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**Gender-Based Violence:
A Global Crisis that is Handled Ineffectually**

Written by Marlén Miranda

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for The Degree of Bachelor of Arts

Department of Human Rights
May 2020

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I dedicate this thesis to my mom and all gender-based violence survivors:

Mamá, eres una luchadora y una luz en mi vida. Sé que significa la resiliencia gracias a tu habilidad de pararte después de cada caída.

Survivors, your emotions, resilience, and existence are a gift to the world. Never give up the fight; you are the agents of change!

Remembrance Poem

Fear my Womxness

I was only a girl when I learned to FEAR...

Be careful...
 Never walk alone,
 Don't go out late,
 Cover up...that is too short,
 Be quiet,
 Watch your drink,
 Don't run outside,
 Never be alone with a guy,
 Be wary of moving vehicles,
 Stop acting like that...they may think you are asking for more,

Be Careful...Be Careful...Is this what being a womxn means—constantly being in a state of fear?
 Bullshit! Don't try to put the blame on us, as if your violent masculinities are our responsibility.

I was only a girl when my fantasy faded,
 I was only a girl when reality stepped in. I take that back,
 I was only a girl when reality burst in and smashed everything in its past.

I am tired...Tired of always having to take precautions.
 Tired of always having to safeguard my femininity.

My womxness is not an invitation for your protection, exploitation, and satisfaction.
 My womxness is not for you to judge, restrict, and define.

My womxness is complex...
 It is beauty, unity, power, and love. It is symbolic of me, and the thousands of womxn before me, who continue to rise and give life, despite your pettish attempts to dispose of us.

I choose to no longer be afraid of you and your toxic rape culture. The one who should be afraid is YOU...of ME, of my RESISTENCE, of my WOMXNESS.

--- In memory of Saadiqa Newman, Denusha Witbooi, Meghan Creemer, Nathlia

Pienaar, Lynette Volshenk, Leighandre Jegels, Uyinene Mrwetyana, and the

thousands of victims of femicide and gender-based violence from around the

world. I see you, you matter, and your life is not disposable ---

Abstract

This research seeks to outline the current understandings of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in academic literature and how it contrasts from the ways governmental and non-governmental bodies interpret and address GBV. A little more than a yearlong investigation in Chile, Nepal, Jordan, Spain, and the United States serves as the foundation of the research. The researcher uses the ethnographic method (Draper, 2015) and the interpretive approach (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012) to interview individuals successfully and to comprehend better how GBV operates within each of the countries. The study focuses on answering the research question: How is GBV understood, and do current understandings capture the experiences of historically marginalized individuals? A thorough study of the data concludes that GBV is institutional violence: a comparison that is not yet grasped amongst many governmental and non-governmental bodies. This lack of a multifaceted understanding by formal institutions is limiting agencies' ability to address the violence, generating hegemonic discourse, and excluding certain groups who should be receiving services. Social movements against GBV and acts of resistance amongst survivors demonstrate the need for a paradigmatic shift in how GBV is understood and conceptualized, specifically amongst women's organizations, NGOs, courtrooms, and governmental institutions. Additionally, I argue that these new understandings of GBV must expand beyond the theory of "modern-day intersectional feminism" and that of current hegemonic discourse (Gordon, 2018).

Keywords: gender-based violence, marginalization, resistance, gender, oppression, anti-colonial feminism, institutional violence, LGBTQI rights.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Literary Context

GBV is an umbrella term used to define the harm perpetrated onto a person based on their gender (Hvistendahl, 2018). The term GBV first entered widespread use following its presence in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence Against Women of 1993 (DEVAW) (Read-Hamilton, 2014). GBV was originally adopted to articulate the global issue of Violence Against Women (VAW) and girls. However, the term of VAW should not be used interchangeably with that of GBV. VAW, according to the United Nations, means any act that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm to women (United Nations, 1995). This definition protects women and girls from all walks of life (minority groups, indigenous women, refugee women, women migrants, women in poverty living in rural or remote communities, women in detention, and other groups of women) (United Nations, 1995). The term VAW, is exclusive to women, in order to cease the silence of sexual violence and emphasize the fact that GBV affects women disproportionately—solely because they are women (Council of Europe, 2018). The term GBV, on the other hand, has evolved to combat systemic violence based on gender, while not specifying the particular gender of an individual or group. This lack of emphasis on a particular gender allows for discussion on “the constructions of gender” and how power operates differently based on one’s gender identity—that being men, women, and non-binary individuals. Additionally, fully understanding the different dimensions of GBV can help society comprehend gender’s correlation with violence and the ways gender roles impact an individual’s daily lives.

GBV most often stems from the subordination of a certain group of people and unequal power dynamics (DEVAW, 1993). In most societies, power inequalities exist between females and males¹, men and women², and cisgender³ and transgender⁴ individuals (Purdue University, 2015). Those that are most likely to experience GBV are women, girls, and LGBTQI individuals (DEVAW, 1993). One can learn volumes of a society's customs, beliefs, and social institutions by studying the social dynamics of the oppressed and the oppressors.

Domestic violence is often the most widely known form of GBV. The violence involves insults, threats, sexual coercion, and emotional abuse. Although most countries now recognize that “partnerships” can be between individuals of the same or different gender, most studies focus on relationships between men and women. Due to statistics, normally, men are painted as abusers and women as the victims (The National Domestic Violence Hotline, 2019). Other forms of violence included under GBV include marital rape, dowry-related violence, and sexual abuse of children (Hvistendahl, 2018).

According to the World Health Organization, one in three women worldwide will experience GBV, as will one in five men (PATH, 2005). LGBTQI people, on the other hand, are at constant risk since society believes their existence poses a “threat” to traditional gender norms (Chinkin & Neenan, 2017). Currently, states and international actors have a “responsibility”⁵ to prevent such violence, punish perpetrators, and provide support for survivors. Some international treaties, pieces of soft law, and legal documents used across the globe to combat GBV include

¹ *Females* and *Males* refer to one's sex—based on biological and psychological characteristics (Purdue University, 2015).

² *Men* and *women* are terms that refer to one's gender, which is socially constructed (Purdue University, 2015).

³ *Cisgender* defines someone whose internal feelings of sexual identity correspond to their assigned sex given at birth (Purdue University, 2015).

⁴ *Transgender* is used to describe someone whose internal feeling of sexual identity does not match with their assigned sex given at birth (Purdue University, 2015).

⁵ Most of these international documents are pieces of soft law, meaning they do not involve any legally binding force. Although states must abide by these documents, states will not face any legal punishments if they fail to do so.

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), CEDAW's Optional Protocol, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW), the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol), and the Yogyakarta principles (United Nations, 1995). Most of these legal documents protect the economic, political, and social rights of women. The Yogyakarta Principles guide governments and agencies on how to apply international human rights standards to LGBTI individuals, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is used to protect all human beings. However, despite all of these international mechanisms to address gender-related violence, monitoring bodies and UN committees continue to report the existence of gender-based violations, meaning these international treaties and pieces of soft law are not enough to combat GBV.

GBV persists because international actors have been unable and unwilling to recognize the existence of institutional violence. Institutional violence, most commonly referred to as structural violence, was first introduced by sociologist Johan Galtung (1969). Institutional violence is a form of violence where certain groups are unable to meet their basic needs because of the social institutions' structure. Examples of institutional GBV includes lack of access to adequate health care, police brutality, discriminatory legislation, and political discrimination (Hvistendahl, 2018). When researchers say gender inequality, racism, and discriminatory laws are all forms of institutional violence, they are implying that these systems of oppression are a 'consequence of social conditions' (Galtung, 1969). In other words, they are suggesting that these social systems are intertwined with social structures and, thus, responsible for the demise

of a particular demographic. Researchers who study institutional violence recognize that 'violence against women' is structural because, since the beginning of time, the exploitation of females was facilitated and promoted through the society's culture and political formations (Sinha, Gupta, Singh, & Srivastava, 2017). In terms of GBV, international actors often hesitate to discuss the existence of institutional violence because structural violence is a hybrid concept—made up of theoretical and empirical evidence. In other words, institutional violence is hard to measure and visualize. Due to its unquantifiable nature, many politicians and researchers refuse to use the term. However, despite the intangible nature of institutional violence, it is crucial to investigate it further because the research will amplify the level of understanding of GBV and give political actors the ability to verbalize and address GBV on its structural scale. Some questions other researchers should keep in mind include how imbedded is GBV within countries and communities' civil, political, cultural, and economic systems? How does GBV impact an individual, group, city, country, and the globe?

It is critical to address and combat GBV because it is a worldwide phenomenon that has the capability of affecting individuals, families, and society as a whole (Futures Without Violence, 2017). Individuals who experience GBV can also suffer depression, physical harm, persecution, and death as a result. These negative symptoms also have the capability of breaking apart families, increasing a communities' level of insecurity, and degrading a region's economic capabilities. For example, high levels of femicides increase the crime rates within communities (World Health Organization, 1997). Also, states have the capability of undermining economic development when it puts in place discriminatory legislation or fails to address issues of sexual harassment, which mainly affect both women and LGBTQI individuals (Arab Women Legal Network, Personal Communication, November 13, 2018). Together, both these groups of

individuals make up more than half of the population; thus, this form of legislative violence limits labor force participation and hinders economic growth.

In this research paper, I argue that there are some shortcomings in how GBV is being understood and addressed by current governmental and non-governmental actors. Some of these shortcomings include the fact that governmental and non-governmental bodies exclude multi-marginalized groups from their initiatives, fail to recognize GBV as a form of institutional violence, and focus on examining GBV from a heteronormative perspective (Purdue University, 2015). Right now, there is a lack of alignment in understandings of GBV between individuals facing it and that of institutional mechanisms seeking to resolve it. This study documents some of the experiences of marginalized groups, compares different countries understandings of GBV, and analyzes data beyond the “modern-day intersectional perspective” and that of hegemonic discourse (Gordon, 2018). This research paper will solely focus on GBV within Chile, Nepal, Jordan, Spain, and the United States. This investigation took place in four continents (North America, South America, Europe, and Asia), with the hope that these distinct regions will provide a wide-ranging perspective of the complexities of GBV. The research question used to guide the investigation was, "How is GBV understood, and do current understandings capture the experiences of historically marginalized individuals? After conducting the investigation, the data found that a societies' “heteronormative nature” creates biases that gravely affect the ways researchers, activists, lawyers, political leaders, communities, and other actors understand and address GBV. Additionally, that institutional mechanisms seeking to aid GBV survivors only protect certain demographic of individuals, leaving behind multi-marginalized individuals.

1.2 Motivation and Reason for the Study

There have been many events in my life that have motivated me to conduct this study. Some of these motives include being raised in México and the United States, growing up under a machista society, being a survivor of GBV, hearing personal testimony of the violence from individuals in my community, and studying abroad in a time when feminist movements were surfacing around the globe.

Although South Africa is not a country in my case study, I believe it is essential to mention that my time there shaped my view of GBV and how I wrote this thesis. In the Fall of 2019 (July-Nov 2019), I was an international student at the University of Cape Town, a time that coincided with the rise of the “South African Gender-Based Violence Movement.” The country has always had high rates of femicide; however, during the end of August and early September of 2019, the rates of violent crimes against women skyrocketed. The movement first surfaced with the deaths of Saadiqa Newman, Denusha Witbooi, Meghan Creemer, Nathlia Pienaar, Lynette Volshenk, and Leighandre Jegels, whose stories reached local headlines; the last straw for many was when the body of Uyinene Mrwetyana (Nene), a missing 19-year-old University of Cape Town student, was discovered (Francke, 2019). Mrwetyana's story made national news when the reporters exposed that she was raped and beaten to death by a post office employee. For many, this specific event showcased the government’s failure to deal with rising violence against women because it happened to a highly educated student, in midday, and inside a post office (which is situated next door to a police station and located in an affluent area). The GBV movement consisted of violent and non-violent protests, student/staff/worker strikes, university shutdowns, and corporations and higher education institutions demanding South African government officials to take action. In a society still divided by aftereffects of apartheid, it was

remarkable to see white, Indian, coloured,⁶ and black South Africans together. All united under ideas such as “enough is enough” and “my body is not your crime scene” (Francke, 2019).

Personally, all of these women’s deaths showcased to me not only the failure of the government and its institutions to address femicides, but also the limited understanding of GBV by ordinary individuals engaged in the movement. This unawareness at an individual level is a result of a lack of dialogue in communities and schools about gender issues. Before Mrwetyana's death, each of the other cases were presented by reporters as being "unique" and un-replicable (Francke, 2019). Reporters discussed the violence as if it was more representative of the nature and character of the perpetrator than that of the society itself. I take issue with this form of rationale because these acts of violence were not unique. Negating the patterns of violence means refusing to accept that women in this society are treated as if they are disposable.

GBV is a language.⁷ Just as there is meaning in how one speaks, there is significance behind how one executes GBV. These cases were not a “moment in history,” and they were not “unique” (Francke, 2019). By just reading the headlines, one will be able to notice a pattern, which is that all of these crimes were carried out by male-bodied individuals against female-bodied individuals.⁸ Acts of GBV are more indicative of a society and its relationship with violence than they are of the individuals who are conducting the violence. GBV is not marginal nor aberrant; it is an extreme manifestation of culturally accepted patterns of behavior of “male-

⁶ In South Africa, the term *coloured* is used to describe people of mixed ancestry—that being European, African, and/or Asian. This term is widely used and culturally not considered derogatory.

⁷ This idea comes from Pumla Dineo Gqola, author of *Rape: A South African Nightmare*, who argues in her book that rape is a language. She defines it as, “A powerful language with which to control women in South Africa...a language that is now an established part of South African power” (Gqola 2015, p. 22 and p. 53).

⁸ It is important to note that although statistically, most acts of GBV are carried out by male-bodied individuals against female-bodied individuals, this is not always the case. Just as a language's grammatical rules and conventions are not based on the linguistic tendencies of a particular speaker, GBV cannot be defined by a single event or perpetrator/victim.

female relationships” (D’Cruze, 1992). It is a language that is widespread and misunderstood (or not taken seriously) by nations and other actors.

Community members warned women to stay off the streets and to never be alone, with the hopes that these efforts would prevent future femicides. They ordered them to take the appropriate measures to “stay safe.” However, can one ever be safe in a world where no country has been able to end GBV? Additionally, why are only women and girls taught from an early age to protect themselves from GBV? Are adults just stating the obvious so that women and girls take the appropriate precautions? Or are adults, unintentionally, reinforcing a patriarchal rape-prone culture? Lastly, how do these accepted social constructions of women as victims and men as perpetrators affect the way we study GBV? Although there was probably no mal intent from the community in giving the warnings to “stay safe,” the action is responsive—it will not grapple with the root causes of the violence. If anything, taking some precautions *may* decrease some of the risks. These warnings, although well intended, can be more harmful than good. They are damaging because they place the responsibility of prevention on the potential victim instead of on the society. They also create this false idea that taking these measures will prevent the violence, when, in reality, nowhere is safe, and taking all of these precautions might not be enough to keep one alive. Furthermore, they have the potential to inspire fear and reinforce patriarchal rape scripts (Buss 2009, p. 155).

Mrwetyana’s case is a blatant act of femicide, and there is no room for denial. It is pointless to decipher what Mrwetyana did wrong (victim blame) or could have done to avoid this act of violence, for it will not change what happened to her. This focus on Mrwetyana’s actions only stirs society farther away from the real issue, which is that GBV is a systemic issue. By solely focusing on Mrwetyana’s actions and case, society is unconsciously making Mrwetyana’s

experience as unique—giving society the false idea that what happened to Mrwetyana could never happen to them. However, if society understands GBV as a systemic issue, one will notice a pattern between Mrwetyana’s death and that of the many women who died before her. Thus, allowing society the opportunity to tackle the economic, political, social, and cultural factors which inspired the violence. GBV should not have to escalate to mass killings for society to mobilize and the government to recognize it as an issue. This recognition was far too late, and should never be repeated.

Another issue is that the current governmental and non-governmental institutions set in place will not stop GBV. Change will come only until the society, and the government understand the root causes of GBV and addresses all of its complexities. I write this piece in the hopes that it will uncover some of these complexities, dismantle some current myths of violence against women, and incite actors to reconceptualize the ways they understand and address GBV.

Lastly, a lack of emotional and personal resonance with some of the current GBV research motivated me to conduct this investigation. Most of the research I read concerning gender issues were limited to a specific country and a specific gender (mostly female). Although I connected to some of the material, something was missing. As if researchers were trying to complete a jigsaw puzzle without all of the pieces. Through studying GBV, I hope to gain a broader understanding of it and make sense of the impacts in my life and that of others around me. I hope my analysis will personally connect with readers and incline them to reflect on how they have bore witness to GBV or even carried out acts of GBV. Through this reflexive and multi-lens study, I believe that I can play a part in documenting some of the realities of survivors of GBV and problematizing our current understandings of GBV. My goals are to provoke

dialogue, incite further research, and demonstrate the need for more widespread solutions to GBV.

1.3 Chapter Outline

The research paper is composed of seven chapters: introduction, literature review, methodology, findings, discussion, conclusion, and the way forward. The research paper begins with the introduction, which presents the issue and the reason behind why I conducted this investigation. The literature review examines historical and current academic literature focused on GBV to highlight how the literature might differ from the findings compiled from the investigation. The methodology chapter addresses how I conducted my research, in terms of obtaining interviews and data. Also discussed are the limitations of the research and researcher, and my thoughts surrounding “the ethics” of conducting interviews. The research paper then goes into discussing the four significant findings—1) GBV is institutional violence, 2) Formal institutions have a limited understanding of GBV, 3) The hegemonic discourse around GBV does not encapsulate the realities of multi-marginalized individuals, and 4) Acts of resistance arise as a result of failing institutions and instill pressure on society for more significant change. The discussion section demonstrates several concrete examples of how the researcher came about these findings. The conclusion expands on how this investigation adds to the current academic literature on GBV. Lastly, the way forward deliberates both the hopes for future research and provides recommendations to researchers, governmental institutions, and other actors on how to tackle GBV better.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Political Violence

Political violence is any form of aggression, verbal assault, sexual innuendos, intimidation, physical attacks, coercion, and harassment inflicted on an individual for a political purpose (Quadri, 2017, p. 3). Researchers who investigate GBV study political violence with a gendered lens, which means that researchers study how gender affects the ways individuals act, think, and interact with one another in the political sphere (Quadri, 2017). Politically gendered violence can take many forms, such as omitting women from academic literature and categorizing women solely as "oppressed" and men solely as the "oppressor" (Sjoberg, 2007), and the systematic opposition of women running for political office.

A significant form of political violence is the erasure of women from history and literature focused on aggression and violent politics—aggressive acts which are motivated by a desire to affect change in government and the political sphere (Orbals & Poloni-Staudinger's, 2018). This is problematic because, in reality, women participate in and conduct violence such as war, genocide, and terrorism (MacKinnon, 1994). Orbals and Poloni-Staudinger's (2018) investigation found that women are present in situations surrounding both genocide and terrorism; however, their gender limits their ability to be seen as actors of political violence. Orbals and Poloni-Staudinger's (2018) investigation found that women are present in situations surrounding both genocide and terrorism; however, their gender limits their ability to be seen as actors of political violence. Orbals and Poloni-Staudinger (2018) argue that history books rarely mention women who participate in terrorism and genocide. Women labeled as possessing "feminine qualities"—which excludes "agency" and the desire for violence. The goal of the study

is to further understand the presence and absence of women in violent politics. Moser and Clark (2001) stated in their report, “women are simply not identified as participants of political violence and armed conflict,” which just reinforces the findings of Orbals and Poloni-Staudinger. Moser and Clark’s (2001) also found that men generally assume positions of perpetrators and peacekeepers, while women labels of victims. Unlike the previous scholars, MacKinnon (1994) investigated why these roles are assumed and found that "weapons of war," such as sexual abuse and rape, reinforce these gender roles. These findings are remarkable as they address a problem as old as humanity itself: which is that politics and war continue to be associated with "men" and "masculinity." In contrast, "women" and "femininity" continue to be associated with victimization, passivity, and peace.

Discrimination is visible within the history of war and conflict as women are placed solely in the category of “victims” and men as “perpetrators” (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018, p. 142). It is dangerous to place individuals in these fixed roles as it limits their complexity. It is also problematic to have such limited perceptions for it encourages men to develop a sense of toxic masculinity—a stereotypically masculine gender role that forces men and boys to be dominant and avoid expressing certain emotions and for women to see themselves as voiceless and weak (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018, p. 228). Sjoberg (2007) furthers the research by arguing that the omission of women as contributors to violence often affects a woman’s ability to promote herself as an autonomous and responsible being. In other words, society fails to see how women can be both violent and non-violent, thus failing to see that women encompass a full array of human emotions and experiences. Sjoberg (2007) argued that this blinding perception undermines history and society’s social understanding of violence as one

cannot trace the true causes of violence without fully understand more than half of the human population: females.

Decades ago, political violence took the form of legislation limiting women's abilities to run for political office. Now, there are no more bans limiting women from running for political office; however, there is still a social stigma associated with being a woman in politics. This social stigma is a symptom of symbolic violence (Galtung, 1990), or the use of mild and invisible violence generates through cognition and 'misrecognition,' frequently with the unwitting consent of the domination. In other words, symbolic violence is embedded in social structures and other modes of action, causing society to continually absorb and give legitimacy to social orders, such as male dominance. This subtle violence can take the form of misogynistic verbal attacks, obtaining less airtime and media coverage, undermining a women's ability to tackle difficult political issues, and basing a women's potential solely on her physical appearance. Symbolic violence can also take the form of violent crimes, such as murder, which are often perpetrated on activists and politicians, who seek to address social and systemic issues. According to a UN Special Rapporteur (2018), "Women are persistently undermined and discouraged from being politically active with the hope of preserving traditional gender roles and gender-based inequalities."

Political violence stems from unequal gender relations which prohibit women from challenging their gender roles, and pursuing higher education and positions of power. The stereotyping of women as "passive" and "peaceful" and men as "aggressive" and "violent," originate from the idea that the "public sphere" is for men and that the "private sphere" is for women (Ortbals & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018, p. 142). According to Quadri (2017), these misconceptions impact a women's ability to enter political positions and participate in violent

politics. For not only are they at high risk of facing backlash from civil society, but also because they have a higher chance of experiencing political violence, such as harassment, de-legitimacy, and lack of representation (Quadri, 2017, p. 8). Some physical and economic challenges female politicians face includes double standards, limited financial support, lack of gender equity, and the “masculine model of politics” (Quadri, 2017, p. 10). The backlash and violence originate from women being perceived as incapable of taking on difficult issues, such as finance, economic development, climate change, foreign affairs, war, and trade (Quadri, 2017, p. 6). Quadri (2017) argues that perpetrators design this type of "political violence" in order to scare women away from entering the field of politics. However, despite these deterrents, in the last two decades, countries around the world have significantly increased the number of women they elect into political office (Quadri, 2017, p. 7).

2.2 Economic Violence

Economic violence refers to the threat or action of denying economic resources to an individual. When the gender perspective is applied, economic violence is how individuals are economically disadvantaged based on gender. The origins of economic violence are still highly disputed. Some argue that it stems from “economic burdens” (Aizer, 2010), and others argue that it stems from other social factors, such as alcoholism, organized crime, and geographic location (Department of Global Health and Development, 2012). Despite constant opposition, most scholars agree that female empowerment and access to resources decreases the likelihood of experiencing GBV (Eswaran, 2014).

The higher one's economic burden, the higher the probability that an individual will face GBV (NGEC, 2016). The National Gender and Equality Commission came to this conclusion

after they conducted a study in Kenya, which found that most of the individuals that were struggling with economic deprivation were also struggling with GBV (NGEC, 2016). GBV is problematic, as it also impacts individuals, communities, and nations (NGEC, 2016). Aizer (2010) obtained similar results after conducting a similar study in the United States. She concluded that “one’s level of economic justice is relative to their level of intimate partner violence” (Aizer, 2010). Aizer’s (2010) investigation furthered the research, for she found a correlation between the gender wage gap and one’s level of domestic violence. She concluded that “an increase in a woman's relative wage increases her bargaining power and lowers the levels of violence she will have to endure” (Aizer, 2010). In other words, a decrease in the wage gap reduces the chances of women facing GBV.

Despite many studies that demonstrate that GBV correlates with one's level of economic freedom, researchers continue to argue that individual socio-economic characteristics do not influence one’s likeliness of experiencing GBV (Department of Global Health and Development, 2012). The Department of Global Health and Development (2012) argues that it differs across countries and cultures, for in Sao Paulo, Brazilian women’s socio-economic condition and neighborhood location do not impact whether or not they experience intimate-partner violence. The Department of Global Health and Development (2012) came to this conclusion after obtaining over 940 interviews. The Department of Global Health and Development (2012) countered previous research by arguing that it is mostly women who come from the middle range of the socio-economic scale that will report experiencing GBV. This study also countered previous research, as it found that women with mothers who had experienced intimate-partner violence and families that overused alcohol had higher chances of also experiencing GBV (Department of Global Health and Development, 2012). This stark contrast in conclusions

demonstrates that there is a lack of consensus on the cause of GBV and the criticality of conducting further research. For if the Department of Global Health and Development's conclusions are correct, it would mean that when addressing GBV, individuals should focus on addressing social issues, such as repeated violence across generations and alcoholism. It is essential to examine and analyze contrasting data, for it demonstrates that there is still a high need for expanding research focused on GBV.

Outside sources can also take part in economic violence, such as organized crime, gang-related issues, coercive government policies, corrupt political parties, or unequal trade-agreements (Corona & Dominguez-Ruvalcaba, 2010). Corona and Dominguez-Ruvalcaba (2010) argue that one's location, gender, and ethnicity all play a role in whether that individual will experience GBV. They came to this conclusion after conducting a study along the U.S. and Mexico border, and discovering that there exists a high correlation between "the regional economic transformation, caused by the creation of the North American Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the increase in GBV (Corona & Dominguez-Ruvalcaba, 2010). This study expanded the literature focused on economic violence, for it was the first study that examined the prevalence of GBV across international borders (Corona & Dominguez-Ruvalcaba, 2010). Corona & Dominguez-Ruvalcaba's conclusions are essential for they demonstrate that external factors also place a role in generating and maintaining GBV.

Despite the lack of consensus among researchers of the effects of economic freedom on violence, there is a broad consensus that female empowerment and access to resources decreases the likelihood of experiencing GBV (Eswaran, 2014). Eswaran (2014) furthered this argument by adding that access to health care, education, and birth control also play a role in combating GBV. However, economic outcomes for women remain remarkably worse than that for men, despite

improvements in technology, birth control, market opportunities, and social norms (Eswaran, 2014).

2.3 Social Violence

Most literature focused on GBV is focused on studying how societies and cultures create, impact, and address violence and gender-based issues. Literature is focused on how social and cultural violence is gendered. For this, scholars have examined relationships and elements of power, usually referring to the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor (Hvistendahl, 2018).

Social violence can be sexual, psychological, or physical (Hvistendahl, 2018). Sexual violence refers to when someone forces or manipulates someone else into having unwanted sexual activity (National Sexual Violence: Resource Center, 2010). Within sexual violence, there is an absence of consent. Psychological abuse involves a person's attempt to control, frighten, or isolate an individual (National Sexual Violence: Resource Center, 2010). Lastly, physical abuse refers to a non-accidental use of force that results in pain, bodily injury, or impairment (Tracy, 2019).

Intimate partner violence (IPV) and sexual harassment are common forms of social violence that occur all over the world and must be addressed. In the United States, an average of twenty people are abused physically by an intimate partner every minute (NCADV, 2018). Ten million individuals experience IPV annually. The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence concluded in their investigation that one in three women and one in four men had been abused physically by an intimate partner (NCADV, 2018). In the United States, sexual assault, such as rape, occurs to one in five women and one in fifty-nine men within his or her lifetime (NCADV,

2018). Another staggering statistic is that one in three females and one in twenty males will be murdered by an intimate partner throughout their life (NCADV, 2018). The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (2018) furthered the research by arguing that females are more likely to face these forms of social violence than males. They also expanded the research by concluding that victims of intimate partner violence face not only physical violence, but also emotional and psychological trauma (NCADV, 2018). Thus, demonstrating why there is a high correlation among victims of intimate partner violence with higher rates of depression, suicidal behavior, and HIV or other STDs, which is due to forced intercourse (NCADV, 2018).

Social forms of violence can occur during both times of war and peace, and they are targeting women at higher rates than men. Some of the most common types of social violence discussed in the academic literature include sexual and genocidal rape. MacKinnon (1994) argues that women face more violence than men during wartime, for they face the same abuses men receive, in addition to sexual and genocidal rape. MacKinnon (1994) came to this conclusion after investigating the mass atrocities committed against Muslim and Croatian women during the Bosnian and Herzegovina genocide. She furthered the research by contending that gendered aggression against women occurs because it is used as an "instrument of war" during the genocide (MacKinnon, 1994). This form of GBV is a strategy of war because by hurting women, one is also harming that woman's family, community, state, and nation. MacKinnon (1994) also broadened the research by concluding that violations against women are unique in that even during times of "peace" women are still physically, sexually, and psychologically abused by men. MacKinnon (1994) expresses this by saying, "The trouble has been that men do in war what they do in peace, only more so, so when it comes to women, the complacency that surrounds peacetime extends to wartime, no matter what the law says" (p. 53).

In other words, genocidal rape occurs in wartimes because, in times of peace, rape is normalized (MacKinnon, 1994, p. 53).

So far, when it comes to social violence, research has focused mainly on issues related to men and women. Most academic literature focused on social violence has mainly focused on studying domestic violence and sexual harassment, which are usually framed within a heteronormative lens (Purdue University, 2015). Heteronormativity is the belief that heterosexuality is the norm or default sexual orientation (Purdue University, 2015). As a result of this, academics exclude LGBTQI individuals from academic literature. The few scholars focused on examining GBV from a non-heteronormative perspective demonstrate that LGBTQI individuals are at high risk of experiencing GBV (NCAVP, 2018).

The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) (2018) argues that the most marginalized individuals to experience hate violence and homicides are overwhelmingly transgender women and queer, bi, or gay cisgender men (NCAVP, 2018). They came to this conclusion after conducting an investigation in the United States during the years 2016-2017. This investigation not only furthered the research because it looked at social violence from a non-heteronormative lens, but also because they found a correlation between violence and race. The researchers argued that the majority of the homicides were towards transgender women of color (NCAVP, 2018). NCAVP (2018) found that seventy-five percent of LGBTQI victims were people of color. In this study, people of color referred to Black, Latinx, Asian, and Native groups. The NCAVP (2018) expanded research by finding that there has been an increase in reporting among the LGBTQI community. Some conclude that this is because there has been an increase in awareness and support around the world of LGBTQI rights (Riquelme, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Academic literature focused on examining norms, and social

issues outside the lens of heteronormativity is vital for it expands society's understanding of GBV and how to combat it. It is also important because it can help spark discussion on often undiscussed topics, such as LGBTQI rights, and validate the experiences of non-dominant individuals.

2.4 Institutional Violence

Institutional Violence, according to Deane W. Curtin and Robert Litke (1999), is violence that is facilitated by and imbedded within social organizations. Some of these social organizations can include the educational system, the police force, the legislative government, the military, and the judicial system. South Africa's implementation of Apartheid is an example of institutional violence for the racial policies established resulted in the majority of the population having no access to their most basic rights and needs (Filippi, 2016). Some of the consequences of institutional violence can include political disenfranchisement, impoverishment, and social and cultural minimization. Often, institutional violence sustains hierarchical power for specific groups of people. This hegemony usually will construct political, economic, and social establishments in their favor, which results in the disadvantaging of those who are in the lower parts of the social ladder. In other words, institutional violence does not equally impact all individuals, some will benefit, and others will suffer severe social injustices.

Researchers often find institutional violence challenging to study because it operates within the daily lives of individuals, intrinsic in policy formation, and even internalized by the community; thus, making it challenging to calculate and determine the level of social impact. Another challenge is that it is often tough to decipher when abuse is purely "personal," and when this form of violence is created and facilitated by the law (Curtin & Litke, 1999). It is also

difficult to research because it has the capability of functioning differently within various social constructs, such as race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and many others.

Concerning GBV, there is still little to no research solely dedicated to studying GBV from an institutional level (Curtin & Litke, 1999).

2.5 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a legal term developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), an American lawyer and civil rights activist, to help explain the oppression of African American women. Although there is a long history of black feminist critique that predates Crenshaw's 1989 and 1991 works, which describes similar theories of multiple levels of oppression present within one's identity, it was Crenshaw who gave the theory international recognition. The theory declares that no one category of an individual's identity has dominance, that each aspect of an individual's identity plays a role in their experience. Some of these categories include one's race, religion, social class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and other identities. Intersectionality is a lens through which society can see where power comes and collides, or "where it locks and intersects" (Crenshaw, 1989). It is a tool for understanding the varying degrees of privilege and vulnerability within one's identities.

Black feminist scholars often commend Crenshaw's theory because her theory was one of the first to resonate with black women (Nash, 2019). The theory discusses both the aspect of race and gender, while at the same time problematizing the nature of hearing only the stories of black men and white women. Jennifer C. Nash (2019), a black feminist writer, on the other hand, discusses the problematic nature that comes with overpraising Crenshaw's theory in her book "Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality." Nash (2019) argues that as

intersectionality has become a worldwide feminist “preoccupation,” black feminists have been marked by a single effect—“defensiveness.” Defensiveness, in this context, means the effort to limit the use and distribution of the theory. In the book, defensiveness is labeled as “policing intersectionality” (Nash, 2019). Nash urges black feminists to let go of this “protentional stance,” or this desire to make property of knowledge, to “unleash black feminism’s world-making possibilities.” In other words, Nash wants black feminists to see that black feminist theory is not limited to intersectionality, but that intersectionality is only an aspect of it. She wants them not to see intersectionality as a list of truths, but as a work in progress.

The term intersectionality is now widely known and used all over the world. It is one of the most significant political and theoretical precepts of the time and has been vital for women’s movements, such as the Women’s March and #MeToo movement. However, a significant issue is that intersectionality is often used as a grand theory for everyone, which is not what Crenshaw intended. The problematic nature of “modern-day intersectionality”⁹ is that it is now mistaken for “inclusion,” or an idea of some “pre-existing unity” that denies the relations of power that separates them. María José Méndez (2018), a political scientist, argues that “modern-day intersectionality” calls for women’s unity in a depoliticized manner. People misunderstand intersectionality as a space of inclusion, where all individuals’ voices are heard. However, how can one “include” marginalized individuals into systems which were designed to exploit them or exist without them? These are some of the questions Méndez raises in her piece, “The River Told Me: Rethinking Intersectionality from the World of Berta Cáceres.” Vivian M. May (2015), a

⁹ “Modern-day intersectional feminism” is distinct from “white feminism,” because modern-day intersectionality aims to include the experiences of ethnic and minority women; however, many multi-marginalized individuals find issue with this type of feminism because hegemonic discourse persists, there are existing conflicts between ethnic/racial groups that are either de-politicized or ignored, and the end goal of the movement does not benefit all parties.

famous feminist writer, disputes that that intersectionality has been misunderstood repeatedly and misapplied, to the degree that it now violates its most basic premises. In other words, "modern-day intersectionality" is dangerous because it uses the space that was created by Black feminists for African American women, into a depoliticized space where hegemonic discourses continue to overpower that of marginal individuals (May, 2015). This misuse goes against Crenshaw's theory because this platform is now erasing the experiences of African American women, the group the theory was created to protect.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research Design and Methodology

This study used the ethnographic and interpretive perspective as it allowed me to be "actively and collectively engaged" with the interviewee (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). These approaches provided flexibility, for it allowed me the opportunity to experience the different countries before constructing a research question and developing key concepts. This flexibility allowed for a reflexive, yet constructive analysis of GBV and how it exists within different environments, relationships, and individual experiences. The use and escalation of GBV vary based on a societies' culture; thus, the ethnographic method was used to make sense of the implicate relationship of people and culture (Draper, 2015). In this study, culture is an individuals' or groups' daily habits, rituals, beliefs, norms, and actions. The ethnographic and interpretive perspective's flexibility allowed me to reflect upon my positionality in relation to the interviewees and country.

For little more than a year, twenty-eight semi-structured interviews were conducted. The semi-structured interview framework (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006) was used in order to make the interview more conversational and allow for sensitive issues to be expanded upon or discussed differently. When conducting these interviews, I had a framework of themes in mind used to stir the conversation. The average time for interviews was sixty minutes, and the number of questions asked during the interview ranged depending on the interviewee. Time-difference difficulties and long-distance lead me to conduct three interviews via Skype and one via email. Almost all the interviews, except for two, were between only the researcher and interviewee. The other two interviews included the interviewee, the researcher, and two other researchers. The

private interview style was prioritized, for I understood the importance of confidentiality and sensitivity to challenging life experiences.

All of the interviews began with some of these initial questions: How would you introduce yourself? What is your occupation? Are there barriers individuals face when entering the workplace? Are any of these barriers caused by one's identity (race, sexual orientation, gender, etc.)? How are LGBTQI rights, women's rights, minority rights, and indigenous peoples' rights seen here? How is this violence maintained in each of these countries, and what mechanisms exist to address this violence (grassroot organizations, NGOs, lawyers, etc...)? What are some issues that individuals face in this country, and who usually are most impacted? The objective of these first questions is to understand the individual's role within their community, introduce the topic of discussion, determine whether GBV is present within their local community, and ascertain who the individuals are that are most marginalized within the community. If the interviewee discussed the existence of GBV, then the interviewer would ask how the local community perceived this violence and if they were aiming to combat it. The interviewer took notes during all twenty-eight interviews (two of which were also audio-recorded).

After the interview, I would review the notes and identify the major themes of the interview. The themes had to deal with the topic of GBV. These themes were recorded later into an excel sheet. This process was known as coding, and it first began after leaving Chile, the second country of the investigation. When coding, I focused on highlighting emerging themes. When there were correlations in topics across the countries, themes would be developed. I re-coded data under emerging or existing categories throughout the investigation. By the last country, Spain, I had a total of twenty-five themes based upon the initial research question,

interviews, and observations. In the United States, I combined these themes into four broader themes, which are those included in this research paper.

The interviewees ranged from lawyers to activists to everyday individuals. I reached out to more than forty individuals to set up an interview. Interviews provide personal accounts of how GBV operates in different regions. Local perspective provides a foundation for understanding the complexities of GBV, from both an outsider and insider perspective.

Convenience sampling (Lavrakas, 2008) and snowball sampling (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Futing Liao, 2004) were used for the selection of interviewees. In totality, I spent a year conducting the investigation—five months in Spain, more than a month in each Chile, Nepal, and Jordan, and the remaining in the United States. I spend the most prolonged duration of time in the United States and Spain, where I moved beyond convenience sampling and snowball sampling. In other words, in both of these countries, I also met with individuals outside of my network—demanding online research, reaching out to local activists via social media, and knocking on organization's doors.

For the other three countries, I was only there for a short period, meaning I did not have enough time to select interviewees randomly. Therefore, a staff member from the School for International Training, a program I was a part of, provided me with a list of an average of five contacts in each of the regions. These contacts were usually that of individuals who were either experts in the field or working to address an issue within it. It was then my responsibility to contact these individuals to arrange an interview or ask for additional contacts. If additional contacts were given, then I would contact those individuals. The criteria for selecting interviewees included that the: (a) interviewee must be over the age of 18 years of age, and (b) interviewee must not be a current prisoner or from an extremely marginalized group (Cohen &

Crabtree, 2006). These criterias were necessary for the interview to not endanger the safety of minors and vulnerable individuals. The research did not include in the criteria prior knowledge of the subject of GBV, for I believe this concept can be understood on a personal level without having studied in academia. It is important to note that all interviewees received informed consent before the interview was conducted and could stop the interview at any time. I always made sure to prioritize the safety of the interviewee.

Before each interview, I explained my research topic and why conducting this investigation is crucial for me. I encouraged interviewees to ask questions at any point during the interview process, with the hope that this would deconstruct the role-play between the researcher and interviewee. This responsive approach (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006) allowed me the opportunity to challenge the unequal power dynamics that often exist between researcher and interviewee. Before starting the interview, I made sure to ask for consent for notetaking and, in some cases, audio-recording. In addition to interviews, I also collected data on site visits, summits, group lectures, assigned readings, recommended articles and books, course meetings, and day-to-day activities. All of these findings were categorized as observations. All notes from interviews and observations were written within two field notebooks, which were either with me or in a safe location inaccessible to others.

3.2 Limitations of the Study

Some of my limitations with this investigation included only staying in Chile, Nepal, and Jordan for one to two months; thus, limiting the time spent in each of these distinct locations, understanding the culture, and meeting new people. (I was able to stay in Spain and the United States for more than five months) It was also because of this reason that I was only able to attain

contacts via convenience sampling (Lavrakas, 2008) and snowball sampling (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Futing Liao, 2004). My exposure to interviewees was mostly dependent on the assistance of members of the SIT program staff (the university study abroad program I was a member of). Second, I am only fluent in English and Spanish; therefore, when I was in Nepal and Jordan, I was unable to speak with interviewees in Nepali, Arabic, or any of the other dialects (which was many of the interviewees' mother tongue). This language barrier was limited because twenty-seven interviewees were fluent in either English or Spanish, meaning I could communicate with them directly—without the need of an interpreter. A possible shortcoming is that I could not speak the mother tongue of seven of the interviewees, which might have caused the interviewee to feel more comfortable and heard. An interpreter was needed for only one of the interviews. That interview was partly conducted in English and partly in Nepali. Although I felt the interview went smoothly, there exists the possibility that some words or concepts were lost during the interpretation.

3.3 Limitations of Self

I took it upon myself to conduct this research because, as a survivor of GBV, I wanted to understand better my life and what I had lived through. I hoped to learn from survivors, to open and close a circle of a difficult period of my life, and to provide an enhanced understanding of GBV to prevent future circles of abuse. It is important to note that although I did not use any of my personal experience as evidence of GBV, my connection to the topic might have created biases that impacted the research itself. Although my positionality could be seen as a limitation, it also has strengths—I was told by many of the interviewees that they felt comfortable sharing their experiences with me because I also was a survivor of GBV. Many survivors fear not being

believed, therefore sharing that experience made them more comfortable and willing to share. Additionally, in order to prevent any assumptions of biases, I felt the need to provide an extensive amount of empirical and conscientious analysis, which hopefully will help solidify my argument and re-iterate the need to address this grave and global issue.

3.4 My Experience with Ethics, Interviews, and Power Relations

It is important to note that I received IRB approval to conduct this investigation and made sure to conduct all twenty-eight interviews ethically. Initially, I stirred away from conducting interviews because researchers have a history of exploiting the stories of interviewees, especially that of vulnerable communities. My goal is to further research for the betterment of society; but, not at the expense of communities. Also, I feared the interviewees would doubt my experience and not take me seriously due to my age¹⁰. However, I ultimately changed my opinion because, being an international student, I knew I would not understand many regional concepts and customs. The best way for me to portray an accurate depiction of the society would be by talking to locals, who are experts of the regions' environment, culture, politics, and economics.

Knowing the adverse history between interviewees and researchers, I made sure to check myself and humanely engage with interviewees always. I made sure to check myself, by always taking a few minutes after each interview to write down how I felt the power dynamics were of that interview, and whether I felt that impacted the interview. Some of the identifying characteristics of myself and the interviewee that could have impacted the power relations of the interview include one's age, citizenship, ethnicity, level of education, language, class, gender, or sex. I tried to diminish unequal power dynamics by establishing trust, providing oral informed

¹⁰ I was 20 and 21 years old when I conducted this investigation.

consent before each interview, and allowing the interviewee to end the interview and ask questions at any time.

Some of my challenges with conducting interviews included seeing interviewees get emotional because I knew my role demanded that I do not console them. In terms of language, I felt there was only a language barrier in one of the interviews. That being the interview that was interpreted. This interview was the most challenging for me because I had to work harder on establishing a connection with the interviewee than other interviews. As a result, I spent more time with this interviewee.¹¹ In this interview, I also felt I had to control my body language and facial expressions better because I did not want to break the connection or send a wrong message. Ultimately, I think I was successful at conducting a humane and ethical study. Conducting interviews taught me that researchers need to be both intellectually and emotionally intelligent for research itself is challenging and needs to be conducted without error, if people are involved.

¹¹ Instead of meeting once with the interviewee, I met her twice. This made this individual interview more than twice as long as other interviews. The extra-day meant the individual interview was more than twice as long as other interviews.

Chapter 4: Findings

After critically examining all of the data gathered from each of the countries, interviews, and observations, these are the main findings established: 1) GBV is institutional violence, 2) Formal institutions, such as government and non-government bodies, have a limited understanding of GBV, which ultimately hinders their ability to combat the violence and limits who they aid, 3) The hegemonic discourse around GBV does not encapsulate the realities of multi-marginalized individuals, 4) Acts of resistance arise as a result of failing institutions and instill pressure on society for more significant change. In this section, I will describe each of these findings and explain how they interact with one another.

Oppression can take on many forms. It can be *internalized*¹², *interpersonal*¹³, *cultural*¹⁴, or *institutional*.¹⁵ Structural forms of violence, such as racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classicism, encompasses all of these levels of oppression. GBV is complicated because this method of violence is constructed using existing structural forms of violence. In other words, GBV exists as a result of racism, sexism, transphobia, and other structural forms of violence (Galtung, 1969). Because GBV was built-in coalition with these oppressive structures, individuals who commit acts of GBV automatically reinforces the other structures and the oppressive dimensions in which they operate (internalized, interpersonal, cultural, and institutional). An example of GBV would be when an individual assaults another individual (and

¹² *Internalized oppression* is the process by which members of a marginalized group come to act and believe as if the oppressor's values, beliefs, and way of life are correct. This type of oppression can lead to feelings of shame and to disowning one's previous understandings of reality (CMS Project, 2015).

¹³ *Interpersonal oppression* are the interactions between people when individuals use oppressive behavior, such as insults or violence (CMS Project, 2015).

¹⁴ *Cultural oppression* are the patterns/norms that commemorate implicit or explicit values—seen as definite. These norms are the beliefs of the privileged group, and they are imposed on all individuals by institutions (CMS Project, 2015).

¹⁵ *Institutional oppression* is the network of policies, practices, and structures in which created advantages for some, and discrimination/oppression for others (CMS Project, 2015).

example of *interpersonal oppression*) because of their gender identity. This act of GBV was ultimately a result of gender oppression. If the victim were to file a case against the assaulter and win the case, the act would not reinforce gender oppression. However, if the victim loses the case or experiences challenges filing the case (*institutional oppression*) based on their gender identity (*cultural oppression*), then the individual will likely believe that the attack and the difficulty that came with filling the case was because of their gender identity (*internalized oppression*). My findings demonstrate that GBV is a consequence of and reinforcer of historic oppressive structures.

GBV is institutional violence¹⁶ because, in all five sample countries, this form of violence demonstrated all three characteristics: the state was involved in perpetrating it, the government had ineffective legal frameworks to address it, and most institutions created to address the violence were impotent. In each of the countries, the state, in some shape or form, conducted acts of GBV and were often protected by impunity rights, meaning they were exempt from punishment. Ineffective legal frameworks mean these countries demonstrated difficulty either implementing existing laws, lacked the political power and consensus to update the constitution, or failed to adopt laws that protect victims of GBV. Lastly, most institutions aimed at combating GBV were impotent due to their lack of funding, low staffing, and insufficiency in political power.

In the five countries studied, part of the reason why society has been unable to tackle GBV is that many of the formal institutions used to combat gender-based issues have limited understandings of GBV. Most try to combat it on a case by case basis, without realizing that this

¹⁶ It is important to note that GBV can also be *internalized*, *interpersonal*, and *cultural*. However, in the paper, I specifically discuss GBV's institutional dimension because this aspect is usually not discussed or addressed. Most legal cases tend to analyze GBV on a case by case basis, without identifying its systematic and multi-faceted nature.

form of violence is systematic and institutional. In courtrooms, most judges and lawyers have no formal education on gender-related issues. Thus, when a GBV case emerges, most do not know how to address it formally. In government positions, there is a lack in the representation of individuals with understandings of gender-related issues (especially of women, LGBTQI individuals, and multi-marginalized individuals with vast knowledge in the subject).¹⁷ This government shortfall makes it difficult for victims to feel heard and for gender-related issues to be adequately addressed. Finally, most government ministries focused on gender issues and NGOs have little political power, government funding, and understanding of the complexities of GBV. Thus, hegemonic experiences dominate, and those not fitting these norms are left to address issues via other platforms or by themselves.

GBV is complex, and currently, most institutions lack the proper mechanisms to address all its forms of violence; thus, naturally, the institution focuses its resources on issues that affect the majority of the population. In this case, this includes issues such as rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence. Most often, the voices heard are of straight women of the region, for they are marginalized and the majority. Additionally, the professionals' lack of formal training, the institutions' limited economic resources, and the deficiency of government and non-government platforms to address gender-related issues generate a limited definition and understanding of GBV. Those whose experiences and identity fit the standards are protected (in that they can use the limited institutional avenues), and those whose identities and experiences fit outside that definition are denied help. This fixation on only some types of GBV ultimately hinders multi-marginalized individuals, for they are silenced and unable to use these formal institutions. Multi-marginalized people, such as LGBTQI people, are often told that their cases are too complex or

¹⁷ Representation is critical for individuals with multi-marginal identities to feel heard. However, these individuals must have a vast understanding of the subject because representation alone will not solve GBV.

that they do not have the budget to address these types of issues. Some governments and NGOs (especially Women's Ministries) are fearful of taking on LGBTQI cases because they are afraid it could change the face of their campaigns and, thus, lower their levels of public support and chances of obtaining government funding.

Thus, having no other avenues, many multi-marginal individuals tackle the issues on their own or with other multi-marginal individuals. Often, the multi-marginalized participate in sit-ins, create organizations aimed at tackling issues that are viewed "outside the mainstream," organize violent and non-violent movements, and partake in other forms of resistance. Acts of resistance, therefore, arise as a result of GBV's institutional nature and the failure of current institutions to tackle and address its complexities. Acts of opposition arise as a result of GBV's institutional nature and the failure of current institutions to tackle and address its complexities. Acts of opposition place pressure on the greater society and government to change their ways. These acts of resistance are usually bottom-up and organized by multi-marginalized individuals because these groups are the most impacted and have the most considerable understanding of the institutional nature of GBV. However, frequently, these movements are out shadowed or taken over by "modern-day intersectional" movements, which have a distinct agenda. These modern-day movements ultimately lead to further silencing of multi-marginalized voices.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 GBV is Institutional Violence

In this research paper, institutional violence is any structural or legal mechanism that is discriminatory towards individuals based on the person's gender identity. In order to classify as institutional violence, the state must have been involved in perpetrating the aggression, the nation must have had ineffective legal frameworks to address the abuse, or the institutions in place to address the violence must have been inadequate. Below are some of the patterns of institutional violence which were visible across the countries studied. It is critical to discuss GBV as institutional because it speaks to some of the fundamental issues with the abuse. It is essential to note that there were other examples of institutional violence which are not discussed in the analysis below.

Nationality/Citizenship Law

Unless one can have access to rights and obtain protection from the state, is the person a citizen? In both Jordan and Nepal, one's nationality or citizenship is passed down by the father. The legal names of these laws are the Jordanian Nationality Law of 1954 and the Nepal Citizenship Act of 1964. Both of these laws are examples of institutional violence because the state created the law, and they both explicitly discriminate the ability to pass down one's citizenship on their gender identification (Al Omary, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018). The gender-based discrimination is visible when examining Article three of the Jordanian Nationality Law, which states, "a Jordanian citizen is any person whose father holds Jordanian nationality" (the Kingdom of Jordan, 1954). The discrimination is also visible in Nepal within

the Nepal Citizenship Act, which similarly states in Article 3 that one's citizenship is determined by the nationality of the father (Government of Nepal, 1964). These laws are harmful for it forces women to depend on their husbands; frequently, women will stay in unhealthy relationships so that children can obtain citizenship. The laws have led numerous children to be stateless (regardless of having been born in the country). Additionally, these laws do not depict the experiences of non-heteronormative and non-binary individuals.

Rape and Sexual Violence

Although rape and sexual violence are usually understood as interpersonal forms of violence, in the following section, these acts constitute as institutional violence because, in these cases, the state perpetrated the violations, or the current legal mechanisms in place fail to protect victims.

State Perpetrating the Violence

The Catalán independence referendum is a universal vote, created by the Catalán parliament and disapproved by the Spanish government, which aims to calculate the number of residents in Catalonia who do and who do not want Catalonia to become an independent state. In October 2017, the Spanish government sent the civil guards and the national police to Catalunya to prevent the Catalán independence referendum from taking place. Brute force and threats of sexual violence were just two of the strategies used by the Spanish military to prevent the referendum from taking place. An example of a threat of sexual violence includes a twitter message that read, "You take better care of your wife or girlfriend, and see if in nine months she doesn't come with a gift. That is what happens when there are 7,000 handsome and horny

companions in Catalonia” (Redacio, 2017).¹⁸ The community manager of the Spanish civil guard (whose name is being protected by the Spanish government), sent the twitter message. This message was deleted later that day, but screenshots of it made it go viral. This terrorization by a commanding manager demonstrates how threats of sexual violence continue to be used as a "strategy of war" to provoke fear. Furthermore, it indicates that the Spanish guards and police were responsible for the many cases of sexual assault and rape reported during September and October of 2017.

In Nepal, during October of 2018, there was more than one 1,400 rape cases reported in the last five months (many estimate the numbers would be around 3,000 if all cases had been reported) (Terai Justice Center, Personal Communication, October 23, 2018). That is equivalent to eight to twelve rape cases reported every day. In this case, rape is an act of institutional violence because the Nepali police perpetrated many of these violations. The Nepali police demonstrated they were responsible for many of the violations because they deliberately denied many investigative measures, and deliberately destroyed some of the legal evidence involved. Additionally, some of the victims (despite the high stigma associated with being raped) testified that a single or many police officers raped them (Terai Justice Center, Personal Communication, October 23, 2018). One of these victims shared that she was raped while at the police station; she had gone to the station to report a case of domestic abuse. This last case exemplifies why sexual violence is an institutional issue, for the abuse is not only taking place in the home, but also in the state and by government personnel who are supposed to address the violence.

¹⁸ This message was a response to a Catalonian individual who made a joke on twitter, stating, “Latest news: irreparable damage to the Looney Tunes cruiser by the horns the civil guards and national police have” (Redacio, 2017). The “Looney Tunes cruiser” is referring to the Piolín, which was a boat that was docked in Barcelona to temporarily reside hundreds of guards and police that were brought in. The twitter response by the community manager was sent through the general Civil Guards account. (username “Foro Guardias Civiles” which translated “Civil Guardians Forum”)

Legal Mechanisms that Fail to Protect Victims

In Spain, rape and sexual violence cases constitute as penal offenses. If the case involves a death, it is tried as a homicide; but, if the victim survived, then it is tried as an act of sexual violence. However, according to Carla Vall I Duran, a lawyer and advisor at Comisión de Violencias (Mujeres Juristas)¹⁹, sexual violence law is limited and rarely even used. The limitation is due to the restricted interpretation of sexual violence and the low conviction rates. Part of the issue of the legal system is that it understands sexual abuse as forced vaginal intercourse. Duran states the law only recognizes an act as sexual violence “if the penis was used” (Duran, Personal Communication, February 1, 2019). Under this definition, non-heterosexual relationships are not visible and other forms of rape (not involving the penis) are not recognized. Duran finds issues with the law, for most of her clients experience emotional and psychological trauma, which is difficult to present²⁰ and arduous to approve into evidence.

Additionally, many of her clients agree that penetration²¹ is not the worst part of the abuse. Some argue that it was worse when the perpetrator pulled their hair, scratched their body, threatened them and their children, or heavily breathed on them. Duran contends that one of the ultimate issues with this law is that “if the individual was not raped, it would be almost impossible to prove that there was violence” (Duran, Personal Communication, February 1, 2019). The difficulty that comes with accepting evidence that does not involve anal penetration demonstrates how the current Spanish legal system places a higher level of recognition on "traditional" forms of physical violence over emotional and psychological trauma. Additionally, it ascertains that the current statutory bodies (including legislation, judges, and lawyers) have a

¹⁹ *English*: The Commission of Violence (Female Jurists)

²⁰ It is difficult to present because this form of violence is not physical and requires medical records, proof of therapy visits, or other types of documentation.

²¹ Penetration can be understood as forced vaginal intercourse.

limited understanding of rape²² and of the fact that sexual violence also takes place within non-heterosexual relationships.

Lyotard (1988) once stated, “the ‘perfect crime’ does not consist in killing the victim or the witnesses...but rather, in obtaining the silence of the witnesses, the deafness of the judges, and the inconsistency of the testimony.” Legal court cases, specifically cases of sexual violence, are areas where silencing occurs. During these criminal cases, the survivors appear as witnesses with the goal that their testimony will help them obtain “justice” and experience will “no longer be relegated to the abyss of silence” (Henry, 2010). However, in actuality their testimonies are often used against them. Police silence survivors by making it challenging to report sexual violence, and in the courtroom, silencing is visible through the legal system itself and by how the defense uses the survivors’ lack of speech (due to trauma) as evidence of the victim’s lack of credibility.

In the United States, sexual violence and rape cases are common across college campuses. According to the United States Department of Justice, it is estimated that one out of every four female undergraduates will be victim to some form of sexual assault before graduation (The United States Department of Justice, 2016). Additionally, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) estimates that ninety-five percent of campus rapes go unreported in the United States (Suzanne Ito, 2010). This high level of no reporting comes with the fact that many perpetrators fail to be punished, and victims fear to be victim-blamed. Despite efforts to increase campus prevention and create better support systems for victims, the legal mechanisms often fail to protect victims of rape and sexual assault.

²² In other words, one can be *raped* without a penis having been used, and even without forced vaginal intercourse.

Sonali Mehta, a student at Duke University and legal advisor, described how the legal process “took a serious toll on her mental and emotional self” (Mehta, Personal Communication, October 24, 2018). As a legal advisor, Mehta represented two victims within the Duke’s legal system. As an advisor, Mehta (a sophomore undergraduate student at the time) represented survivors, who were in her same grade level, in front of a university court, while the prosecution had a practicing lawyer represent him—demonstrating how unequal the power dynamics can sometimes be.²³ Mehta described the university process as nine to ten hours of graphic questioning: “Is it normal to have sex here (as in Duke)? How often do you have sex? Were you dressed provocatively?” (Mehta, Personal Communication, October 24, 2018) Mehta felt comfortable representing her friend because the case was simple: the survivor had scratch marks on her body (demonstrating physical force), gone to the hospital the same night of the incident, and cooperated with the police in reporting the case and in allowing them to obtain forensic evidence. Mehta stated, “If they did not fine the case for her, I do not know who the hell gets justice!” (Mehta, Personal Communication, October 24, 2018) Mehta ended up losing the case and the perpetrator left the case unpunished. The opposition argued that this case would damage the career and life of the defendant, and that that survivor was “not a reliable witness” (Mehta, Personal Communication, October 24, 2018). Mehta’s experience is not unique. Under this system, most perpetrators leave unpunished. And now, with the changes the Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, made to Title IX,²⁴ presenting a case as a victim will only become

²³ If a student cannot afford to hire a lawyer they can reach out to a Women’s Center, which generally can have someone represent them for free or a small fee; however, many of these centers are underfunded and highly used, meaning that frequently they are unable to represent students.

²⁴ Some of the changes DeVos made includes the right to cross-examine accusers and witnesses (which was prohibited before), limiting the jurisdiction of campus investigators, and denying students due process protections. Additionally, universities are not held responsible for off-campus cases, which is absurd because the majority of rape cases happen in fraternities and sorority houses, which for many campuses, are “off-campus.” Demonstrating there are loopholes in the law that will harm victims.

more challenging. This issue of sexual assault in U.S. universities constitutes as institutional violence because Title IX and the changes the DeVos made fail to protect victims. Furthermore, the current institutions aimed at defending victims are “re-traumatizing,” as visible in Mehta’s experience (Mehta, Personal Communication, October 24, 2018).

Administrative Detention

In Jordan, the “Administration Detention Act” exists under the Crime Prevention Law of 1954 (Human Rights Watch, 2009), which authorizes the governor to incarcerate an individual for as long as the governor finds necessary. Out of the total number of individuals incarcerated in the Jordanian prison system, “more than one in five individuals are an administrative detainee” (Human Rights Watch, 2009). This statistic demonstrates the grand effect of this piece of legislation. The Crime Prevention Law allows the governor to file a procedure against individuals who are “about to commit a crime or assist in its commission,” “habitually steal,” or “if remaining at liberty, would constitute a danger to the people” (Human Rights Watch, 2009). The governor is also allowed to use this Administration Detention Act to detain individuals “outside the scope of the Crime Prevention Law,” which in this case usually are always women (Al Omary, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018). These individuals are under “protective custody” because the family members have threatened to kill them for their “moral culpabilities;” with the hope that the individual’s death will preserve the family’s “honor” (Al Omary, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018). These individuals can be detained “indefinitely,” and under the same conditions as individuals who have committed misdemeanors or felonies (Al Omary, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018). Thus, the “Administration Detention Act” constitutes as a form of “institutional violence” not on account

of the act itself, but because the detainees face the same living conditions despite some being criminals and others fleeing violence.

According to Ayesha Al Omary (Personal Communication, November 11, 2018), who works for the Justice Center for Legal Aid, in most of the cases, there is a gender divide between who is a criminal and who is fleeing violence. In practice, this act discriminates against women as it places offenders of misdemeanors and felonies, mostly men, in the same detention facilities as those who are under threat of being murdered by their families (due to "honor"), who are mostly women (Al Omary, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018). Individuals fleeing violence should not have to face the same living conditions and "punishment" as perpetrators of violence. Although the act does not include discriminatory language, it does fail to acknowledge that more than three-fourths of criminal perpetrators are men and that almost all of the detainees under protective custody are women. The Administrative Detention Act constitutes as institutional violence because this act was put in place by the government and, despite knowledge of the gender disparity in criminals versus detainees, the government demonstrates no effort in relocating detainees into more humane facilities. This act underlines two fundamental GBV issues in Jordan: culturally, women are seen as inferior to men, and some families partake in unlawful acts to protect their honor. Clarifying why females under protective custody are treated as felons.

Conscientious Objection

In 2015, President Michelle Bachelet proposed a bill decriminalizing abortion in Chile. This bill decriminalized abortion in three specific cases (Eggers, 2016):

1. When the life of a woman is at risk
2. When the fetus is unviable

3. When the pregnancy was a result of rape

This bill was adopted in 2016, due to political pressure from civil society. However, shortly after the passing of this bill, President Sebastián Piñera was elected into office. Piñera added a clause to the bill that stated that medical institutions had the right to “conscientious objection,” which allows private hospitals to object abortions without a legal explanation (Eggers, 2016). Even if a doctor-approved to facilitate the abortion, the doctor could still go to jail if the hospital disapproves of the procedure. Thus, most hospitals and doctors continue to refuse to conduct abortions under all circumstances. The current lack of access to a safe abortion was highlighted by a Chilean woman who said, "This bill (Bill Decriminalizing Abortion) is only good on paper because, in reality, it is practically impossible to get a legal abortion" (Anonymous, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Thus, this law is deemed as a form of "institutionalized violence" because the state produced it to prioritize the rights of "private clinics" and "hospitals" over the rights of female-bodied individuals, who are in a more vulnerable position (Anonymous, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Furthermore, the legal loophole transforms President Michelle Bachelet bill, which aimed to protect women under specific extreme circumstances, into an ineffective legal framework.

Personal Status Law

The last law discussed is the “Personal Status Law” (Malkawi, 2015), which is located in Jordan and governs matters relating to family and marriage. This law is discriminatory on multiple accounts. For example, it explicitly “endorses” men’s authority over women in marriage and gives men greater rights over property. I will highlight three of the main concerns with this law (Musawah, 2018). First, under the Personal Status Law, the legal age to obtain a marriage is over the age of 18 for both individuals. However, under “certain circumstances” (Musawah,

2018), the law can be altered to approve the marriage of individuals, almost always girls, who are as young as twelve years old. This law constitutes as “institutionalized violence” because the apparent loophole in the law is always used to marry off young girls with older men, not young boys with women (Nahhas, 2017). Second, this law is discriminatory in cases of divorce, for a woman has to “prove abuse or unsustainable common life” to obtain a separation. In contrast, a man can obtain a divorce “without reason” (Musawah, 2018). Dr. Aziz, founder of Justice Center for Legal Aid, summed it up best when she said, “A man can get out of a divorce before you snap. A woman, on the other hand, well, that is a different story!” (Aziz, Personal Communication, November 19, 2018) Lastly, this law is discriminatory towards females aiming to obtain custody because, in cases of a “successful divorce,” it orders that the children live with the father if the mother remarries (Aziz, Personal Communication, November 19, 2018). However, if the father remarries, the father is free to continue to have custody over the children. This law represents institutional violence because the state created it, and it legally marginalizes females (Aziz, Personal Communication, November 19, 2018). It is vital to study legal modes of discrimination for these policies are not unconventional; they reflect the mentality of a society, and demonstrate who is valued and unvalued. Nour Al Emam, a lawyer and the only female to ever serve at The Council of the Bar for two terms, offered critical insight when she argued that is important to recognize that “violence is not only in the laws, but also in the mentality” (Al Emam, Personal Communication, November 22, 2018).

5.2 Limitations of Formal Institutions

Across all five countries, there were non-governmental and governmental organizations, created to address GBV, which lacked the proper mechanisms to combat the violence. Based on

the research, these institutions failed to prevent GBV because of their lack of understanding of GBV, resources, funds, political power, education, and training. These limitations discuss some of the current flaws found in GBV institutions, with the hope that it will spark conversation and inspire change.

Limited Understanding of GBV

A limited understanding of GBV constitutes as an institutional failure to see beyond standard forms of gender-related violence. These standard forms include domestic violence, sexual assault, and rape.²⁵ It is important to note that these conventional forms of violence should be discussed and addressed, as the majority of GBV cases tend to fit into one of these categories. The issues I am aiming to raise are not of the forms of violence themselves, but of the efforts of the organizations that aim to address them. Most organizations fail to see beyond these standard forms and comprehend that GBV is an institutional form of violence.

For example, the Ministry of Women in Chile does not deal with LGBTQI issues, despite stating in its mission that it aims to combat all forms of gender discrimination. Restricting resources to only women is problematic because those that do not fit the mainstream gender definitions (such as transwomen) are unable to enter the ministry and use its resources. This pattern of only assisting cis-gender women in gender-based organizations was visible across countries. Another shortcoming, observable in Jordan and Nepal, is that marital rape is rarely discussed as a form of GBV. Marital rape is usually not addressed by organizations.

²⁵ These forms of GBV are labeled as standard because most of the organizations I visited demonstrated a pattern of focusing on these types of issues. Additionally, these organizations repeatedly solely focused on heteronormative relationships or saw these forms of GBV as individualistic (case by case), instead of as systematic in nature (institutional).

Organizations and government institutions must revisit how they are defining GBV and create a space where “untraditional forms of GBV” can be considered.

Another flaw within all countries is that GBV is misconstrued as an issue that exclusively affects females. This assumption transpires because females are the majority of victims of GBV. However, not all cases involve females as the victims and males as the perpetrators. Males can be the victims, females can be the perpetrators, and relationships can be abusive among same-sex individuals. GBV is complicated, and institutions have an obligation to recognize this complexity. This absence of understanding comes from a lack of formal training of the subject and representation, as little to no employees with a multi-marginalized identities work for these agencies; thus, current employees are unable to detect that there are more types of GBV that their programs fail to combat.

Limited Funds and Political Power

Another cross-national issue is that organizations focused on addressing GBV routinely experience inadequate economic and political resources. Many countries form these organizations in order to abide by international norms, not to prevent the violence. In the investigation, some of the structural matters that cause an organization to be inefficient included limited political power, a lack of funding, and a shortage of employees. In Nepal, there are efforts to address sexual violence, such as the Nepal Sexual Harassment Act and the Workplace Prevention Act; however, most of the individuals reporting acts of violence are women, and these programs are led by men—making it challenging for females to feel comfortable (Advocacy Forum, Personal Communication, October 23, 2018). This issue is also visible in the police offices because there usually are no female police officers and no female investigators (Advocacy Forum, Personal Communication, October 23, 2018). It is critical to have female

representation in these government and non-governmental organizations because females have the potential to provide a different viewpoint.

Additionally, most female victims tend to feel more comfortable talking to female personnel when discussing acts of GBV. Hiring females could help increase the levels of reporting. However, an issue that has occurred in the past is that the Nepali government will hire a female to head an organization despite her lack of previous training and experience in dealing with gender-related issues (Advocacy Forum, Personal Communication, October 23, 2018).²⁶ This hiring strategy is an act of feigning, not necessarily a result of a lack of training. If the government genuinely seeks to eradicate GBV, then it is crucial to hire females with training on these topics and to provide coaching for females without the preparation, as representation without competence is also ineffective.

In Jordan, there is only one women's shelter (the Jordanian Women's Union) in the whole country dedicated to accommodating females who are fleeing persecution and violence (Arab Women's Legal Network, Personal Communication, November 22, 2018). This shelter was created so that women could avoid being held in administrative detention, and instead be in a healthy environment where they can receive counseling and rehabilitation services. However, this shelter is the only facility of its kind, demonstrating the lack of economic funds given to organizations tackling gender-related issues. This shelter is only able to accommodate around fifty women at a time. With more resources, more shelters can be created, and basic necessities,

²⁶ Sometimes, the Nepali government will hire a woman to head the organization to make up for its lack of female representation. Some assume that just because the leader is female, she will automatically understand the many challenges females face. A government organization that has previously done this is the Women and Children Centre. In other words, the female leader is often a figurehead, or the Nepali government might be using her as a façade (Personal Communication, October 23, 2018).

such as clothing and toiletries, can be provided for all the women (Arab Women's Legal Network, Personal Communication, November 22, 2018).

In Chile, most women's organizations are lowly funded, which makes them unable to provide services consistently. At the University of Santiago, there is no university mechanism to address cases of sexual assault and rape on campus. Two female students fought against this by creating the Dirección de Género (Gender Direction), where they help survivors open cases and raise awareness on the importance of sexual health. The university did not fund this program; it was administered on a volunteer basis by two undergraduate students—Katerine Munoz and Camila Leon. Both students shared with me how difficult it is to be college students and administrators of this program. Being only two volunteers, these students have to dedicate so much time out of their week²⁷ to open cases and connect victims (who are classmates) to lawyers who can represent them (Munoz and Leon, Personal Communication, September 22, 2018). They are doing all of this work for free because they are tired of seeing the violence in their campus go unpunished; however, both students shared feeling overwhelmed as this administrative role requires more training and a full-time commitment. Munoz and Leon refuse to stop volunteering because they know their university will do nothing, and both agree they do not want victims to feel alone (Munoz and Leon, Personal Communication, September 22, 2018). Most recently, due to the demands of the student-led feminist movement, the University of Santiago hired a trained psychologist to run the Dirección de Género, her name is Andrea Hurado Quiñones. Despite hiring a professional to run the program, Quiñones argues that the program is under-resourced

²⁷ Munoz and Leon go to class and often spend the remainder of their day working for Dirección de Género. Other times, they have to choose between going to class and doing their schoolwork or assisting a victim (Munoz and Leon, Personal Communication, September 22, 2018).

and low in staff. She has to work overtime to help students, and she feels little progress is being made (Quiñones, Personal Communication, October 6, 2018).

Gloria Leal, the director of La Fundación Instituto de La Mujer (The Foundational Institute of the Women), discussed how in both governmental and non-governmental institutions underfunding GBV advocacy groups continues to be a central issue (Gloria Leal, Personal Communication, September 22, 2018). Most gender-based organizations have to apply for international funds in order to source domestic programming. Leal shared that President Michelle Bachelet's administration provided agencies with more government funds and a more robust political platform. However, now with Sebastián Piñera's administration, most agencies' efforts have retracted (Gloria Leal, Personal Communication, September 22, 2018).

Economically depriving and limiting the political power of agencies demonstrates that GBV is low on the government's priority list. However, as Leal points out, funds alone will not solve the issue; one also needs structural and cultural changes as "economic incentives cannot be used to change cultural modes" (Gloria Leal, Personal Communication, September 22, 2018).

Lack of Education and Training

A structural issue visible within all regions is the lack of formal education given to professionals dealing with gender-related issues. In Nepal, male police officers and investigators are reviewing sexual assault and rape cases without specialized training on how to interact with victims, analyze evidence, and gather testimonies. In one of the police stations in Terai, police officers were given a one-day training introducing the topic of sexual violence, which is a start, but by no means the training desired to deal with GBV cases. Nepal currently has one of the highest rape rates in the world, and part of the issue comes from the government's role in the violence and the deliberate lack of formal training on the subject (Women and Children Service

Centre, Personal Communication, October 12, 2018). In the United States and Spain, lawyers, investigators, and cops will frequently bombard victims with insensitive questions, demonstrating a lack of empathy and a need for training on how to interact with victims. In Chile, universities do not have classes dedicated to gender studies or any gender-related issues. The lack of gender-related courses is also visible in many universities in Spain. Miquel Salbanyà Rovira, a student at Universitat Pompeu Fabra²⁸ (UPF) and trainee at Unitat d'Igualtat, stated, “Courses designed to speak about gender do not exist. It is only if you take the initiative and look for them that you might find something” (Rovira, Personal Communication, February 24, 2019). Rovira argues that this is the case because society as a whole does not believe it is necessary to have courses on this topic. Rovira is not alone. I also interviewed three other university students: Ferran Dalmas, Mar Fernández Estela, and Ariadna Romans. They contended that one has to be personally motivated to learn about these topics as there are no courses on the subject (Dalmas, Estela & Romans, Personal Communication, February 20, 2019). That is why Tània Verge, a Political Science professor at UPF and renown activist, has committed much of her efforts in creating a minor focused on “Gender Formation” and promoting that each department has at least one course which examines gender and its correlation with the degree (Tània Verge, Personal Communication, February 27, 2019). More efforts need to be taken by universities, in all countries, to provide research and formal education on gender and its role in shaping identities, relationships, and societies.

Quiñones, the psychologist who runs the Dirección de Género, indicated that change will come until “we talk about how judges and lawyers are machista²⁹” (Quiñones, Personal

²⁸ Universitat Pompeu Fabra is one of the only universities in Spain that allows students to declare a minor in Gender and that has an equality unit (Unitat D'Igualtat) dedicated to creating gender equality, addressing queries of GBV, and raising awareness on these topics (Tània Verge, Personal Communication, February 27, 2019).

²⁹ Machista is a term in Castellano similar to patriarchy and toxic masculinity.

Communication, October 6, 2018). Quiñones argues it is currently impossible for her students to obtain justice because the University will not address the violence, and the government does not have lawyers and judges who have a basic understanding of gender-related issues. Quiñones highlights another critical point, which is that for change to come, not only should agencies and university students be trained to understand GBV, but also lawyers and judges as they are addressing the violence on a legal scale. Without training and formal education on the subject, societies will continue in a cyclical, where mistakes are repeated and initiatives fail to address the complexities of GBV.

5.3 Multi-Marginalized Individuals

Although on paper, the definition of GBV (Hvistendahl, 2018) aims to be inclusive of all individuals' experiences, in action, formal institutions deny or delegitimize the experiences of multi-marginalized individuals. For this research, multi-marginalized individuals are any people who face multiple forms of structural discrimination because of their identity. Some of these identities, visible in all five countries, include being non-citizens, indigenous individuals, members of the LGBTQI community, a racial minority, and others. Unlike marginalized individuals who hold one of these identities, multi-marginalized individuals hold a number of these identities. Many times, these groups of people are denied help by government and non-government agencies because their cases are "exceedingly complex." Sometimes agencies want to help; however, they lack the funds, training, political power, and knowledge to help people with multi-marginal identities. It is essential to discuss the experiences of multi-marginalized individuals, as current understandings of GBV perpetuate hegemonic discourse that excludes the experiences of multi-marginalized individuals. Additionally, multi-marginalized people are a

part of our society, their experiences reveal some of the current flaws of our agencies, and their cases expand some of the understandings of GBV.

This section is broken up into the following categories: Non-Citizens, LGBTQI Individuals, Indigenous Women, and Unique Forms of Marginalization. The final subsection explores “Inclusion” and the Need to Move Back Towards Crenshaw’s Model. It is also important to note that many other groups of multi-marginalized individuals were not discussed, such as “women who have sexual relations before marriage” in Jordan, refugee women, LGBTQI and female asylum seekers in the United States, and Gypsy/Latin American/Black women in Spain.

Non-Citizens: Haitian Women

Government and non-government institutions dedicated to addressing GBV sometimes only have the mechanisms necessary to combat the issues that pertain to specific individuals—those in the “mainstream.” Those that do not fit this “mainstream” are excluded from these institutions and their resources. In all of the countries visited, non-citizens were included in the non-mainstream category because their lack of nationality prevented them from obtaining work and most agency’s resources.

In Chile, Haitian women classify as multi-marginalized individuals as they are immigrants, women, and black. They endure racism when obtaining visas and applying for jobs. The “Democratic Responsibility Visa” (TeleSur, 2018), which was created by President Sebastian Piñera, places several restrictions on Haitian immigrants. First, just like Venezuelan immigrants entering Chile, Haitian immigrants must acquire a visa before they arrive in Chile. This rule places high “safety concerns,” such as fear of deportation, for those who do not currently hold a visa (Telesur, 2018). This law is explicitly discriminatory towards Haitian and

Venezuelan immigrants because individuals from all other countries are allowed to travel to Chile without previously informing the government of where they will work. Second, the immigration policy is discriminatory as it only permits a 30-day tourist visa to Haitian tourists, as opposed to 90 days for any other tourist (TeleSur, 2018).

Even if a female Haitian immigrant happens to obtain a visa and find work, she will face both sexism and racism in the workplace. According to *Microsesiones Negras*, the experiences of Haitian immigrants is different from that of other immigrants for they are black, and they are in a society that fails to have to accept its “Afro-Ancestry” (Micolta, Personal Communication, September 21, 2018). Most Haitian immigrants do not find work because of their race and nationality. Due to their high level of vulnerability, many end up working in the streets as vendors and sex workers (Anonymous, Personal Communication, August 18, 2018). Additionally, Haitian women classify as multi-marginal for El Departamento de Extranjeria y Migracion (the Department of Immigration and Migration) is unable to address the racism and sexism entrenched in the immigration system and workplace.

LGBTQI Individuals

In all countries studied, LGBTQI individuals were categorized as multi-marginalized because they are discriminated against based on their gender identities or sexual orientation, or both. Examples of some issues LGBTQI individuals face include transphobia, homophobia, unequal healthcare, employment discrimination, and housing discrimination. In 2015, in the United States, nearly one in five hate crimes that took place across the nation were due to sexual orientation and gender identity (Curry, 2017). While I was in Barcelona, which is one of the most famous “popular gay-friendly destinations,” a week after opening the LGTBI Centre—to promote sexual and gender diversity, ten people at night vandalized the center and destroyed the

outside doors and windows. The next day, there was glass on the ground and spray painted words on the walls of the center reading “Estais Muertos” (You are Dead), “FUCK LGTBI,” and the symbol of the Celtic cross—a white supremacist symbol that consists of a square cross surrounded by a circle (Galofre, Personal Communication, February 28, 2019). Demonstrating that when one holds an LGBTQI identity nowhere is safe.

Jordan is the only country in the Arab world that does not criminalize homosexuality. However, unlike countries that do protect LGBTQI individuals, Jordan does not recognize the existence of homosexuality (Al Jazira, Personal Communication, November 12, 2018). Thus, making LGBTQI individuals “nonexistent.” As a result, LGBTQI individuals live in fear, as there is no representation, access to resources and facilities, and legal systems to support them. LGBTQI individuals are also frequent targets of hate crimes; however, unlike “mainstream victims,” LGBTQI individuals cannot contact the police and obtain legal assistance as the law does not acknowledge their existence, and will not admit that the crime took place (Al Jazira, November 12, 2018).

LGBTQI individuals are frequently excluded from GBV initiatives and women’s organizations because these agencies target cis-gender individuals and heteronormative dynamics, both of which fail to represent LGBTQI individuals. For example, Michel Riquelme, who is the president of Organizando Trans Diversidades (OTD) in Chile, stated that the Chilean Ministry of Women and Gender Equity was created to address all issues of gender discrimination. However, in actuality, it only addresses issues that impact women, not that of LGBTQI individuals (Riquelme, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Riquelme believes it would be easier to address these issues if more LGBTQI individuals worked for gender-based agencies. However, as far as they know, no openly LGBTQI individual works for the Chilean

Ministry of Women and Gender Equity (Riquelme, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). The Chilean Ministry is effective at addressing some GBV issues, but not that of those who do not fit the “mainstream definition”—straight Chilean women.

In this study, members of the LGBTQI community constitute as multi-marginalized individuals because GBV has been understood to only protect those that are gender-normative (Purdue University, 2015) and in heterosexual relationships (Purdue University, 2015). Thus, demonstrating the need for government institutions to comprehend that the term GBV is complex and encompasses individuals from all gender identities.

Indigenous Women: Dalit & Mapuche Women

In Nepal, Dalit women were classified as multi-marginalized individuals because their experiences are very different from “mainstream women,” who, in this case, are considered high caste women (Feminist Dalit Organization, Personal Communication, October 8, 2018). Dalit women are part of the “untouchables,” the lowest caste in the class system (Feminist Dalit Organization, Personal Communication, October 8, 2018). Thus, Dalit women suffer the intersection of caste and gender discrimination. After visiting the Terai, which is the lowland region in southern Nepal and northern India, and meeting with some of the women, I learned that some of their biggest obstacles include difficulty obtaining justice, persecution, violence, human trafficking, and sexual exploitation (Anonymous, Personal Communication, October 10, 2018). After talking to a community of Dalit women, I learned that they never receive any help from “UN Women or any other female organization” because “we are women, but not treated as them” (Anonymous, Personal Communication, October 10, 2018). The Dalit women from this community had never even heard of the “Feminist Dalit Organization,” which claims to be an NGO focused on addressing the issues of Dalit Women, demonstrating how institutional

mechanisms fail to reach their target audience and fail to address Dalit issues (Anonymous, Personal Communication, October 10, 2018). Dalit women were classified as multi-marginalized individuals for civil society treats them as if their lives are disposable. The caste discrimination is evident through the Nirmala Panta and Maya BK case. Both of these young women were raped and severely murdered at around the same time; however, Panta obtained worldwide attention, and BK's case was barely talked about by her community (Kabira, Personal Communication, October 9, 2018). The primary difference between these two young women was that Panta was a Brahmin—a member of the highest Hindu caste, and BK was a Dalit woman.

The government of Chile ratified CEDAW in December 1989, to allow the full and permanent integration of society into conditions of equality (United Nations General Assembly, 1981). However, some of the Convention's provisions were not compatible with Chilean legislation. One of the reservations was of Article 14, which states:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas to ensure, based on equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall provide women the right to obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, functional literacy, the benefit of all community and extension services, to increase their technical proficiency (United Nations General Assembly, 1981).

The Chilean government was unable to ratify this article as Chilean authorities currently criminalize Indigenous Mapuche people under the Anti-Terrorism Law. This law, enacted during the Pinochet dictatorship, allows suspects to be held in isolation without being charged with a crime (Anonymous, Personal Communication, September 8, 2018). Anti-Terrorism cases are considered unjust as the state is allowed to enter in unlawful evidence, such as anonymous witnesses and audio from phone tapping. This law has led to numerous Mapuche leaders being labeled as “terrorists” and detained for prolonged periods. Mapuche women constitute as multi-marginalized individuals as the Chilean reservation explicitly discriminates against them by the

basis of their gender and indigenous identity (Anonymous, Personal Communication, September 11, 2018). Additionally, this reservation prohibits them from acquiring benefits that come as a result of rural development; thus, when private companies come to “buy of their land,” they are not protected by the federal government and have no legal mechanisms to safeguard their land.

Unique Forms of Marginalization: Abortion in Chile, Women in Administrative Detention, and Police Brutality Against Black Men in the United States

Women who undergo abortion in Chile were also classified as multi-marginalized individuals because under “such a conservative and ultra-Catholic country,” Chilean women not only have to undergo a “life-threatening procedure,” but also “fear of incarceration and family scrutiny” (Anonymous, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Women in these situations often receive no legal help, especially if they had relations outside of marriage, as the cases are seen as “extremely challenging to win” (Anonymous, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Thus, demonstrating that breaking social norms often means falling into these multi-marginalized positions. In Jordan, women placed in “Administration Detention” constitute as multi-marginalized individuals because they are fleeing violence from their families (honor killings), and treated as criminals despite never committing a crime (Human Rights Watch, 2009). They are treated as criminals because instead of being placed in GBV Shelters or Women’s Shelters, the women are incarcerated in the Jordanian prison system and live in the same conditions as felons who have committed misdemeanors or felonies (Al Omary, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018).

During 2018, in the United States, there were 996 people killed by the police (Health, D. & Rachko, T., 2018). Most of these killings were unjustifiable, and they rarely reached the

courtroom. According to Mapping Police Violence, black people are three times as likely to be killed by police than white people (Health, D. & Rachko, T., 2018). In this case, black men constitute as multi-marginalized individuals because the U.S. police explicitly discriminates against them based on their race and gender. In 2018, out of the 996 people killed by the police, 942 of them were male, 53 were female, and 1 was non-binary (Oliver, 2003). This pattern of explicitly murdering black men is not unique; these acts of violence take place almost every year. This pattern of abuse occurs because of racial and gender-based discrimination. In the case of black men, their blackness associates them with “criminality,” and their masculinity connects them with the gender categorization of “perpetrator”—a category viewed as dangerous. Although being male is “normally” not seen as marginal, when interacting with the police, the “power” that is associated with masculinity transmutes to threatening; thus, the stereotypes of their gender role and their racial marginalization make them vulnerable to brutality.

“Inclusion” and the Need to Move Back Towards Crenshaw’s Model and that of Previous Scholars

Critically acclaimed Kenyan feminist activist, poet, and theatre practitioner, Shailja Patel argues that “to understand how power works in a society, one must acknowledge who is carrying the shame and who is doing the shaming” (Mohale, 2019). Shame is a function of oppression and it relates to who is valued and who is invisible in a society (Gqola, 2015). Intersectionality breaks this down even further by arguing that each individual possesses identities with different degrees of privilege and vulnerability. Intersectionality is a lens through which society can see where power arises and collides (Crenshaw, 1989). It is a tool for reflection and sparking dialogue about the complexities of individuals. Although intersectionality has been widely

influential, in each of the countries visited, activists tend to misuse the term and misunderstand it as a call for “inclusion.”

“Modern-day intersectionality” is now mistaken for “inclusion,” or an idea of some “pre-existing unity” between individuals, specifically women (Méndez, 2018). Within this definition, some address that there are specific identities that are either privileged or marginal, but these understandings are depoliticized (Méndez, 2018). Intersectionality was not designed to be “inclusive.” It is a concept that has existed for decades. It was created by Black feminists and women of color in order to raise awareness of the interplay of identities and make visible the realities of black women. Intersectionality came into existence because “inclusive spaces” still engage in hegemonic discourse and de-polarization, which disproportionately affects multi-marginalized individuals. Intersectionality was designed to spark conversations and politicize power dynamics.

As this investigation has demonstrated, individuals’ identities are complex. One cannot categorize all women as “victims” and all men as “perpetrators,” as this is not always the case; an individual’s unique circumstances can alter these power dynamics, and identities considered marginal can be dynamic and dominant, and vice versa. Although intersectionality was not designed to have a one-dimensional view of power, many activities misunderstand in that way (May, 2015). Activists need to re-examine intersectionality and that of earlier Black feminist scholars. These scholars comprehend the intersectional approach as open-ended, dynamic, and “biased”—towards realizing collective justice (May, 2015). Power is a force experienced by both those being shamed and those doing the shaming. Often, contemporary understandings have fixed ideas of who holds and who does not hold power. I hope this investigation exposes some of the faults one-dimensional thinking, and the importance of thinking beyond the standard.

In rallies I visited, intersectionality was treated as a slogan, to account for a hollow understanding of differences between individuals, in terms of power dynamics. This use of intersectionality as a slogan demonstrated to me that intersectionality is used in political spaces to attain support, as it a conventional term that is gaining global acceptance. However, in action, few understand intersectionality and even less put the theory into effect. Other activists place intersectionality on a pedestal and fail to think beyond it. I agree with Nash (2009). I think activists should better comprehend intersectionality and recognize that gender theory is not limited to it. Intersectionality should not be the end goal. Gender theories are works in progress, and they will change as societies alter. I hope this study and subsection will spark a conversation about the importance of contesting and reworking our understandings of power, gender norms, and intersectionality.

5.4 Resistance and the Struggle for Change

In each of the countries visited, there were signs of GBV; however, there were also forces of “resistance”—unique ways to combat GBV. Although there were multiple forms of resistance in each of the countries, I will only focus on five methods of resistance: Mass Protests and Strikes, Representation in Print, Silence in the Courtroom, Gender-Neutral Language, and Self-Empowerment.

Mass Protests and Strikes: The Chilean Feminist Movement and Anti-Rape Campaigns in Nepal

In Chile, this resistance took the form of feminist strikes. These protests began on April 17 of 2018, after a faculty member from la Universidad Austral de Chile was found guilty of sexually harassing a female student of the university (Campos, Personal Communication,

September 14, 2018). His only punishment was to “change jobs” (Campos, Personal Communication, September 14, 2018). University students, especially females, fought back by occupying university buildings, engaging in hunger strikes, and mass civil protests. This form of resistance was so effective that the universities were forced to shut down for three to four months (Campos, Personal Communication, September 14, 2018). The students stayed in the school buildings for days, placing pressure on the universities to hear and live up to their demands. Some of the posters hanging on the campuses included “Hermana, yo sí te creo” (sister, I believe you) and “Queremos espacios seguros para todas” (we want spaces that are safe for everyone). Some of their demands included: a non-sexist education, better protocols to address sexual violence, changes in the curriculum, training in gender equality, and a fulltime minister position so that students demands can be heard year-round (Campos, Personal Communication, September 14, 2018). Occupying universities and mass protests are physical acts of resistance and effective methods to spark change—after two months of shutdown, the universities sat down with students to meet their demands.

In Nepal, during October of 2018, there were approximately eight to twelve rape cases reported every day (Terai Justice Center, Personal Communication, October 23, 2018). This high number of rape cases led to the mass social movements by students and civil society against sexual assault. The protests would generally be massive in numbers and take place every day. Frequently, the protestors would carry images of the victim’s face and leave a memorial for them if the victim has been killed. For example, on October 6th, there was an Anti-Rape Campaign taking place in Patan Durban Square. A group of around forty college students from Kathmandu University of School and Management ran the campaign. These students were asking residents to sign an Anti-Rape Petition that they would deliver to the Government of Nepal. Additionally, the

students were carrying many posters in Nepali and English; some read, “Silence is Not Consent” and “Be a Man, Not a Monster.” These daily protests, although not supported by all residents, are successful at sparking dialogue and raising awareness of sexual violence in Nepal.

Representation in Print: LGBTQI Magazines

In all of the countries visited, a method of resistance that is positively strengthening LGBTQI communities and combatting discriminatory news are magazines. These magazines shed light on LGBTQI issues and alter the ways LGBTQI individuals are portrayed in media. Some of the organizations working on these prints include Organizando Trans Diversidades in Chile (OTD), Blue Diamond Society in Nepal (BDS), and a group of LGBTQI individuals in Jordan who write anonymously due to safety concerns (Riquelme, Sumam, & Anonymous, Personal Communication, November 20, 2018). OTD publishes a new magazine every month that is available across Chile. The goal of the magazine is to increase diversity in media and alter the ways society views LGBTQI individuals. BDS has both a magazine, which runs monthly and a radio show that airs weekly. BDS are focused on delivering news addressing LGBTQI issues. According to Suman, who is one of the chair workers at BDS, “Delivering news that meets our LGBTQI audience is important for if we do not do it, no one will” (Suman, Personal Communication, October 10, 2018). One of the institutions Sunam was referring to when he said: “no one” was the Nepali Government, for, over the years, they have become insensitive to LGBTQI issues, and have even threatened to remove LGBTQ rights. Lastly, in Jordan, there is an online magazine called “Mykali,” which publishes articles and news written by LGBTQI activists (Anonymous, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018). Here the writers mostly write anonymously or under false names because the Jordanian government monitors the media; thus, publishing articles under one’s name could easily mean getting arrested or even kidnapped

by the Jordanian army or secret police (Anonymous, Personal Communication, November 11, 2018). Partaking in visualizing individuals who are frequently labeled as “non-existent” is an act of resistance and a testament to the importance of representation.

Silence in the Courtroom

The legal system is currently set up against survivors of sexual violence as it forces survivors to not only testify, but to make their testimonies accurate, chronological, and logically fashioned. Julie Mertus (2004) argues that the court system of “question and answer format” places too much importance on the actions of perpetrators instead of focusing on the survivors themselves, and what they would like to say or not say about what they endured. Trauma survivors often experience memory loss due to the emotional severity of the violence they endured. Therefore, it is incredibly challenging for them to recall their experiences chronologically. So, when the defense asks them questions such as “how many times were you raped?” They will be unable to recall specific instances and often demonstrate a discrepancy in their response, making them appear as an “unreliable witness” (Henry, 2010). Demonstrating an inability to recall should be alarming to the judge and defense. Failing to recollect is alarming not because the witness is unreliable, but because it indicates that the survivor suffered or is suffering from trauma and that the violence might have been more severe than anticipated. This legal setup that treats witnesses as merely evidence and that prioritizes empirical evidence over medicalized understandings of trauma is dehumanizing, unethical, and a visible form of repression.

In a photograph taken during the summer of 1993, a woman sits surrounded by a group of government soldiers. The soldiers are attempting to communicate with her, but she is entirely mute. The photograph was taken after the Bosnian genocide, and it was later discovered that the

woman was one of many Muslim women who were raped by the Bosnian-Serb army. The photograph is captivating since it demonstrates the unspeakable nature of wartime rape and other forms of inexplicable violence. In all the countries visited, like the woman in the photograph, survivors will often not respond to questions about their experience of GBV and refuse to speak in legal proceedings. One of the reasons for this self-silencing is because there are no words to express what they have endured. Sometimes, the pain is too severe that there are no words to describe it; in this sense, remaining silent speaks volumes of the violence and its unbearable nature. Kansteiner (2004) argues that the “best witnesses” are those who communicate with non-verbal speech because only silence can convey the inexplicability of the experience. According to Kansteiner (2004), attempting to use language will only paint a false picture of what they experienced. Silence and the act of silencing oneself are powerful, as it reveals how violence can alter individuals’ character and denotes that their trauma might be beyond repair. Silencing, in this sense, becomes a vehicle of self-expression, a form of self-advocacy, and an act of resistance.

Gender-Neutral Language: Use of the letter “e”

In Chile, a significant form of resistance has been to transform Spanish into a gender-neutral language. This idea emerged from the LGBTQI community of Latin America. In Chile, as in almost the rest of Latin America, individuals speak Spanish (Castellano), which is a gendered language. Thus, for gender non-conforming individuals, it is very challenging to constantly be surrounded by a language and culture that “tells you that you do not exist” (Riquelme, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). It is for this reason that LGBTQI individuals altered the entire Spanish language. Although the grammatical change is minimalistic and straightforward, the result is vivid. The grammatical change is to add the letter “e” in place

of where one locates the “a,” for feminine, or “o,” for masculine. The letter “e” is meant to represent all individuals: females, males, and others (Riquelme, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Their change combats a sexist rule, which makes the letter “o,” or the masculine article, the default. For example, instead of saying “nosotros” (everyone, with masculine article), one would say “nosotres” (everyone, with a gender-neutral article). So far, this has been extremely effective as individuals from all walks of life are making this grammatical change. For example, former President Michelle Bachelet has often used it in her speeches (Riquelme, Personal Communication, August 20, 2018). Demonstrating that even a small change in language can be used as a tool to combat gender discrimination.

Self-Empowerment: Jordanian Women and Talleres

In Jordan, the feminist movement was not as visible as Chile and Nepal. Here the resistance did not look like organized feminist strikes and marches; instead, resistance took the form of individual activism. After talking to around twenty women from Jordan, all of them with different origins and stories, it was concluded that despite the lack of mass protests, the women were fighting against GBV. This self-resilience was evident when a Jordanian woman stated, “Behind every veil and mask (this was in reference to the use of makeup in Jordan), you will find a fighter...who is doing everything in her power to survive (Anonymous, Personal Communication, November 18, 2018). One of the most common forms of resistance includes wearing the hijab. Many wear the hijab as a method of “protection,” as a “political statement,” as a sign of “love for my religion,” or as “a sign of my strength” (Anonymous, Personal Communication, November 20, 2018). Other forms of resistance included refusing to have an arranged marriage, obtaining a college education, and applying for a job, which are all extremely difficult for women coming from ultra-religious Islamic families (Anonymous, Personal

Communication, November 20, 2018). Although these acts were individual in nature, they are categorized as “acts of resistance,” for these acts addressed oppressive gendered structures and were common among the interviewees.

Lastly, the final form of resistance mentioned is the work of el Centro Comunitario Casa Taller de La Mujer Valparaíso, which is a center focused on addressing GBV, providing women with a safe space to flee violence, and teaching women the necessary skills to become financially self-dependent. The “Tallers” were inspired by Violeta Parra, who was a Chilean composer, songwriter, and social activist (Florez, Personal Communication, September 14, 2018). This specific center was created to address the high rates of unemployment in Valparaíso. The center addresses unemployment by tackling the fundamental issue that makes women go into the streets in the first place—GBV (Florez, Personal Communication, September 14, 2018). They combat GBV by teaching courses on self-defense, crafts, English, Portuguese, bookbinding, and painting (Florez, Personal Communication, September 14, 2018). Additionally, they have courses focused on helping women detect the early stages of violence and communicate their experiences of the abuse. By providing these classes and creating a space for healing, the talleres are empowering women and giving them the skills to become self-sufficient.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This goal of this investigation was to provoke dialogue, improve the globes' understanding of GBV, and incite further research on the subject. To comprehend the complexities of GBV, academics conceptualizations of GBV were compared with that of formal institutions—who are working tackle the violence. The researcher uses the ethnographic method (Draper, 2015) and the interpretive approach (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012) to interview individuals and asses gender issues from a regional perspective. The research question that served as the foundation for this investigation is: “How is GBV understood, and do current understandings capture the experiences of historically marginalized individuals?”

Based on the one-year cross-national investigation, formal institutions currently are unequipped to combat GBV due to their “mainstream” comprehension of the issue. Having a limited understanding of GBV hinders formal institutions' ability to combat the violence and ultimately restricts who they aid. In this case, multi-marginalized individuals do not fit the definition of “mainstream victim.” If countries and formal institutions aim to dismantle GBV, then they must understand the following realities:

- GBV is institutional violence.
- Formal institutions, such as government and non-government bodies, currently have a limited understanding of GBV.
- The hegemonic discourse around GBV does not encapsulate the realities of multi-marginalized individuals.
- Acts of resistance arise as a result of failing institutions and instill pressure on society for more significant change.

Only after these changes occur will society move one step closer to combating and fully understanding GBV. This study expanded current academic knowledge of GBV because, unlike other investigations, it discusses the institutionalized nature of the violence, examines the violence from a transnational perspective, and documents the realities of multi-marginal individuals.

Chapter 7: The Way Forward

7.1 Future Research

Most of the history we have today of sexual violence is based on facts, which are not verifiable. These facts are based instead on a series of accepted assessments. Can we go back in history and reclaim stories that were erased or misinterpreted? Yvette Abrahams (1996), a professor and author on issues related to gender equality, raises a similar question in “Was Eva³⁰ Raped?”, which is “how do you study a crime through sources which were assuredly not written by the victims and could have been written by the perpetrator?” Most colonial documents in South Africa categorize women as voiceless and always in correlation with a male figure or an act of violence—thus, dehumanizing their existence. Abrahams (1996) expresses this dehumanization by saying, “Eva did not write the sources, and the sources are emphatically not about her. She is objectified in the text, appearing there only as and when she plays a role in the strategic objectives of the VOC (Dutch East India Company). Yet, the memory of her enemies is all I have to go on.” Abrahams contends that these limited male-dominated records have formed South Africa’s legal systems and gender roles. In other words, South Africans have made sense of the past, rape, and other acts of violence by interpreting these limited documents of history.

As this investigation has hopefully demonstrated, current legal systems around the five countries studies are not set up to support survivors of sexual violence. Some of the problems with our legal system arise because many societies destroyed historical records and dehumanized

³⁰ Krotoa was a critical figure in the 17th century in the Western Cape of South Africa, as she possessed an intimate understanding of both Khoikhoi and Dutch culture. Eva was the Christian name given to her by the Dutch; she was the indigenous Southern African to be baptized. Autshumao, a Khoi leader who was her uncle, sent Krotoa to work as a domestic servant in the Van Riebeeck house. She became an interpreter and worked to negotiate a cooperative relationship between the Khoisan people and the Dutch. For example, she helped work out the terms for ending the First Khoikhoi–Dutch War (Abrahams, 1996).

female figures in the remaining records. As a consequence, nations currently have a restricted comprehension of the past and female's role in it. "Was Eva Raped?" aims to address these limitations by re-analyzing the past. Abrahams (1996) uses "speculative history," or a field of historical inquiry that uses counterfactual speculation of historical events to reflect on the social construction of memory and our present society. Abrahams's goal is to shed a new light on Eva's story.

Just as Abrahams argues that the history of the Khoisan people should be reclaimed in a way that does not reobjectify them, I advocate that academics and researchers should re-analyze history in a way that sheds light on survivors and their complexity and humanity. Courtrooms, news reports, and journal articles should no longer see survivors always in correlation to the perpetrator and act of violence; they are not bodies. They are complex human beings with aspirations, families, and lives—being a survivor is only one aspect of their identity. Some of the questions I encourage researchers to explore include: Can we reinterpret silence in literature and make analyses on what might have happened, based on the data available? How should the researcher document and discuss violence without reinforcing gender roles and harmful stereotypes? Can rehumanizing those that were objectified in the past and using the speculative history method affect the contemporary, and if so, how?

7.2 Recommendations to Governmental Institutions, Non-Governmental Bodies Focused on Gender Initiatives, Courts, Media, and Other Actors

Based on the acts of resistance discussed in this investigation and the feminist movements taking place across the world, it is clear that society is ready for change. GBV is a social crisis that must be addressed with urgency and efficiency. However, we cannot progress as

a society if our states and non-government organizations are dysfunctional. Thus, below I am proposing some recommendations that I believe will allow government and non-governmental agencies to address GBV and its complexities better. All of these strategies aim to combat the structural causes of GBV and are equally important, as each tackles different aspects of the violence (who is impacted, how GBV is understood and portrayed, etc.)

⇒ **Prevention:** It is important to design formations (such as men's groups) where potential offenders can openly discuss topics of assault, violence, misogyny, transphobia, homophobia, economic deprivation, and substance abuse. It is important to create a community, provide support, educate, and deliver resources—such as therapy. The goal of these educational programs and community groups is to change harmful social norms and address the impact they have on individuals. These programs and groups should target youth, adolescence, adults, elders, and individuals in and out of prison.

⇒ **Education:** Primary education should have courses designed to promote respect and empathy. These courses should also discuss unique gender identities. Secondary education must have mandatory classes discussing gender relations, women's rights, LGBTQI rights, sexual assault, and prevention. The schools should also work to create possible strategies to address violence collectively. Higher educations should have a department and office dedicated to Gender Equity, allow students the opportunity to major in gender issues and take courses on the subject, create support groups for both possible offenders and survivors, have an effective protocol to address GBV, and provide therapy for individuals dealing with gender-related issues.

⇒ **Gender-Sensitivity Training:** Police officers, investigators, judges, lawyers, policymakers, doctors, nurses, and social workers should receive training on how to

interact with and support survivors, recognize signs of GBV, and defend multi-marginalized individuals (such as LGBTQI individuals). Furthermore, they should be trained to recognize the importance of not boxing individuals into “gender roles” and categories of “victim and perpetrator.”

⇒ **Workforce Harassment Protocols and Trainings:** All new employees should be trained to recognize acts of harassment and on how to properly respond when it occurs.

Additionally, all government and non-governmental organizations should have a protocol in place that successfully addresses harassment in the workplace.

⇒ **Courts and Legal Systems:** Survivors must not suffer re-traumatization. There must be more gender-conscious judges and lawyers, and the burden of proof should be placed on the perpetrator, not survivors. Thus, courts and the legal system must change to support survivors; this includes humanizing victims and allowing them to speak or not speak their truths. Additionally, silence must not be interpreted as a lack of credibility; instead, judges and lawyers must receive training on the stages of trauma and how silence is a method of coping with the incomprehensible. Courts dealing with these forms of violence should receive funding to provide these resources and make these changes.

⇒ **Enhance Legal and Policy Frameworks:** Policies and their design can either deepen or ameliorate the political marginality of individuals. Thus, the government must create laws that tackle pay inequity, combat gender inequality, and obligate education and trainings on gender-based issues. These laws must promote human rights, be focused on reaching self-sufficiency, support effective initiatives combatting GBV, and resource rehabilitation programs for past offenders (should target youth, adults, and those in and out of prison).

- ⇒ **Media:** The media must work to stop normalizing the violence. Do not show graphic details of victims; their body is not a crime scene—overplaying these images strips victims of their humanity. Instead, work to humanize victims and perpetrators; in order to avoid depicting these crimes as exceptional and unreplicable. Work with families to portray humanizing depictions of the individuals.
- ⇒ **Organizations Addressing GBV:** Organizations combatting GBV must have a clear assessment of who is and who is not being served. Hire multi-marginalized individuals and collaborate to create campaigns designed at addressing “non-mainstream issues.” Also, create gender-neutral campaigns addressing distinct forms of GBV.
- ⇒ **Funding:** Governments must work with agencies combatting GBV; agencies must be funded and given political power to collaborate with the government. Additionally, governments should provide academic funding for research on GBV.
- ⇒ **Healing:** Survivors of GBV must be able to receive support and adequate care. Governments and institutions must fund organizations working with survivors of GBV and multi-marginalized individuals. Organizers and survivors must receive post-assault trainings and psychotherapy for recuperation.
- ⇒ **Empowerment:** Governments, private sectors, and other institutions should employ women, LGBTQI individuals, and other multi-marginalized individuals, and strengthen their economic power. These institutions must provide educational, work-related, and leadership trainings for these individuals—this will enhance their professional development. Additionally, the institutions should economically support LGBTQI and women-owned businesses, and promote these individuals to leadership positions and higher-paying jobs.

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Template of Oral Informed Consent

Description of the Research:

You are invited to participate in a research study that seeks to understand better how Gender-Based Violence (GBV) operates within different countries. This study seeks to understand better the contrast between academic literature focused on GBV and the day-to-day experiences of individuals from Spain, the United States, Mexico, Chile, Nepal, and Jordan. You will be asked a set of questions that directly relate to your experience or observations. All interviews will last approximately 30 to 40 minutes. The researcher will take notes during the interview process. Interviews are not transcribed. After the research is completed, all written data will be destroyed. If the researcher wishes to use the data collected for another investigation, the researcher will notify the interviewee and seek their permission once again to use this data. Marlén Miranda will conduct the research. The six main research sites are Spain, the United States, Mexico, Chile, Nepal, and Jordan.

Risks and Benefits:

I do not anticipate any direct benefits to participants. One potential research benefit is to gain a deeper understanding of GBV so that society can better learn how to combat it. A deeper comprehension is a potential benefit not directly to the participants of this study, but for the people working in governments, NGOs, grassroots, or international organizations. If the interview is conducted via an online platform (such as WhatsApp, Skype, or email), there is a potential risk that there be an inadvertent breach of confidentiality (security of online communication).

Data Storage to Protect Confidentiality:

Participants will be kept anonymous so that their names will not be traced back to the data associated with that participant. (In cases where the individual wants to use his, her, or their real name, despite the potential risk, then the individuals' real name will be used). Only I, Marlén Miranda, will have a list of all the individuals who were interviewed. Given the sensitive nature of the data of this study, all data will be stored and appropriately protected. Only the researcher and the advisor, Professor Benjamin Carbonetti, will have access to this data. The data stored in the computer (word files) will remain in a password-protected computer. Because I will know the names of the interviewees, I cannot assure anonymity.

Agreement:

- *I agree that my participation in the research is voluntary.*
- *I agree that I have heard the description of the research, risks and benefits, and confidentiality section.*
- *I understand that I have the right to ask questions at any time before, during, and after the interview. (I will give the interviewee my contact information, just in case questions arise in the future).*
- *I also understand that I have the right to oppose answering any interview question and end the interview at any time. (If the interviewee ends the interview, the interview will not be used, and the information acquired will be destroyed).*

Do you agree with all the information above: _____?

(Interviewee needs to orally accept to the statements above by saying “Yes” in English, Spanish, Arabic, or Nepali)

General Sample Questions for Informal Interviews

- How would you introduce yourself? What is your occupation?
- Are there barriers individuals face when entering the workplace? Are any of these barriers caused by one's identity (race, sexual orientation, gender, etc.)?
- How are LGBTQI rights, women's rights, minority rights, and indigenous peoples' rights seen here?
- What does violence against these groups look like in this country?
- How is this violence maintained in each of these countries, and what mechanisms exist to address this violence (grassroot organizations, NGOs, lawyers, etc...)?
- How is GBV felt and maintained in this society?
- Name some visible gender issues faced in this country. Who is impacted?