his wife's body, but she does not have the same right over his. Kant's marital contract constitutes the husband's patriarchal right.[19] Thus, the initial marriage contract is not only the social contract, but also is the sexual contract that is established in order to consolidate male patriarchal right over women.[20]

Arguably, the patriarchal social order continues to live on because women are still thought to associate their sense of worth with the fulfillment of the requirements and wishes of others. They are even encouraged to feel responsible when men torture them, be it physically, mentally or sexually. It seems that this trend is unbreakable in cultures where a woman is persistently diminished, where her sexuality is controlled and where her efforts and personality are undervalued. Frequently, a woman's identity is formed according to an environment that associates her only with 'biological task.'[21]

Therefore, the most important role of a wife, according to traditional values in patriarchal societies is to be a good wife and mother. In many societies, even today, the common belief is that women are complete and useful only if they get married. The burden of the family harmony falls on a woman and she is to stay in the marriage under all circumstances as any unsuccessful marriage will be her fault and responsibility. Hence, a divorced woman is likely to be stigmatized in the society and blamed for the failure in marriage.[22] C. Delphy argues that divorce today is something like the transformation of marriage, because divorced women almost always

continue to take care of the children. Divorce is consequently the collective liberation of men from the responsibility of taking care for the children and in relation to that, the collective enslavement of women.[23] This is the age of modern patriarchy and marriage and divorce are just two faces of the same coin, where the man remains as patriarchal ruler.

Furthermore, according to the J. Mostov and R. Ivekovic, the gender difference is probably the oldest recognized differentiation incorporated in all spheres of life. It is seen as crucial, undeniable and undisputable and as a clause of existence. Thus, it is symbolically initiating all further dichotomies and thinking. The universal patriarchal agreement concerning the submission of women to men rationalizes other suppressions through the apparatus of a symbolic 'analogy'. The interpretation of this subjugation as normal is significant, because it additionally establishes and asserts patriarchy. History of the gender social affairs is repeatedly hidden via replacement of social and historic relations with the biological ones.[24] Yet, female subordination goes so far away that is still seen as unavoidable or natural, rather than as a politically created conviction preserved by patriarchal

principles and tradition.[25] However, we must remember that female subordination and moreover, its rationalization within a patriarchal context is a direct outcome of gender stereotypes.

Gender Stereotypes

"In the prevailing stereotypes, which differ little from culture to culture and tradition to tradition throughout the world, men are perceived as decisive, steady, calm, disciplined, methodical, organized, strict, patriotic, with a gift for assessing and taking risks, independent, needing power and fame, ambitious, inclined to and with a sense of leadership, self-satisfied, self-confident, needing prestige, career and affirmation, combative, active, clear-headed, objective, favoring theoretical ideas and concepts, with a flair for science, skeptical, reasonable and sensible. The prevailing stereotype of women is that they are talkative or even gossipy, affected, frivolous, sly, indiscreet, anxious to please, subservient, weak, unstable, passive, inquisitive, intuitive, ingratiating, sympathetic and compassionate, inclined to be scheming and amorous."[26]

Children become acquainted with gender roles and societal prejudices at an early age and often adopt them in the process of socialization. They learn about them from their parents, peers, schools and the media. Gender stereotypes imply a strict confirmation of a person's gender. If somebody is a real man or a real woman, than they are to act in an explicit way and must do so with pleasure.[27] Furthermore, since childhood, both girls and boys are thought that those who love them fight them. It is all the more apparent in children's reactions to the physical conflict between boys and girls - 'those who fight like each other' ('ko se tuce, taj se voli').[28] In general, a man is discouraged to perform 'woman's job' (i.e. child care or domestic work) and the same can be said for a woman who is not suppose to hold 'man's job' (i.e. like being politically active).[29] Moreover, discrimination against women of a certain age (i.e. 30 and up) who still do not have husband means special kind of discrimination. These women are stigmatized in patriarchal society and concerned less valuable.[30]

Furthermore, common prejudice holds that it is normal for men to be hostile, because males are, 'naturally' more aggressive than women. 'Boys will be boys' and cannot be taught differently. Men's aggression is often 'explained' by biological discussions of testosterone, the so-called 'male hormone.'[31] Still, men believe that women are biologically inferior. This means that in the biological sense women are not respected in the way men are. Men believe in the theory of female inferiority and even women do, because of their misconstrued education.[32] However, meticulous testing and analysis show that biological essentialism is not such a reliable hypothesis. For example, testosterone levels are likely to be the outcome of social relations more than source of supremacy and aggression in society. Cross-cultural studies of masculinities demonstrate a variety and therefore it is unfeasible to resolve the issue with a biologically-fixed master prototype of masculinity.[33]

Gender stereotypes and a specific perception of women as inferior openly contribute to violence against women. The justification is based on the stereotypical social perceptions that women are inferior to and weaker than men. They are perceived as less competent in a society and less apt to complete difficult tasks in relation to the public life (i.e. politics

and economics). According to the social definition, women are first and foremost mothers, responsible for the wellbeing of their families.[34] However, "When people do not posses exact information in relation to some phenomenon, it is resulting with myths which give very simple, but applicable explanation of some social trend. When they are replicated frequently, myths start to look like good founded facts and become very-well accepted wisdoms."[35]

Thus, violence against women is a direct outcome of such myths (involving stereotyping), social constructions of masculinity and patriarchal social orders. Patriarchy and prejudices are already well known and defined in literature as roots of gender-based violence. Nonetheless, according to the former president of The Republic of South Africa Nelson Mandela, in order for a society to become democratic, it is supposed to abandon policy of male domination and gender discrimination.[36] Furthermore, according to the worldwide known peace activist Mahatma Gandhi, poverty is the worst possible kind of violence. Hence, it is not feasible to identify poverty as direct cause of violence. To a large extent, poverty reinforces violence or it is the cause of discrimination and a generator of new problems for women.

Feminization of Poverty

According to Virginia Woolf, women are forever poor. They have not been at a disadvantage for the previous centuries, but always will be. Whether one agrees or not with her belief, the fact remains that poverty affects women more, disproportionately and differently than men. More than one billion people worldwide live in the unacceptable conditions of poverty and seventy percent of them are women. The difference between men and women can be partly explained by their differing ability to access economic resources and the labor market.[37] Women's poverty is not just about a woman 'who did not succeed in her life.' The feminization of poverty is a worldwide and alarming social phenomenon. Why is it that men are richer and women poorer?[38]

The position of women and men in society is characterized by an unequal distribution of power, which is noticeable both in the public and private spheres. By using and misusing their

superior position in society, men take control over the most goods and garner more respect, money and power than women. Patriarchal social and gender orders imply a traditional division of gender to fulfill conventional roles and thus women's poverty is accepted as part of the 'normal' state of affairs. It therefore is possible to rationalize the poverty that woman live in. Poverty is not only the by-product of a whole discriminatory social environment, but it is the cause of other discrimination and generator of new problems for woman. Since she is woman and poor, she cannot protect herself from violence in the home and at the work place. Since she is poor, she cannot benefit from a good education. Since she is poor she cannot provide herself health insurance. Since she is poor, she cannot apply for high paying jobs and be actively involved in politics. All she can think about is how to manage to survive to the very next day.[39]

Stress influences considerably a women's health. Surveys have shown that women often go through a big stress because of the economic crisis. Poverty is one of the most hidden women problems that women deal with, partly because they do not raise awareness about it. Poverty can cause a woman do experiences feelings of anger and shame but also can, thanks to deliberate patriarchal influence and calculations, allow women to feel proud, happy and satisfy too. It is a patriarchal lie that poverty is honest. Poverty is in fact only one heavy burden. There are many other social mechanisms ensuring sustainable discrimination against woman. Domestic work that women regularly carry out is among the most visible, which is rarely a source of respect or of income. Thus, women work and men possess. If one is poor, one does not have time or energy to do anything else except to survive. One needs to have strategy on how to survive... nothing else.[40]

Therefore, in order to survive a person must first of all avoid famines and starvation. Famines entail starvation and starvation entails poverty. Starvation is 'normal' in many parts of the world. Starvation is a condition where people are without enough food, whereas famine is a dangerous manifestation of an acute shortage of food, which can cause even death. In the recent years, trend has been to increase food accessibility in most parts of the world. However, this does not prevent acute starvation from occurring repeatedly. The problem stems from a biased circulation of food among dif-

ferent groups. Thus, famines can occur even when regular starvation is on firm decline. Famines and widespread acute starvation most probably will not affect all groups in the famine-affected nation. All groups in a country do not suffer from starvation. Typically, select (gender) groups do have commanding powers over food. Even when no over-all deficiency of food exists, some groups, comprised above all of women, can experience acute absolute deprivation.[41]

Moreover, the entitlement approach to starvation and famine means the ability of people to control food, using the legal ways existing in the society. The entitlement approach is in relation to the use of production possibilities, entitlements vis-à-vis the state, trade opportunities etc. Hence, a person starves because he/she (usually she) does not have the capability to control a sufficient amount of food or because she does not use this capability to avoid starvation. Ownership of food is essentially a primordial property right and in every society there are rules by which this right is preserved. In addition, the problem of misdistribution of, for example, food within the family is also a significant matter of concern.[42] This actually means that the physically powerful

husband, for whatever motive can easily deny his wife and children access to food and other basics needs.

According to the author S. Rowntree, somebody is poor if his/her total income is not sufficient for attaining the minimum requirements for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.[43] However, poverty can have a broader definition as well. According to the United Nations (UN), poverty must be looked at within the larger framework of human development that focuses not only on income. The lack of prospects for human development is linked to the deprivation of choices and opportunities for the fulfillment of basic human abilities also counts. Moreover, the UN vision is to achieve a certain living standard, freedom, dignity, self-esteem, respect for others and leading a long, healthy and creative life.[44] Yet, labor, from the conventional point of view, means economic survival only. Nevertheless, according to some modern perceptions, work means social need, human value, development of human personality and self-realization.[45]

Basically, everything which is happening in the world and in the global society influences and reflects in the family. In the case of the former Yugoslavia, unemployment and the poverty

of a large part of population are outcomes of an economic crisis and the 1992-1995 war. In addition, there is a worsening of the housing conditions brought about by sudden changes in the economic and social status of citizens and an overall decline in living standards. The intensification and accumulation of social stress is also reflected in relationships with the family unit. Various forms of violence as a result of this social environment became a model for the conflict resolution in all spheres of social life. A rise in unemployment and poverty, economic destabilization, both during and after war, triggered different forms of anti-social and criminal behavior, including domestic violence.[46] This phenomenon is often concealed from the public eye because of patriarchal values, gender marginalization, unemployment and an absence of adequate social and legal support.[47] Such concealment can be devastating for a woman and her family, as violence can destroy a woman's self-respect and sense of independence and scar her soul and body deeply. Such a traumatic experience has enormous consequences, which are not only physical.[48]

Notes

1 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women - preamble; LightHouse-human rights instruments database; Sarajevo, Balkan Human Rights Network, 2003.

2 Connell R.W. "Masculinities: the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace" in *Cockburn C., Zarkov D. (eds.)"The Postwar Moment"* - militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping, Lawrence&Wishart, London, 2002 : 38

3 Femicide is murder of a person based on the fact of the victim's being female. Available at: http://www.geocities.com/brianmyhre/5Def.htm

4 Reychler, L. "Preventing War Crimes and Genocide; a Look from the Balcony", course "War Crimes, Genocide and Memories", Inter University Center, Dubrovnik, 2005; available at: www.iuc.hr

5 Reychler, L. "Preventing War Crimes and Genocide; a Look from the Balcony", course "War Crimes, Genocide and Memories", Inter University Center, Dubrovnik, 2005; available at: www.iuc.hr

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7 Baksic-Muftic J., Ler-Sofronic N., Gradascevic-Sijercic J., Fetahagic M. "Violence against Women" in "Because We are Women", World Learning Star Network, Sarajevo, 2003 : 68

8 Baker S., Jenkins K. (eds.) "Introduction" in *"Violence against Women in Eastern and Central Europe"*, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Prague, 1993 : 7

9 Andric-Ruzicic D., Peele H. (eds.) "Introduction" in *"To Live Without Violence"*, Infoteka, Medica, Zenica, 1999 : 35

10 Baker S., Jenkins K. (eds.) "Introduction" in *"Violence against Women in Eastern and Central Europe"*, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Prague, 1993 : 9-10

11 Connell R.W. "Masculinities: the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace" in *Cockburn C., Zarkov D. (eds.) "The Postwar Moment"* - militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping, Lawrence&Wishart, London, 2002 : 36

12 Baker S., Jenkins K. (eds.) "Introduction" in *"Violence against Women in Eastern and Central Europe"*, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Prague, 1993 : 8-9

13 "Put iz nasilja" (prirucnik za otvaranje i vodjenje sklonista za zene), Autonomna zenska kuca Zagreb, Ured za ravnopravnost spolova Vlade RH, Bec, 2004 : 9 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

14 Pateman, Carole, "Spolni ugovor", Zenska infoteka, Zagreb, 2000 : 153-155 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

15 Pateman, Carole, "Spolni ugovor", Zenska infoteka, Zagreb, 2000 : 156-157 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

16 Pateman, Carole, "Spolni ugovor", Zenska infoteka, Zagreb, 2000 : 160-161 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

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Chapter II

Domestic Violence: Scars That Never Heal

"In the family detention physical barriers are rare. In majority of homes, even the cruelest one, there are no grids on the windows, no fences from barbed wire. Women and children usually are not bounded with chains, but that happens also. Run away obstacles are usually invisible. However, they are extremely strong. Children are kept with their dependency. Women are detained because of their economical, social, psycho-logical and legislative subservient position. Moreover, they are bounded with physical strength".[1]

Domestic violence has existed throughout human history, but has only been recognized recently as a serious societal problem and a violation of human rights. The development of a universal and comprehensive human rights system in the 20th century resulted in numerous stereotypes regarding ideal family vanishing, like for example, the concept of childhood as the happiest era in a lifetime. Many surveys have shown that the family environment can be the most abusive environment place for a child and woman, where horrible violations of human rights can occur.[2] As A. Dworkin argues: "Home is often depicted as place of Christian peace and joy. Yet, for woman it may be the most dangerous place to be on the whole Earth."[3] Hence, the aim of this chapter is to elaborate on the phenomenon of domestic violence, its forms, techniques and characteristics, as well as underlining the role that poverty can play in an abusive relationship.

Facts on Domestic Violence

Domestic violence means continuous use of physical, psychological, sexual and economical or any other force against family members.[4] "Domestic violence includes the use of different kinds of pressure or any other action by a family member(s) that may cause or contribute to the danger of physical or mental pain, fear or a sense of personal vulnerability or a violation of dignity, damage to property or any serious threat to such damage to another family member."[5] It represents the manifestation of control and power over the victim. Domestic violence is a continual circle of harassment and not an isolated incident, nor is it a series of isolated episodes. It is an ongoing cycle of abuse.[6] It is one of the most dangerous forms of victimization and results in a loss of trust and threatening safety. Women are the most vulnerable category of people affected by domestic violence. They are exposed to male violence within the family in more than 80% of cases. Wife abuse is the most frequent form of domestic violence, because in more than two-thirds of cases the perpetrator is the present or former husband or partner.[7] Abusive men use different types of violence against women in order to realize their goals and to achieve supremacy over women.

"Slapping, battering, pushing, pulling hair, twisting arms, throwing various objects at the victim, attempted strangling,

beating with fists and kicking" are the most frequent physical forms of domestic violence.[8] It can result with light and as well heavy physical wounds, attempting murder or even murder.[9] Yet, physical violence is not the only form of violence. Sometimes the effects and consequences of psychological violence can be even worse. Mental cruelty is equally as bad as physical violence or even worse, as the scars do not show and never heal.[10] Psychological violence is aimed at gaining power and control over the victim. It is devastating for woman's psychological health and personality. It includes different prohibitions, threats, insults, undervaluation, isolation, control of movement, declaring woman physically sick or unstable etc.[11]

Moreover, sexual violence is still taboo in patriarchal societies, as it is in fact consider as a 'marital duty.'[12] Sexual violence means both physical and psychological violence and goes from the sexual harassment, incest and rape.[13] Rape is one of the most frequent crimes with the lowest rate of reporting. Women worldwide are still fighting to make domestic violence a crime that is not their fault. Unfortunately, the common attitude in many parts of the world is that 'she asked for it.' In addition, a rape survivor often feels helpless and ashamed, as well as reluctant to ask for help. Such behavior is commonly described as the rape trauma syndrome. The rape victim denies her experience because she is eager to regain and strengthen the control that she has over her life. "A rape experience can completely change the whole attitude and life of a woman. Even after several years after rape, a victim can experience strong feelings of anger and guiltiness inside of her."[14]

In addition, a woman can be subject to economical violence, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next subchapter dedicated to financial torturing, which includes not paying alimony or any other means by which women and children are left without money for survival.[15] Abusers have a tendency to control the family finances in order to control their wives. Very often, a woman has to plead for money, which degrades her in the eyes of her husband and succeeds in worsening her position in the family.[16]

Isolation is also a commonly used technique by the perpetrator/husband in order to attain control over his victim/wife. Methods of isolation include banning a woman

from leaving the house or going to the backyard. Such physical isolation can be combined with social exclusion. A woman might be prevented from talking on the phone, especially if the man uses it to check up on her during the day. The abusive man's antisocial personal traits could also reinforce a woman's isolation as he may chose to spend his free time with his family and expect his wife to curtail her social life accordingly. When confronted by an accusation of domestic violence, the perpetrator will minimize or even deny outright the importance or scale of the beatings and isolation, using statements like 'I did not hit her' or 'I just pushed her a little bit.' The truth is that such abusive man is often dishonest towards himself and subsequently towards others. His way of thinking is the only 'right way' and he believes that he is the one capable of making decisions. A woman's sole duty, by contrast, is to obey him.[17]

Generally, a perpetrator/husband does not treat his victim/wife as a human being, but rather considers her as property.[18] He will also regularly make use of children in order to maintain control over her. For example, he can make her feel guilty because of the children or exploit them to induce fear into her. In the event that they are separated or divorced, he may frighten his wife by saying that he will take children away from her. He may also use the legal rights to see his children to provoke and attack again.[19]

Women are not only subject to domestic violence before and after childbirth, but also during their pregnancies. An abuser can forcibly impregnate a woman either by controlling her birth control methods (refusing to use a condom, forbidden the use of birth control pills and the morning after pill) or by rape in order to make her dependent on him. At the same time he may know how to be pleasant and charming and often has a reputation of being a 'good guy' in the community. Some men in public show their good side and the dark one is apparent only to his family. That means double perfidy, since few people will believe the wife when she publicly denounces his violent behavior. After a violent incident, an abusive spouse/partner will usually state that he will never be violent again and asks his wife for a second chance. Unfortunately, domestic violence is often a vicious circle and the chance that he will keep his word is slim.[20]

Men combine all these forms and techniques of violence in order to humiliate, subordinate and maintain power over women.[21] It is important to underline that women are abused irrespective of their social position, ethnic or religious background. Perpetrators also come from every social level, ethnic group and religious community.[22] Violence is a mode by which perpetrator controls his victim, hence he benefits from such a behavior. He controls and/or isolates her from any access of support and hence, he makes an environment in which she is forced to serve his requests.[23] Domestic violence is as well formally reinforced by official institutions and informally by society.[24] Yet those who govern the community (courts, police, schools, churches, centers for social work etc.) are in fact tolerable towards the violence. It seems that these 'experts' who are in position to give support to the victim, permit wife abuse more than sentence it.[25] Never-the-less, intention and trans-generational phenomenon, in my opinion, are very important and require further analysis. Yet, these characteristics of domestic violence may be as well the essence of some other materializations of violence, such as war and in addition genocide.

Intentional and Trans-generational Phenomenon

Explanations that perpetrator may offer in relation to his actions, serve to mask or validate attack. The perpetrator often chooses conscientiously to use violence in order to control his victim. The abuser usually claims otherwise, stating that he assaulted his victim because he 'lost control.' This explains why an abusive man may mistreat his wife only in the presence of their children or just when the couple is alone. Perpetrators often choose to hit places on the body where physical traces of the attack are not visible.[26] Perpetrators later often confess that they have fantasies to kill as well, but ultimately decided not to go that far. Hence, they made choice and they are in position to make choices. Additionally, it is well known that men use 'step by step' approach to install violence in the relationship. They are well aware that a sudden act of violence at the very beginning of the relationship would result in women leaving them.[27] Hence, perpetrator/husband will consciously use an incremental form of violence, which shows how he is intentionally abusing his victim/wife.

Moreover, domestic violence is transmitted from generation to generation, creating new perpetrators and new victims.[28] Children who witnessed parental violence may themselves become abusive towards their partners or own children. Exposure to violence also very much influences gender identity development. Hence, boys usually identify themselves with the role of perpetrator and girls with the role of the victim.[29] Thus, domestic violence is a learned behavior model. This learning process has two phases: first, potential perpetrator learn that violence is efficient through modeling and through strengthening and second, domestic violence is learned by observing how violence is performed in the home, on television, in public or in society. Hence, men are taught to use violence in order to realize their goals and this behavioral model is passed on from generation to generation.[30] Still, wife abuse is only one among countless forms of violence against women and product of the rule of patriarchy and thus, stereotypes.

Patriarchy and Wife Abuse

Nevertheless, women tend to stay in the same abusive environment and remain silent. Tradition and patriarchal heritage are the main reasons why they are accepting violence as a normal pattern of behavior.[31] Men are expected to work and to provide a financial base for the family and women are expected to be good housewives and mothers. By assigning women the sole role of motherhood, a patriarchal society reinforces and justifies the subordination of women.[32] Even nowadays, general stereotypes of the roles of men and women are deeply rooted in all spheres of our society.[33] Yet, at one time or another, all relationships go through crises. However, violence cannot be marked as a symptom of a relationship crisis or as a reaction to pressure or annoyance. Those individuals, who decide to solve relationship problems with violence, must be held responsible for their action. We do not forgive violations of human rights, discrimination and destruction in the public place, therefore why should we forgive it in the private sphere?[34]

Nonetheless, social, historical and economic process operates directly or indirectly to support male dominated, patriarchal social order and family structure. Men's violence against women in such socio-cultural environment is seen as a mechanism for maintaining control and persevering fear among women because men are dominant and women are subordinate to them. Violence is the most effective and powerful method of social control of women. The strong impact of patriarchy, combined with the social context in the countries in transition (i.e. former Yugoslavia) is fertile ground for different forms of domestic violence. Violence often becomes part of everyday life, because women tend to blame themselves and are taught to endure for the things that happen to them.[35]

Since domestic violence is perceived both by the victim and the society at large as her own failure and shame, the woman is expected to remain silent about the violence. Moreover, family obligations must be prioritized over women's individual rights and she also feels the need to remain in abusive relationships for the sake of the children.[36] Children needing financial support along with the difficulties single women with children experience in finding employment are among the most important reasons why a woman may decide to remain in an abusive relationship.[37] However, "In cases of serious violence threatening the life and health of women and children, perpetrators often end up expelling women and children from the home and those women and children often find themselves on the street, with no safe shelter, either long-term or short-term."[38] Both wives and children, according to widely held belief in a patriarchal society, need to be supervised economically and disciplined physically.[39]

Economic Dependence

There exists a link between the economic crisis and domestic violence. The economic crisis increases the vulnerability of women and it presents an obstacle for leaving the violent relationship. According to some surveys, unsolved housing problems are a strong generator of wife abuse. Many married couples are forced to live with their parents, in most cases the husband's, because of the economic crisis or patriarchal customs. Violence is typically more present in such family

environments. Domestic violence often occurs when a woman is trying to become more economically independent. Hence, economic and social factors are usually preventing women from ending a violent relationship. The more dependent a woman is on the man, the less power she has and the more she is exposed to violence. She is also less capable of escaping from the violent environment.[40]

Economic dependence, according to Truninger is one among the main reasons why women decide to stay in violent relationship. When facing economic crisis or an extreme situation such as war, the most important reason for a woman's 'choice' to stay in violent relationships is the economic crisis. "The main reasons why women fail to leave the perpetrators are economic: the woman does not have sufficient means to support herself and the children and her housing situation is unresolved, i.e. she has no place to go".[41] Additionally, women victim of violence are often afraid of escalating the situation if they report their husband violator, because after the police leave he may become even more violent. They may be concerned for their children and they are often economically dependent on their abusive partners or their families.[42]

Thus, the economic independence is very important for the woman's decision to find a way out from the violent situation and discontinue the violent relationship.[43]

Furthermore, economic inequality, exclusion and violence against women are very much connected with disastrous consequences of the war.[44] During war and in post-war situations (which will be the focus of analysis in the third chapter) there is a growth of violence against women - violence against the 'weaker' gets stronger.[45] The problem of economic inequality, exclusion and dependence of women in, for example, the case of former Yugoslavia, also has to do with its communist past and with patriarchal social order and tradition. There is still a clear division of roles and responsibilities between men and women, which occurs even within the workplace and contribute to the systematic economic exclusion of women and after all it contribute to violence.[46] Another problem for women's economic empowerment is that despite the legal stipulations on the equality of inheritance rights for both genders, men are traditionally owners of private property.[47] A lack of opportunities and economic dependence, according to some researches are the only reasons why women are stay-

ing in abusive relationship. Hence, "Economic dependence and general poverty faced by women is a very important factor in understanding the specific patterns and nature of domestic violence."[48]

Domestic violence or wife abuse is the most serious manifestations of violence and also hidden forms of female victimization. Countries of the former Yugoslavia are still deeply patriarchal societies which allow all kind of violent behaviors. A 'real woman' is still considered a good mother and housekeeper, while a 'real man' is the main breadwinner. Due to the tradition and above all the high rate of unemployed women, nowadays in the post-war period, many women are economically dependent. Unemployed and thus economically dependent on their abusive husbands, often with children and with no place to go, women who are victim of violence decide to remain in the relationship. Economic poverty is a huge barrier for a woman that often effectively prevents her from abandoning her abusive husband. Although it is not the main cause of the violence, economic dependency reinforces and supports violence. Wife abuse in the countries of the former Yugoslavia is a part of the reality and most of the soci-

eties have failed to recognize the widespread prevalence of this problem. It is ignored at all level because of the patriarchal misconception that prioritizes family obligations over women's individual rights.

In my opinion, the domestic violence model in the former Yugoslavia and particularly in BiH is reinforced by the fact that after the war, not so many men were available for marriage. A majority of the eligible bachelors were dead or missing, disabled or living outside the country. However, the patriarchal social pressure on a woman to get married at all costs is still strong, since as previously said, women who do not get married until certain age are stigmatized and are considered less valuable. This reality in the post-conflict setting allows 'available men' to behave in a way they like, which includes the use of violence.

Alma[49] and Haris[50] are excellent example that illustrates what has been said so far. They were dating for four years when they finally decided to get married. According to the unwritten Bosnian patriarchal custom, Alma moved in Haris's place, where his 70 year old mother also lived. It would have

been perceived as a 'big shame' had Haris left his mother to live on her own.

He Hit You Only Once?

Alma, 30, Bosnia and Herzegovina: "Problems started at the beginning of our marriage, after we came back from our honey moon. Haris's mother was annoyed since Haris did not phone her while we were away (the truth was he actually could not reach her). She was standing at the door, saying to her son: "How come you did not call me? So, that means she (Alma) has already turned you against me." At the time, I did not have a job, but I had few exams left at the University. Haris was working and in addition attending class for his MA studies. He and especially his mother were controlling the house budget. The larger problems occurred after the birth of our first child. Our son had some health issues, doctors were sure that is temporary illness that could be cured. However, my mother-in-law would not listen to the doctor's advice and insisted that I could not breast-feed, as she blamed me. In addition, she was telling me that I am awful mother, thinking and taking care about myself only. After some time, Haris joined her. He started to ignore me and talked only with his mother. He was treating me like an object, as if I did not exist. All the time, while he was at work, his mother was maltreating me in different ways, calling me names like bitch, mare etc. Couple of times she even wanted to hit me, but at the last moment somehow (I do not why) she gave up. My husband and I did not share even the same bedroom anymore. I was sleeping with his mother, while he was in the other room. My mother-in-law had a justification for that… according to her, the baby needed his mother during the night and her son needed rest since he is working during the day. I really tried to talk with Haris, but he told me to leave him alone and that he did not have time to talk with me. I was thinking about what to do, but I was unemployed and I did not know where to go. In the end, the situation become unbearable and I decided to call my parents for a help. Still, I did not want to cause them problems. In my little town of origin, to be divorced woman is perceived as a 'big shame.' It seemed like a cycle with no possible way out. I tried to believe that things would improve with time; however, the situation only worsened. When I realized that I was pregnant again, I was frozen, as I knew that it would be agony to have second child under these circumstances. When I informed my husband what was going on, he told me that in the case that I did not want second child, I would be free to pack my belongings and go, without our son. I decided to stay with my family and gave birth to our second child. One month after giving birth Haris hit me. I could not handle the physical, I called my father to come to

pick me up. However, my husband started threatening me, yelling at me and at my father when he came, shouting that he would not give me the children, that he had a gun and would kill me and my entire family. He threw out my father from the apartment. I was not allowed to use the phone anymore and my parents did not hear from me for days. In the end, my parents waited till Haris was at work before coming to fetch me and the children up from that house or better to say, from that prison we lived in. To this day, the abuse continues. After more than one and a half year since the marriage ended, he continues to swear at me whenever he has a chance and does not spare the sight from our children either. He has a high paying job, but refuses to pay alimony for the children. I am still unemployed, partially because of the situation in the country, with the economic crisis and high rate of unemployment and also because I have to take care about my children. Therefore, I am still abused, mostly psychologically and economically. My husband has devised a whole system of blackmailing and both the state and society we live in are reinforcing it. Although I am formally divorced, have received custody from the court for my children and am entitled to alimony, my former husband has issued a complaint. The court has therefore frozen the process and I have received no money. However, the biggest blow I received was from one 'expert' psychologist from our local Centre for social work. While interviewing me in front of my for-

mer husband, I was asked to explain my rationale for leaving him. After telling her why I did not want to live with him anymore, she said: "He hit you only once? Well, that is nothing, a woman has to endure a lot of things to preserve her marriage and protect her children." Yes, it is true that Haris hit me 'only' once. I wonder, however, how many hits one has to endure before it becomes socially acceptable to leave your abusive partner. Today, I want to get back on my feet again, obtain my diploma and start to work. That is the only possible solution for me."[51]

Hence, Alma went through the whole fabric of domestic violence. She was abused psychologically, sexually, economically and at the end physically. As aforementioned, sexual violence is still taboo in patriarchal societies and often considered as 'marital duty.' Alma: "I simply thought - he is my husband, I have to do it. I did not enjoy, I was all the time under pressure, because I was afraid to get pregnant again. He did not allow me to use any protection against pregnancy, he was controlling me all the time as he wanted second child. He forced me, against my will, to have another baby. I felt like machine for children delivery." Thus, the perpetrator-husband often tries to be in charge of his wife's birth control

methods, in order to keep his wife dependant. In addition, he regularly makes use of children in order to maintain control over her. Still, Haris is all the time saying to Alma how terrible mother she is and threatens he will take the children away from her. In addition he behaves yet again in aggressive and provocative way when visiting children.

As it was previously highlighted, women are abused irrespective of their social position, ethnic or religious background. Perpetrators come from different social levels, ethnic groups or religious communities. Thus, we should not be surprised with the fact that Haris has a Master's degree and a very well paid job. He has a high-ranked position within his company and is a respected member of community. This makes it hard for Alma to prove to the society that somebody like him can, as a matter a fact, be a perpetrator of domestic violence. As previously explained, a man-abuser regularly portrays himself as a 'good guy' in public and in such a case few people will willingly believe the wife. Since it is seen as her own failure and shame under patriarchal and traditional views, a woman is expected to remain silent and endure the violence. Let us recall what Alma said: "He started ignoring me and repeating that woman's place is in the house. I was thinking that it is probably all my fault, that I have to keep going on, for my sake and that of my children." Additionally, domestic violence is often reinforced by official institutions, such as the psychologist in Alma's case. Thus, not only men, but women too can also support and reinforce violence against women.

Moreover, according to Alma, Haris's mother is divorced woman, neglected and in the end abandoned by Haris's father. Even though she is woman and was perhaps capable of understanding Alma and even protecting her, she prefers to act as another perpetrator. It seems that Haris's mother, consciously or not, had taken over as perpetrator - the man's role - in a way of seeking revenge on Alma. Hence, domestic violence is repeatedly transmitted from generation to generation. Additionally, it should be emphasized that violence is conscious and intentional choice of the abuser in order to achieve control over his victim. Haris was using isolation, a commonly used technique by the perpetrator/husband in order to control his wife. He liked to spend his spare time with his extended family and friends, but he was preventing

Alma from doing the same. Yet, isolation of Alma by Haris reached its peak when she was not allowed to use phone, which effectively prevented her from being in touch with anybody, especially with her parents. In addition, a perpetrator is often minimizing or even denying violence and Haris was doing exactly the same thing. Furthermore, his opinion was always the 'right one' and therefore he never felt a need to ask for Alma's opinion.

When it became unbearable, Alma wanted to escape from this abusive relationship. Since she was unemployed, with no money and place to go, she wanted to ask her parents to help her. At the same time, she was scared and felt ashamed. Still, it was possible that her parents would turn their backs on her and not accept to help her. The economic dependence also increased her vulnerability and presented a huge obstacle for leaving the violent relationship. Alma was and still is unemployed and receives no alimony for her children. Thus, as C. Delphy asserts "Divorce today is something like the transformation of marriage, since a divorced woman (like Alma) almost always continues to take responsibility over children."[52] However, like Alma previously explained, the only promising way out for her is to obtain her diploma, start to work and thus, to become economically independent.

The perpetrator's techniques of control (such as isolation) and the essence of violence against women in both the home and war environments are similar and very much comparable. Evident in both is the deliberate intention to harm a woman. Hence, there is an existing link between domestic violence and war violence against women.

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49 Pseudonym, real name familiar to the author of this paper

50 Pseudonym, real name familiar to the author of this paper

51 authentic story - testimony taken and latter on edited by the author of this paper

52 Pateman Carole, "Spolni ugovor", Zenska infoteka, Zagreb, 2000 : 179 (translation provided by the author of this paper)

Chapter III

Women and War

"Men believe, they truly believe, that they have right to rape women. It is really extraordinary to try to understand that men actually believe that they have right to hit and inflict a pain to women."[1]

Even though men are principally answerable for armed conflicts, war crimes and other systematic human rights violations, women over and over again suffer from its consequences more then men. Contemporary conflict is progressively more intended against the civilian population, women in particular, more than equipped soldiers.[2] Hence,

according to W. Giles, public and private differences between the battlefield and home have disappeared. Differences have vanished also between soldiers and civilians, between state and human security. Thus, feminist work has to go in this course, to present the warfare as a continuum of violence from the bedroom to the battlefield.[3] Possibly, "If we somehow end violence against women and hence, accomplish gender equality wars could be ended too."[4]

Furthermore, patriarchy and male supremacy over women is the basis for violence against women in the war and peacetime.[5] According to C. Cockburn, patriarchy, nationalism and militarism are in love. Hence, nationalism is in love with patriarchy since patriarchy produces women who give birth to little true patriots. Yet, militarism is in love with patriarchy since patriarchal women offer their sons to the military. Patriarchy is in love with both nationalism and militarism as they generate men who are unmistakable virile.[6] However, feminism and nationalism are not in love, they observe each other with mistrust and even hostility. "In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, nationalism is retrogressive and disturbing phenomenon in which various national groups and ethnic communities are pitted against each other."[7] The objective of this chapter is to discuss the gender-nation phenomenon and women's position in war as well as explain the phenomenon of rape which repeatedly occurs in war as an intentional gender specific kind of torture.

Gender and Nation

Gender and nation are social and historic productions, which reciprocally form each other. Nations are gendered and the space of the nation is marked in gendered terms. Traditional gender roles and nationalist tales are in essence from national mythology. A nation is depicted as mother, wife and maiden. Practices of nation-building utilize a social construction of masculinity and femininity that reinforces the separation of work. Thus, women reproduce the nation metaphorically and physically, while men take revenge, defend and preserve the nation. Women's bodies and gender identities are representative of the spatial boundaries of the nation. Female bodies become symbols of the fertility and reproduction of the nation, as well as territorial indicators.

Mothers, wives and daughters are property of the nation and at the same time, assigning the space of the nation. They call for the protection and guard from their patriotic sons.[8]

Different fights for supremacy performed by means of new or would-be guardians of the nation take part over the feminine body: battlefield, farmlands and homes. Supremacy is needed in order to maintain the land and dominion founded on demographic and reproductive policies. Supremacy is needed over the nation as an idea - thus, over mother, lover, home etc. As we know, gender roles emphasize sexual descriptions and stereotypes, hence the feminine is passive and the masculine is active. Consequently, the Motherland gives a passive, approachable and helpless image. By contrast, the Fatherland gives active force, government and military action, including assault, subjugation and resistance. The nation as a mother generates an illustration of the figurative mother. Her children are the country's protectors, idols and sufferers. In this case, mothers are celebrated in the sense of their pain and agony and their sacrifices are acknowledged as element of the nation's sacrifice. Women as reproducers are accepted as a part to the majority or minori-

ty nations and not in the same way as men.[9] Yet, "If a Woman does not want to be a mother, a Nation is on its way to die."[10]

Therefore, women are seen as mothers and reproducers of the nation. However, they are as well considered as latent enemies of the nation, conspirators and spies. The opponent's women are enemies in a sense they are reproducers, increasing the number of outsiders. Thus, with their numerous offspring, they want to weaken and to devastate the nation. In addition, the nation is defined as a family and reproduction and maternity are again controlled by the 'father' or in terms of political jurisdiction (i.e. church and family), what is in fact accepted hierarchy of patriarchy. Women in the national framework are thus accountable for the prolongation of the nation and at the same time are somehow always suspects. They are icons of the cleanliness of the nation, yet they are all the time vulnerable to contamination. The insecurity of a woman's place in the home or nation is designated space, which in addition highlights the risk of segregation and the demands to obey some rules. A woman's marginality is always with her. National tradition and principles give her a place in the society. However, she is all the time reminded of the

prospective threat for her. Women who refuse 'natural' hierarchy or rules of patriarchy can remain unprotected among the boundaries of national communities.[11]

A 'virile' or strong man and a submissive or defenseless woman is the cultural model in patriarchal society. It is largely present in moments of ethnic or national conflict. In peace and war time, feminine bodies mark the helplessness of boundaries and the other way around - women personify the borders. In fact, feminine bodies personify battlefields.[12] They are 'signifiers of ethnic or national difference' and the borders of the State. According to the patriarchal consent, the community's women should be safeguarded as borders. Yet, the opponent's women ought to be violated as the other's territories and borders, what is often transcribed into rape. Collective violence against women is also violence against the male and component of the group-identity building. The construction of nations and/or states generates boundaries and their violations. Hence, violence against women is a phase of the suppression of women to a men's hierarchy.[13] According to N. Yuval-Davis, men repeatedly assert that wars are in fact carried out in order to protect 'women-and-children.'

Nonetheless, war is an experience which absolutely changes everything and what's more, can totally destroy people's lives.[14]

Women Facing War

War greatly affects the lives of women and can entirely transform their position in the family and the community. Nowadays, women are increasingly becoming the target during combat. They are very vulnerable to marginalization, poverty and the misery brought about by armed conflict. This is particularly true when they are already victims of discrimination in the peacetime. As previously mentioned women are often held up as 'symbolic' bearers of cultural and ethnic identity and hailed as the producers of the future generations of the community. In such situations they are defenseless because women may also be vulnerable to assault or pressure from their own community for not meeting the requirements of their roles.[15]

Hence, men from their own communities, having the 'best' intentions in mind, attempt to save a woman's 'honor' (i.e. to

protect them from the rape of enemy's soldiers) are also violating their rights. Their fathers and brothers are not even aware of that, such as when they force a woman to commit suicide in order 'to protect herself from her dreadful fate.' A woman is under pressure of the society and from statements such as 'A woman who agrees to be sexually abused in order to save her life loses her honor.' In order to escape it, she may commit suicide. Women suffer as direct and indirect victims of armed conflict, especially as they comprise the largest groups of refugees worldwide. If they managed to escape the hostilities of war, they still risks being sexually abused in refugee camps. Even in the case when a woman lives with her family in the camp, domestic violence is not excluded from happening.[16] At the same time, since women make the majority of the current refugee population, they carry the burden of escalating poverty, destructive economic and social costs of armed conflicts.[17]

Furthermore, the dissolution of the family in war obliges women to take new roles in conflict and there are large numbers of female-headed households. When men in the family have gone, women have greater responsibilities towards their offspring, elder family members and at times even a whole group of people. Women experience insecurity since men are gone and children left after. That can present total collapse of the traditional security and support mechanisms upon which women have before relied. Women and children make the major part of the world's refugees and displaced yet, since women are the new main breadwinners, they have to take over accountability for earning a living and for other actions conventionally carried out by men.[18]

War, among all, means prevalent armed forces, civilian losses and great numbers of widows in many countries. Widowhood often changes the complete construction of the family and the social and economic roles of women in the household and community. It affects the physical safety, identity and mobility of women. It also influences their rights to inheritance, land, property and right to use to fundamental supplies and services essential for survival. Moreover, women whose husbands have 'disappeared' or are taking into account as missing, without official acknowledgment of their position, may experience many of the same troubles as widows, even worse. As they do not know where their husband's

are, they cannot bury them and grieve appropriately. Yet, their status often is not officially recognized. It has the long-term consequences for her and children, like for instance, her having to raise children without a father and not being able to remarry.[19]

Very often a widow is in charge for her husband's dependants or she is taken in by his family. However, social customs may be neglected when a widow or a family are burdened by economic poverty caused by war. In addition, in some cultures the widow may not always be permitted to keep her children. Habitually, this phenomenon takes place in cases when the relation among the family and woman has been broken by the loss of the man. Cultural practices may also require that a widow be taken in by extended family members. Again, the issue of poverty or reduced resources inherent to war can impede the respect of that practice. Widows, in such cases, principally in patriarchal societies, can be left without social status in their community. If they do not have sufficient educational background, women can face additional difficulties when become head of households. This can limit their capability to get work. However, women in some coun-

tries often do not have the right to own land and property. This may lead to the widowed women becoming homeless and incapable of supporting themselves and their dependants.[20]

Women facing war are testing, every now and then even redefining their previous limitations in society, as well as cultural and social perception of themselves. Women may for the first time do what is regularly reserved by men. Hence, at this time they have the chance of functioning outside the house, being the income earners, core decision-makers and heads of family. This means that they are reversing gender relations within patriarchal society. In addition, in many societies women still achieve (economic and social) position only through marriage and being single woman at certain age can have many negative side-effects for women.[21]

Nonetheless, women are likely to withdraw again into the house once warfare is ended. They are anticipated to do so for the reason that men are back now, they want their jobs and the community is trying to go back to the 'normality.'[22] Very often, everything returns as it was before the war and patriarchal gender roles become even more conservative. Thus, when peace comes, women have to step back.[23] There

remain acute difficulties and forms of violence against women facing war. For example, a specific manifestation of torture, intentionally performed against women is mass rape, when men are extremely brutal in order to highlight or safeguard their masculinity.[24]

A Woman's Body as Battlefield

Rape is a practice most likely old as war itself. Take into account, for instance, the rape of some 20.000 Chinese women by Japanese forces in 1937 in Nanking. There was also organized and intentional rape against Jewish, Romani, French and many other women was conducted by the Nazis during World War II, as well as by the Japanese against Korean women. Rape was calculatedly used by the Russian Army against German women in 1945 as a weapon of retribution. Documented rapes also exist for 200.000 Bangladeshi women by the Pakistani Army in 1971. Rape was also used by American's against the Vietnamese population and by Iraqis during their occupation of Kuwait in 1991.[25]

Rape in war is habitually a symptom of anger and hate towards a rival. Hence, materialized in rape, women's bodies represent the battlefield where men demonstrate their anger towards other men.[26] As Susan Brownmiller points out "Rape presents act of power all the way through history, it does not mean to have power over women only, but also over men which are expected to defend their women."[27] Yet, according to C. Cockburn, rape in warfare is founded on patriarchy relations. That is part of every war and it has little or no connection with ethnic belonging. Thus, she asserts that what Serb planners of war in the former Yugoslavia were using in their ethno-mania was intentional male power. Rape was just one among many of the strategies of aggressors group with the purpose to persuade people that they can not live together anymore.[28]

A sexual attack is a tremendously efficient weapon of conflict and devastation. Enforced impregnation, maternity, termination of pregnancy and sterilization are specific violations affecting mainly women and girls. Many women in armed conflict are held up by the community as representative and the bearers of the community's honor. Hence, it is important to

underline that rape of women in conflict situations is intentional not only as violence against women, but as an act of hostility against a nation or community. Sexual violence has been used against women as a means of 'ethnic cleansing' of a region, scattering panic and convincing people to leave the area. Thus, spreading the fear is important element for not only rape, but for many other manifestations of violence against women. Systematic rape and enforced impregnation were aimed at destroying the character of an ethnic group. Rape became an unavoidable part of war and it is becoming an ordinary tool for attacking women. The perpetrators often consider their actions will be condoned or consider themselves protected from responsibility.[29]

Nevertheless, deliberately and methodical targeting of women in modern armed conflicts has been used as a technique of warfare and sexual violence as a means of dishonoring the rival. The 'shame' in relation to rape in various cultures is seen as yet worse than the physical act itself. In view of the fact that women's sexuality is seen as being under the guard of men of the community, rape has been used to declare authority over rival. Contamination is an act of dominion asserting supremacy over the males of the other community or over the group that is under attack. Survivors of rape or sexual violence are frequently expelled from society or they live in fright because the perpetrators may have threatened them. Purity and chastity of women is therefore important and unmarried women and girls may no longer be considered valuable for marriage. This is above all the case in very traditional and patriarchal communities.[30]

Therefore, rape may be perceived to bring shame on to the woman and result in marginalization of both her and her family. A woman's 'honor' is repeatedly linked to her sexual cleanliness and chastity. 'Honor' is a complex notion in many communities by which many men and women are raised, code by which they define and lead their lives. Women may also have been subjected to mistreatment by their own family or community. In such cases, it is believed that woman brought dishonor on their family by having relationship with a man outside marriage. In many countries sexual violence is seen as a crime of honor. It is an act against not only the physical integrity of the individual victim, but also against the community.[31]

Furthermore, within the issues of 'honor and shame' comes the issue of 'ethnic ruination.' Men believe that they can ruin women by misusing their sexuality, which is often considered as the boundary of their ethnic group. Women in patriarchal societies are very much controlled, so they are permitted to articulate their sexuality only with men from their own communities. That means their community pays enormous attention on ethnic purity, which is repeatedly and intentionally attacked during the conflicts with the aim to destroy the essence of ethnic identity. Hence, sexual violence does not have the same connotation in the communities where cleanliness is not the main issue. In those communities, this kind of violence in woman rarely causes loss of willingness for life.[32]

In the Yugoslav wars (1991-1995), women were often imprisoned and then raped numerous times. Regularly, that was conducted until they became pregnant and only then they were liberated, with a goal to give birth to 'Serb children.' Thus, forced pregnancy became new element of modern ethnic wars.[33] Predictions regarding the exact number of rapes carried out in 'Yugoslav wars' vary between 10.000 and 20.000. Nevertheless, the precise number is most likely never

going to be finally established.[34] Yet, what is well-known is that often women's private parts were tattooed or damaged. Sometimes they were required to be naked and dance in front of enemy soldiers. Occasionally they were locked up and forced to cook and clean for men and soldiers from other communities. Yet, the worst thing is that women in these kinds of situations were often victim of gang rapes in front of their families or their close family members were forced to rape them in public. They were usually left alive with these traumas to deal with for the rest of their lives.[35]

In all wars women are victimized in a way that is inherent to women. Yet, to women from former Yugoslavia it seems that war was actually fought against them. War was conducted against women principles, against all that women were fighting for, against the 'woman symbolic order' as Stasa Zajovic formulated it.[36] Mass rapes are gender intentional specific kind of torture and not something incidental, what sporadically happens in the war. Thus, mass rapes of women in war were organized with strategic intention of demoralizing men through ruination the most precious and valuable 'woman's honor.' This is, above all, confirmation of how much

gender is really important for nationalist ideology. The 'ethnic dimension' may be even less important and pathological hatred of men towards women (misogyny) dominant. This fact goes together with feminist theory of rape: it is not the result of sexual desire, but is the result of male dominance.[37] Hence, as M. Nowak asserts "Rape is not an aggressive manifestation of sexuality, but a sexual manifestation of aggression, in the case of BiH of the most horrendous form of aggression called genocide."[38]

Moreover, war violence against women and rape are particularly linked with the gender-nation phenomenon. Thus, women are seen as mothers and reproducers of the nation on one side and on another, they are measured as hidden enemies of the nation. Therefore, patriarchal and nationalistic agreement is that community's women should be protected as borders or violated as the other's territories and borders, what often appear to be rape.[39] According to T. Tompkins, "Rape, like genocide, will not be deterred unless and until the stories are heard. People must hear the horrifying, think the unthinkable and speak the unspeakable."[40] In my opinion, to

better understand intentional gender torture in war, it is important to turn to another true story.

How Would You Feel?

Marica, 30, Croatia. "There were hundred of us, from the building and surrounding (streets). Every day JNA[41] planes bombed the city. Occasionally, we went out of the shelter to see what was going on outside. After a few days most of the stores were closed and the last time I bought food was at the end of September. Besides bombs and shells, you could die from the snipers. You couldn't leave the shelter without hearing the bullets whistling. We had food, only we lacked bread. We cooked on a gas stove. We had no electricity. At the beginning we had water, brought to us in cisterns. We had to boil it to avoid infectious diseases. Later, they didn't come any more and we had to go to the River Danube or collect rainwater. But the rainwater wasn't drinkable because the chetniks kept using war gases and blister gases. When we had soap, we washed our clothes, but later there was no soap. In the shelter we were all united and helped each other. Then a man came - later we discovered he was a Serb - to spy on us. This building used to be a post office, so information could be sent (out from it). We watched that man. We didn't want him to send certain mes-

sages. As time passed, it became more and more unbearable in the shelter. Autumn was approaching and it was growing colder. We went out in pairs to collect firewood. After the fall of Vukovar, the Serbs started to take away our people, threatening us with machine-guns. They took us to a barracks where we were imprisoned for ten days. I was raped there. They ordered me to take off my clothes. I refused but they threatened me with a knife. One by one, they raped me on the floor. There were always two men always holding me down. When the fifth came, I asked him: "How would you feel if someone treated your mother, sister or daughter like this?" He hesitated, as if he had lost the desire and opened the door. He asked the others if there was anyone else nearby who would like to do it too. There was nobody, so they left. Of course I want to go back. I love my town, because it's a very special town. I love the people that I grew up with. I left everything in Vukovar. I know I would often be reminded (of having been raped) but the love towards my town is stronger and it would be possible to overcome it. Besides, I have two kids. I think that taking care of them could help me not to think about it. We can rebuild the town. We can do it, if only we can get back. The blame for the mass rapes can be equally placed on individuals and on the politics in general. I think it was the will of individuals, but also the strategy of Serbian politics to perform "ethnic cleansing" of the non-Serbian population in Croatia. Some women can talk about their ordeal while others find it hard. The reasons are numerous and I can understand them. For women who were mothers and who, up till then, lived in harmonious families, it is hard to stand because of their hurt husbands and because of their children. And young, unmarried girls try to hide it because they hope to have a family in the future. Although our people are very conservative, these raped women are accepted and understood. The scale of rape in this war has been so massive that it ceased to be a taboo. And, besides rape, other very serious crimes happened...massacres, torture. The most important thing for women is to be well accepted in their families. Unfortunately, I know of some cases of women who got pregnant after being raped and where imprisoned until it was too late to perform an abortion. They had to give birth to those poor babies. Their husbands' reactions varied. Most of (the women) gave away the child for adoption and continued to live within the family. But a few of the husbands didn't want to accept them after what had happened."[42]

According to Susan Brownmiller, "Rape is nothing more or less than a conscious (intentional) process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear."[43] Yet, Marica is a rare example of a woman who survived rape, but who is not afraid and still has strong will to return to her hometown.

She believes that it is possible to overcome the trauma. A usual consequence of rape in war is the state of fear, when victim is afraid to come back since she is all the time reminded what had happened to her in the past. Moreover, deep inside, a victim believes that something similar might happen to her again. The male message is to stay in your place and be afraid. Furthermore, there is no doubt that rape of women in both war and peace is intentional practice. The intention is one additional connection of rape in war with domestic violence and in addition, genocide.

Furthermore, the patriarchal phenomenon of 'shame' is linked both with occurrence of rape and wife abuse. The significance is in the both cases on the 'purity' and 'chastity' of women. Yet, survivors of rape in war are frequently expelled from society. Thus, in a social sense, rape is worse than the physical act itself. Unmarried women and girls may no longer be considered valuable of marriage, which is noticeable in Marica's story. According to her, young, unmarried girls try to hide what really had happened to them. However, married women also hide the truth, since they are afraid their husbands will abandon them. The phenomenon of shame is an important feature in a patriarchal society no matter whether it is war or peace time and for instance, a divorced woman (especially those with children) can find it hard to remarry again.

Marica was also a victim of a traumatic gang rape. She was deprived of basic needs for life, such as food and water, thus she was also the victim of poverty. Women facing war are in general very vulnerable to poverty, marginalization and the misery during the armed conflict. In addition, a new element of modern warfare, enforced pregnancy, is also evident in her story. Forced pregnancy is the element of the 'high-level war' (armed conflict), but as well of the 'low-level war' (domestic violence), what was in fact evident in Alma's story.[44] Moreover, Marica argues that many husbands did not want to accept their wives after they found out what had happened and after they gave birth to the 'enemy's babies.' Hence, rape is often perceived to bring shame on the woman and results in the marginalization of both her and her family. Furthermore, the 'ethnic dimension' may be even less important and pathological hatred of men towards women dominant. Therefore, it can be said that 'low-level' and 'high-level'

wars against women have things in common. 'From the bed-room to the battlefield' means in fact continuum of male vio-lence, no matter what shape it may take.

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Chapter IV

From the Bedroom to the Battlefield

"Domestic violence which has always been considered a minor, women's problem (if a problem at all), today has become a woman's patriotic duty. Women are being constantly taught (through the mass media) to feel ashamed to think about such selfish problems when the Nation and our men ('fathers, husbands and sons') are bleeding on the battlefield. Their duty is to make the pains of 'our' soldiers easier, to be understanding and patient - in other words to be again in the background front."[1]

As it was mentioned before, violence against women has to be understood as 'continuum of violence from the bedroom to the battlefield.'[2] Home, neighborhood or refugee camp, for many women, can be insecure as the battlefield. Actually, a home or a neighborhood is potential battlefield.[3] Still, as abovementioned, woman and/or her body are the battlefield. Yet, according to Rada Boric, civil violence against women and war violence have certain parallel concerns - war is an extreme example of patriarchal social configuration.[4] Hence, culture of patriarchy which has existed more than 5.000 years is characterized by a universal rule of violence. This culture in a way 'legitimates wars' and hence, uses violence in the name of peace. It is noiselessly reproducing something it is pretending to forbid.[5] Nonetheless, the aim of this chapter is to continue with synthesis of presented argumentation, to underline the continuum of violence and thus, to highlight the link between domestic violence and war violence against women. In addition, we should ask ourselves - should Genocide Convention be revisited and/or maybe new one, Femicide Convention established?

Continuum of Violence

In order to establish and maintain control over women, men use the same techniques both in times of peace and in times of war. Surveys have shown that, for example, men in the home regularly use methods associated with the maltreatment of prisoners of war: isolation, manipulation of perceptions, threats, trivial requests, degradation and exhaustion, with occasional mercy. In the home the abusive husband is pathologically jealous and possessive of his victimized wife. He isolates her and keeps her for himself alone. In this way, he preserves the victim, who is already distanced from her primary family and friend. In war and in war camps, armed soldiers regularly isolate the prisoner from the outside word in order to control his movement. The perpetrator in both war and the household frequently presents and inaccurate perception of reality to his victim, prisoner of war or wife. Nonetheless, the perpetrator knows how to be pleasant, seductive and calculating in getting what he needs. Conversely, he becomes troublesome and aggressive if he does not get what he wants.[6]

Furthermore, an abuser uses threats in order to control his wife and/or prisoner. 'If you go, I will kill you' is threat repeatedly utilized inside the house, corresponding to the one in concentration camp 'If you try to run away, I will kill you.' These requests are often trivial and unachievable. For example, husband perpetrator demands that his wife cook him only certain kind of food, even though he is aware that she can not find ingredients for that particular meal without the money, which he does not give her. In addition, the perpetrator is often using a method of abusive names, accusing and humiliating his wife for a variety of things - calling names. However, every now and then, unexpectedly, the perpetrator is polite to his victim. Yet, this is only the 'honeymoon phase' in the cycle of violence, which lasts for just a short period of time. Finally, the abuser uses the technique of exhaustion. He interrupts or disturbs the sleep of his victim(s) in order to keep him/her in the condition of overtiredness.[7]

Hence, the techniques of control over women in the home ('bedroom') and prisoners in the concentration camps ('battlefield') are comparable. Soldiers in charge of prisoner's of war camp that hold camp in the war have physical power of weapons whereas their prisoners do not. They control the movement of the prisoners and they take advantage of the physical construction of the camp to bound prisoners in every way. Acts of violence, denial of food, water and sanitation conveniences - humiliation, keep the prisoners in a continuous situation of horror and struggle for survival. A widespread practice in these camps is to force prisoners to attack one another. This creates a situation in which the prisoners may feel culpable for violence in the camp. However, camp survivors are often unwilling to talk about his/her experiences. These practices in mixture with rape deepen the suffering of the prisoners, reinforcing in this way the discrepancy of power.[8]

Nevertheless, it would be immature to presume that once the guns are silenced militarization will disappear on its own. Militarization is bottomless and pervasive. It is hard not to be sensitive of just how acutely and how devastating society is militarized.[9] The conventional militarized organization is correctly recognized as generating a form of masculinity, tyrannical in so many societies. It is a system that prior to, for the duration and after wars reinforces gender discrepancy,

inequality and creates different worlds for men and women. Military and nationalist discourses put on pedestal men to the world of weapons and fame. Conversely, women are confined to the world of birthing and sorrow. Diverse sacrifices are projected on men and women, with different rewards. The traditional militarized system gives men supremacy in politics and identifies women's significance within the family. Thus, constant post-war militarization in a social order is there to confirm the privilege of masculinity both in private and public life.[10]

Additionally, C. Cockburn raises an important question - is it commonsense to talk about a 'postwar moment'? It is difficult to clearly perceive and define what such a moment might be. Often, postwar society seems to be a continuum of conflict, articulated sometimes in the private sphere and sometimes in the public sphere, in terms of armed forces, economic sanctions or political pressure. There are reasons for not splitting and labeling cycles of war and peace, as if they were separate from one another. A continuum of violence runs through the public (social, economic, political) sphere and of course through the private sphere. To be

focused only on warfare could have the outcome of diminishing the importance of structural violence or fabric of violence against women, their constant, long-term oppression. Hence, the pervasiveness of male violence against women and children, in both war and peace, suggests that this continuum is present at all times. It is unbelievable how in the name of 'pacification', a culture of militarism may actually govern a country.[11]

Therefore, violence is used by many different groups with power and men are usually physically stronger than women. Women are often underprivileged economically, because traditional male professions have advanced pay scale than traditional female professions. In violent relationships, as aforementioned in Alma's case[12], the perpetrator often uses isolation to control the woman. As aforesaid, he may not let her to leave the house, to see friends and family. Women often even accept patriarchal stereotypes about responsibility in their own discrimination and thus, tend to remain silent. Patriarchal societies are those where men as a group have more power than women. Violence against women has the objective to preserve, emphasize and to increase dispropor-

tion of power. Yet, not all men in patriarchal societies are violent, but this is the framework in which every man profit from violence. "It is a context that systematically blames women for their own victimization. It is a climate in which this violence is tolerated or even encouraged. This limits women's access to support systems which are dominated by men in patriarchal societies."[13]

Furthermore, war trauma contributes to domestic violence as many man, encircled by violence for the period of war, were required to commit violent acts.[14] Consequentially, war is often followed by a new wave of domestic violence, as it is happening in the case of BiH. Men often heal their war traumas on women. Domestic violence in former Yugoslavia has increased since the war.[15] Yet, some studies showed that armed conflict is more possible in countries where domestic violence against women is more widespread and in countries with a low representation of women in parliament, than in more gender equal societies. The subordination of women and their lack of power becomes almost a normal condition after the war. "Old patriarchal structures and lack of insight deny war-affected communities the knowledge, energy and

expertise of women".[16] Moreover, in the case of post-war former Yugoslavia and BiH in particular, the subordination of women and thus, continuum of violence is very visible through the worst possible manifestation of violence - poverty.

Continuum of Female Poverty

On the basis per capita GDP, BiH is 65% poorer than it was before the war and it is close to the bottom of all regional rankings. The transition to a market economy in the country brings new sources of poverty to replace the old, including changes in patterns of family solidarity, failure of the social safety net, economic emigration and brain drain, graying population and chronic unemployment. Still, unemployment is a leading cause of poverty everywhere in the world.[17] For instance, in the Federation of BiH, out of the total female labor force, the unemployment rate of women is 47.7%. That means that almost one half of women are unemployed.[18] The unemployment rate of women is higher by 37.5% than the unemployment rate for men. According to the one survey in

relation to socio-economic status of women in BiH, out of the total number of employed women, only 52.7% have permanent jobs that provide benefits, such as social and health insurance. All other categories of employed women are de facto unemployed.[19]

In addition, besides unemployment, education is also clearly linked with the issue of desperate economic situation, poverty and thus, violence against women in BiH. Women who only have primary education in the age between 18-35 are generally excluded from the labor market and make up 42.9% of the entire population. Primary education in BiH is compulsory and free for all, however the common patriarchal belief is that women should remain home, only to be good wives and mothers. Hence, they do not need a formal education. Limited access to education has a direct connection with poverty and may be seen as a form of violence against individuals and society. More often families are willing to invest in the education of boys rather than in the girl's, as the cost of education grows.[20] Nonetheless, article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

"Everyone has the right to education...Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."[21]

Still, according to peace researcher Johan Galtung, there is 'negative and positive peace.' Negative peace means that hostilities are stopped or suspended. Still, as in the case of former Yugoslavia, the main structural gender inequality that caused the war in the first place still exists. Yet, positive peace is only achieved by changing the main structures of inequality and in particular gender inequality.[22] Hence, education can promote understanding, tolerance and friendship not only among nations, racial, religious, but also among gender groups. Therefore, education of women is tremendously important factor in achieving gender equality, empowerment of women and thus, in fighting poverty.

Even with improved education, there are processes at work in a society which reinforce its poverty. One is the appear-

ance of new vulnerable social groups, such as women, elderly and children. The second is aging of the population, as a result of the war, emigration and early joblessness what is consequence of depressed economic situation in the country. The third is the continuing disappearance of the middle class, generally sliding to lower social levels and moreover vanishing through emigration. Yet, revitalization of the middle class is an essential prerequisite for the country's economic improvement and wealth. Thus, within the limits of obtainable resources, this problem should be given a mid position in social policy. Additionally, it should be underlined that between the end of the war and 2001, 92.000 people of working age left the country.[23]

According to the Janja Bec's study on the 'brain drain' as a result of the 'Yugoslav wars' in the nineties, important information may be that more than half examinees (53.8%) in this analysis were female. 'Brain-drain' is very important phenomenon related to continuum of violence, symptom of war and post-war violence. Thousands of young and educated people are looking for another place to live, study and/or work. In general, armed conflict and bigotry among nations made

them decide to abandon their country. Many of them lost their hope they will ever be able to come back and live in their home country.[24] Many of those who came back do so only in order to sort out for example, ownership or occupancy rights, rather than to take up permanent residence.[25]

Furthermore, as was highlighted earlier, great number of young people continues to emigrate, principally those well educated. The latest surveys showed that 62% of young people, if given an opportunity, would leave. Economic crisis, lack of employment, limited financial resources, problems in housing and political manipulation are reasons why young people want to emigrate, in search of 'better.' Developed countries necessitate educated human resources and are progressively more hospitable towards those with expertise. The educated can be sure that their skills will be better rewarded abroad. Presently, tens of thousands are in the procedure of attaining visas for emigration - the problem is getting worse every year.[26] Poverty and brain-drain in combination symbolizes the continuum of violence and that is actually, in my opinion, an extended genocide. Therefore, those who were not eliminated during the war in BiH, will simply voluntarily

at the end escape from the misery. Yet, this is end-product of the whole fabric of violence and thus, genocidal process.

Moreover, it is important to point out that genocide or let us say femicide process essentially starts and develops itself within the myth of biological determinism. Genocide starts within belief that different classes or genders among themselves open the space for social and political discrimination. Exactly, this theory reinforces both killing and enslavement.[27] In addition, it reinforces and leaves an open space for the male violence against women. Biological determinism theory or 'natural gender order' is non-realistic social product, prejudice and one more myth made up by men with the aim to enslave the women. According to the natural gender order women are created in order to be used by men in relation to civil, social and economical inequality based on sex.[28] Acts of violence and offenses are rationalized by women's 'subservient nature', according to opinion of 'stronger sex.' Yes, of course, we can not live without cruelties that men provide us so kindheartedly.[29]

Genocide Convention Revisited-Femicide?

As M. Novak asserts - rape is not an aggressive expression of sexuality, but a sexual expression of aggression and most dreadful form of aggression called genocide.[30] In my opinion, rape whether conducted in war or peace is a tool of genocide, as well as many other expressions of violence against women. According to C. Corrin, large part of the world residents is regularly subjected to suffering, hunger, bombing, degradation, genital mutilation and massacre, merely for the reason they are female. Crimes such as these against any other group, except female, are acknowledged as a gross violation of human rights or moreover, genocide. Women are subjugated on the basis of first of all gender, but also the race, religious conviction, class, sexual orientation, disability etc. The exclusion of any groups becomes a starting point where violence can be accepted and moreover supported.[31] Hence, it seems that victims are selected for the reason of their gender. As C. Bunch asserts, the point is clear - male supremacy: remain in your position and be scared. This is the completely

opposite to the argument that such violence is merely personal or cultural, it is deeply political.[32]

Violence against women/Genocide/Femicide is not something accidental or unintentional.[33] Therefore, for the period of the genocide one side the perpetrators is equipped and prepared to use force, while the other side victims - is not equipped nor prepared to use force. Genocide and other mass crimes targeting specific groups (in this case women) only happen in the situation of grave, absolute and long-term crisis.[34] According to Helen Fein, there are principally five conditions within 'genocidal policy': "1. continuity of attacks by the perpetrator to destroy group members; 2. the perpetrator is collective or organized actor; 3.victims are selected because they are members of the group; 4.victims are defenseless or are killed regardless of whether they surrender or resist; 5. the destruction is undertaken with intent to kill and the murder is sanctioned by perpetrators."[35] In addition, Fein asserts that "genocide is primarily a crime of state" and thus, genocidal policy is in fact deliberately conducted by a political leadership.[36]

Furthermore, the groups under attack for maltreatment are vulnerable. Defenselessness or vulnerability may possibly be one of the main reasons why they are targeted. However, victims are not that much vulnerable and defenseless right from the start of genocidal process. Yet, they are made progressively more vulnerable and weak by and through the persecution - maltreatment itself.[37] For example, before marriage, Alma[38] was stable person, perspective and ambitious student. Still, in the marriage through violence and maltreatment, it is logical that she became helpless. Yet, practice of persecution and genocide tend to take the targeted group by surprise. Particularly at the beginning of such process it is very hard for the potential victims to detect what is as a matter a fact - going on.[39] Still, at the very beginning, when the violence started, Alma was in shock, she was not positive about what was really going on. Moreover, as it was already mentioned, she was blaming herself. Still, even later on and while the process is in progress and more obvious, it may remain difficult to realize and moreover to accept what is going on to occur.[40] Thus, it was difficult for Alma to understand and moreover to accept that she was the victim

of violence. She was wrong when she thought that with the time things would be sorted out.

Moreover, the language used in relation to victims may at first hide from them what is going to come about. However, at the end it can contribute to their dehumanization in the eyes of the perpetrators. Hence, it is easier for abuser not to observe victim as human being and to intimidate her, as in Alma's case where her mother-in-law was calling her names. Obviously, she was very successful in dehumanizing her in Haris's eyes. Yet, preparation of genocide means 'learning by doing', perpetrators go step by step, to achieve their goals. They choose and preserve 'effective' tools and techniques, dropping those 'ineffective.' Latter on, genocidal strategy becomes a reality, planned and even coordinated action. Connection with Alma's story is coordinated action between her husband and mother-in-law. Still, it can be said that some people have 'normal' criminal career. Hence, one crime may lead to another, more serious crime, which leads to a third one and so on. Genocide will hardly ever or never be ended by the same people who start it. Somebody has to intervene, like in Alma's case her father.[41]

Furthermore, a bystander is a person who nevertheless is hurt by some product or action, but may have caused it.[42] That is person who is nearby at some incident without participating.[43] It is an observer, somebody who sees or hears teasing or discrimination[44] and does not react. According to Dan Bar-On, bystander is for example "the well-established American or British, Gentile and Jewish people (as well as Swiss or Swedish well-to-do citizens) who knew what was going on in Nazi Germany and did not care."[45] Still, Haris's mother is not bystander, she is perpetrator also. People from the Alma's building and street are bystanders. Yet, people in her little backward town are bystanders, especially those who saw what was going on. It is not only that they did not help her. Still, they were even telling her that she has to endure the violence and thus, to remain soundless. Hence, all of them are as a matter fact - bystanders. However, according to the Bertha von Suttner (Nobel Prize winner, 1905), when violence occurs, not only one who committed it, but also one who did not react has to be consider accountable for the crime.[46]

Therefore, when facing violence or (either physical or allegorical) genocide, women are unexpectedly confronted with stronger, organized and equipped, very often armed men with aggressive intentions. There are mainly three paths that abused women facing 'genocide' can take and escape to life. They can either run away and hide or struggle and resist. The best solution is one to accommodate as best they can, so they can essentially and quickly change the situation and their position.[47] Alma: "My father came and I basically run away from Haris. Indeed, I can tell that I was even hiding from him in my parents' house. I was afraid to go out and meet him on the street. I was and I am still afraid. Still, my position is now different since I have somewhere to stay."[48]

Moreover, all perpetrators on the different levels are bound via a collective intent: to get rid of the 'undesirables'. Influence, organization and sufficient means of violence to do so are needed, but not enough. Common and shared form of ideology is essentially important, like patriarchy has in the case of the male violence against women. Thus, ideology is in the centre of genocidal processes and should be treated as an essential causative power. Genocidal crimes come about at some stage in episodes of critical and enduring crisis. There is 'we group' (men) on one side and 'they-group' (women) on other side, which has strong negative classification - they are 'enemies' accountable for the bad situation. Therefore, 'they-group' is described as the personification of evil and dehumanized to a high degree. Thus, "they should be excluded, terrorized, expropriated, uprooted and killed".[49] Hence, the crucial point is to either to dehumanize and/or feminize the victim.[50] Furthermore, in the Genocide Convention it is assured that:

"...genocide whether committed in time of peace or in time of war is a crime under international law...genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: a) killing members of the group; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group...the following acts shall be punishable: a) genocide; b) conspiracy to commit genocide; c) direct and public incitement to commit genocide; d) attempt to commit genocide; e) complicity in genocide."[51]

Hence, after all that has been said so far, is it link between aforementioned manifestations of violence against women and 'genocide', more than clear and obvious? Hence, following the Genocide Convention provisions - whether it is time of peace or time of war, women worldwide are exposed to mass killings and to brutal bodily and mental injuries, simply because they are women. They are deliberately exposed to conditions of life, designed to bring about its physical (or metaphorical) destruction. They are imposed to measures projected to prevent births and moreover to measures of forced motherhood. In addition, their children are repeatedly taken away from them and thus, forcibly transferred to another group. Therefore, perhaps Genocide Convention should be in fact revisited and besides national, ethnical, racial and religious, gender group added?

To Listen and To Talk

Susan Sontag suggests that, to an audience the suffering of those being presented to them in a work of art is more interesting than the suffering of real others in the real world. Her point suggests that suffering requires recognition from an audience if it is to receive sympathy or action. Maybe, in general, violence against women does not involve suffering enough. Maybe women should suffer more in order to get more attention? However, we live a life in which there is surplus or perhaps shortage of everything, depending the way we view things. Sometimes, we look but we are simply not able to see things. Thus, we should constantly re-examine the rationalizations for mass suffering of the women worldwide provided by established male powers. Is there really some 'natural gender order' and natural state of affairs which we are obliged to accept? Nevertheless, it seems normal simply to turn away from images that make us feel bad. Yes, that is true - we can turn away, turn the page or switch the channel.[52] Still, the evil force will sooner or later, at the end come to haunt us.

Still, according to Dan Bar-On, neglected traumatic events, on the social and as well as on the individual level, do not come to an end just like that. They carry on staying under the surface, as silenced facts. However, they can suddenly explode, when the political or economic occasion is appropri-

ate, as in the Balkans following the collapse of Communism. Even high level of intermarriages between Muslims, Croatians and Serbs did not prevent it. Although nobody completely understood from where this wicked force was coming from, neighbors and even family members turned suddenly against each other. The answer is maybe in the fact that the Balkans was the 'backyard' of almost all empires: the Ottoman Empire more than 500 years ago and Austro-Hungarian Empire during the 19th century. Yet, they were backyard of the Nazi regime, during the Second World War and latter on of Communist Empire.[53]

Thus, 'backyard psychology' does not enable the development of a positive self image, which is an essential element for the construction of a healthy multi-cultural society. Internalized aggression of the oppressors, which has not been worked through, is repressed and prevents self-respect and respect of the Other."[54] Nonetheless, if did not suffered from the internalized aggression and 'backyard psychology' of earlier generations, Balkan society could be a positive model of a multi-cultural society. The essential problem is that trauma has not been worked through. Majority of people are still experiencing trauma and burden left after their earlier occupiers, even though they could have the benefit of the magnificence of various cultures and on this way to improve each other. In order to work it through it is crucial that we listen and talk to each other.[55] Hence, in order to work through the 'genocide/femicide' trauma, we should listen, talk, reflect and trust stories such are Alma's and Marica's. This is the exact path we should take on the road towards gender equality and additionally, in order to make men's violence visible.

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Conclusion

As Helen Fein points it out, "Genocide is primarily a crime of state." Political leadership intentionally decides on genocidal policies in a country. Both genocide and femicide begins with political decisions at the highest level of the state. This means that such crimes happen with awareness, support and participation of the state establishment. Hence, if not doing anything, the state ignores the rights and lives of a great number of (female) citizens and condones the genocidal acts.[1] By contrast, violence against women is a human rights problem and it entails the responsibility of governments to recognize that women are entitled to be protected against violence. A government is obliged to guarantee human rights to a woman and to provide remedies for her, when her rights are being violated. Consequently, violence against women is not a private, but public issue and necessitates governmental action to protect women against all manifestations of violence.

Violence against women happens both in war and in peace time. Patriarchal social order and gender stereotypes are sources of violence against women repeatedly reinforced by poverty and economic dependence of women. Hence, all women who live under the patriarchal structures are target for different kind of violence. Violence is about the misuse of power, whatever form it takes. The rule of patriarchy often implies male violence and/or misogyny as central, causative force that allow for violence against women. Therefore, violence against women starts in the bedroom (domestic violence), may continue in the battlefield (war violence against women) and (either symbolically or practically) end as a genocide or femicide. However, genocide is a crime whether it is committed in time of peace or in time of war. Those 'disobedient' women are the main target, but victims are frequently 'killed' regardless of whether they surrender or resist.

Moreover, domestic violence and war violence against women, even though interconnected are just two manifestations in the whole fabric of violence. Intention, trans-generational transmission, shame and fear are some common features of both domestic violence and war violence against women. Wife abuse is a conscious and intentional act made by the husband in order to achieve control over his wife. Rape in armed conflict is also an intentional act as a woman's body symbolizes a battlefield. Intention is also the nucleus of the whole genocidal process. Additionally, the same techniques are utilized in the maltreatment of women/prisoners in the concentration camps and at home. Clearly, there exists a link between all these abovementioned expressions of violence against women.

Positive peace is only achieved by improving gender equality and thus, prevention violence against women. Gender egalitarianism is an important instrument in conflict prevention and peace building and is in my opinion, the only way forward. It can be done by a) eliminating patriarchy and b) abolishing gender stereotypes through c) education, d) by combating poverty and thus, e) prevention of violence against women. If patriarchy, prejudices, poverty and hence, violence against women are tolerated, then conflicts will effortlessly rise to the surface again. A gender equal world means more peaceful world.[2]

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Appendix

Original testimony:

Alma[1], 30, Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Haris[2] and me, we were dating for four years and after that we decided to get married. He wanted me to come and live at his place. He lived with his 70-years old mother who was divorced from Haris's father, since he was two or three years old, I can't remember. Haris insisted that he would not leave his mother alone as long as she is alive. Since I was woman it was normal that I had complied to him and not vice versa. Still, everything was perfect while we were dating, but after we got married, he simply changed. I could not recognize anymore the man with whom I was dating for four years, the man with whom I fell in love. He apparently changed completely and became different. I was not tortured only by him. He and his mother did it together. I was lost and depressed, I did not see the way out. I felt like in prison and I was in prison. Problems occurred already after we came back from our honey moon, from Dubrovnik. Haris's mother was angry since

Haris did not phone her while we were away. Actually, he called her, but could not reach her. Immediately, at the door, she started to shout: 'How come you did not call me? So, that means she, thinking on me, already turned you against me. I was not working at that time. I was studying and I had few exams left at the University. Haris was working and in addition attending MA studies at that time. He and particularly his mother were controlling the house budget. The larger problems occurred after the birth of our first child. Our son had some health issues. Still, doctors were sure that is temporary illness and could be cured. However, my mother-in-law would not listen. For that and for the reason I could not breast-feed, for everything, she was blaming only me. She was all the time yelling at me, she was telling me that I am awful mother, thinking and taking care about myself only. After some time, Haris joined her. He started to ignore me and talk only with his mother. He was treating me like a thing, as I do not exist. All the time, while he was at work, his mother was maltreating me in different ways. She was calling me names like bitch, mare, I can't remember everything. Several times, she even wanted to hit me. At the last moment somehow, I still do not know why, she gave up. I did not know what her problem was. I don't know, I suppose she was acting in this way since she was divorced. As far as I know, she was neglected and in the end abandoned by Haris's father. He divorced her and than he married another woman. Do you believe

that my husband and I did not share even the same bedroom anymore? Can you imagine that, I was sleeping with his mother, while he was in the other room. My mother-in-law had a good reason for that. So, baby wakes up during the night. And of course, her son needs rest. He is working. She did everything in order to divide us emotionally and thus, physically. Anyway, I start not to mind it, since I did not enjoy being close to my husband anymore. Still, rarely when she was not around and we had opportunity to have sex, I simply thought - he is my husband, I have to do it. I did not enjoy, I was all the time under pressure, because I was afraid to get pregnant again. He did not allow me to use any protection against pregnancy, he was controlling me all the time, because he wanted second child. He forced me, against my will, to have another baby. I felt like machine for children delivery. I really tried to talk with Haris. Still, he told me to leave him alone. He said that he does not have time to talk with me. I felt so bad. I did not know what to do. I was unemployed. Yet, I did not know where to go. It became agonizing. I decided to call my parents for a help. Still, I did not want to cause them problems. Friends and neighbors were telling me to stay, to endure. You know, in my backward little town to be divorced woman is - "big shame." You can not imagine this situation. It seems like one cycle with no way out. Haris was limiting me in different ways. He liked to spend his extra time with his extended family and friends. Still, he did not allow

me to do the same. I had impression that he hated my relatives, friends and especially my parents. But I was thinking - things will settle down with time. Still, they were only worsening. And then I have realized that I am pregnant again. I was frozen, I knew that it would be misery to have second child now. I told my husband what is going on, I told him that I am not ready. He replied: "In the case you do not want second child, feel free to pack. But remember, without our son." And than he started ignoring me even more. He was all the time telling me that woman's place is in the house. I was thinking - it is probably all my fault. I have to keep going on, for the sake of me and my children. And then one month after giving birth to our second child, Haris hit me. That was something I could not swallow. At last, I decided to call my father to help me. Yet, my husband started threatening me. He was shouting on me and on my father when he came. Oh, he became an animal. He was yelling that he is not giving me the children, that he has a gun and that he will kill me and all my family. He threw out my father from the apartment. Can you imagine, I was not allowed to use phone anymore. My parents did not know anything about me for days. At the end, they used possibility when Haris was at the work. They came, pick me and my children up from that house. Or perhaps better to say, from that prison. I only took the things I actually had on me. And after more than one and a half year passed, since that marriage "de facto" does not exist, I am being abused.

He is all the time saying me and others how terrible mother I am. He is threatening me that he will take children away from me. He still swore me whenever he has a chance. He is doing that even in front of our children, when visiting them. He has a good and well paid job, but he is not paying alimony for the children. I am still unemployed. That is partially because of the situation in general, economic crisis and unemployment in BiH. On the other side, I have to take care about my children and that is also big barrier for me in find employment. I am still abused, mostly psychologically and economically. That is one whole system of blackmailing. For sure, state and society are reinforcing it. Now I am divorced formally. Court gave me custody over children and alimony. Still, my former husband made a complaint on the court decision and thus, stopped the whole process. And than the biggest smack from the society I got from one "expert". She is psychologist from our local Centre for social work. Once, she was interviewing me. I felt so tensed, since my former husband was present. I told her everything. I told her why I do not want to live with him anymore. And she said: 'He hit you only once? Well, that is nothing, woman have to endure a lot of things to preserve her marriage and on this way, to protect her children.' Of course, Haris was denying that he hit me at all. Later on, somehow he changed his mind and said that he only pushed me a little bit. Hence, it is true that Haris hit me 'only' once. However, I am wondering how many hits I had to tolerate? How many hits I had to tolerate so it would be OK for me to leave Haris? So it would be socially acceptable to abandon your abusive partner? One big problem for me is that Haris has an MA degree, very well paid job and high-ranked position within his company. I can tell that he is respected member of our community. It is hard for me to prove to the community that somebody like him can, as a matter a fact, be so bad. Yet, opinion of the community is really important, in my town that is matter of status and honor. Still, Haris sometimes, when he is in mood, want us to come back together. He says that things would change. But, thanks God I am still firm. I simply do not believe him anymore. I just want to come back on my feet again. I want to get my diploma and start work. That is only possible way out for me."

Notes

1 Pseudonym, real name familiar to the author of this paper
2 Pseudonym, real name familiar to the author of this paper