Children and Gender-based Violence

An overview of existing
conceptual frameworks

Save the Children

Children and Gender-based Violence

An overview of existing conceptual frameworks

Save the Children fights for children's rights.
We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.

Save the Children works for:
- a world which respects and values each child
- a world which listens to children and learns
- a world where all children have hope and opportunity

Contents

Acknowledgements

Preface

This Briefing Paper was commissioned by the Alliance Gender Task Group in order to contribute to the discussions and preparations for the UN Global Study on Violence against Children. We believe that this is a key issue that must be addressed if we are to seriously uphold children's rights, as is clearly stated in the Save the Children Alliance *Gender Equity Policy*. This document makes an organisational commitment to challenge all types of violence, recognising that gender differences and stereotypes can lead to negative attitudes and to violence. Furthermore, the policy recognises that as an international organisation it is important for Save the Children to address issues of gender-based violence with great sensitivity in different cultural contexts. The policy also recognises that the options open to children are closely associated with the wellbeing and social position of women; therefore domestic violence against their mothers often has a direct impact on girls and boys.

A rights-based analysis clearly shows that gender discrimination and violence are intimately linked and that actions to address the root causes of gender discrimination must, therefore, also include preventing gender-based violence. A key approach promoted by the Gender Group in the prevention of gender-based violence is to listen to both girls and boys and to allow their views to influence the actions that are taken in order to stop these harmful practices. For further information on how to address gender-based violence at different levels in your programming work please also refer to the International Save the Children Alliance *Gender Guidelines for Child Rights Programming*.

Marilyn Thomson
SC UK, on behalf of the Alliance Gender Task Group:

Dumisani Mnisi, SC Swaziland
Lena Karlsson, SC Sweden-Denmark
Marlen Mondaca, SC Canada
Maite Pacheco, SC Spain
Ronnie Lovitch, SC US
Ravi Karkara, SC Sweden- Denmark
Sylvia van Dijk, SC Mexico

The report has been endorsed by the convenor of the Coordinating Group on Child Rights Programming.

1. Introduction

An analysis of the global persistence and even escalation of violence in all areas of life, including homes, communities, institutions, and armed conflicts, reveals that the vast majority of people damaged by the decisions made and the actions carried out by those in power (largely men) are children (and women). For example, children constitute almost half of the 27.4 million refugees and the 30 million displaced people worldwide (http://www.un.org/rights/concerns.htm). Some facts about and forms of violence against children and the different gender impacts follow this introduction.

Particular forms of violence, such as sexual exploitation or incest, occur disproportionately against girls, although some studies show that in some Asian countries sexual abuse of boys is nearly as common as of girls. In addition, other cultural forms of violence, such as dowry related abuse and acid throwing, in Bangladesh, Pakistan and India for instance, only affect girls and women, and carry life-long health consequences (e.g. mutilation; disfigurement) or even result in death. Self-inflicted violence in the form of eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia, increasingly found in Europe, also mainly affect girls. Certain forms of violence, however, such as the recruitment of boys into armed groups and drug gangs, involve a greater proportion of boys as both victims and perpetrators. Other instances of gender-based violence mainly affecting boys are the murders of street boys in Central and South America carried out by police or death squads who argue that they are preventing future violent crimes.

Gender-based violence also occurs in the process of bringing up children in their family homes and in educational institutions where corporal punishment is considered an educational tool (Innocenti Digest, No.2). This kind of violence against the child is also gendered: while physical punishment is more often inflicted upon boys, girls suffer an enormous amount of psychological abuse to force them to conform to traditional gender stereotypes. Assumptions that boys are physically stronger than girls and that physical abuse helps them grow as proper men underlie these differential expressions of gender-based violence. In addition, discriminatory ideas about children being inferior to adults, and that parents are entitled to use violence to educate their children are also seen in the use of punishment as an educational tool.

Talking about child rights in general is not enough to safeguard each group of this population, and to make them visible. Gender specific vulnerabilities or obstacles to achieving these rights for girls and boys must also be identified. To address the global prevalence of violence, the United Nations is preparing a global study in which Save the Children Alliance and the Gender Task Group will have an opportunity to contribute. This is the background within which this paper explores existing conceptual frameworks to understand gender-based violence against children.

Facts about gender-based violence against children

Child abuse	Dispatch, a local newspaper for the East London area of South Africa, states that more that 100 cases of child abuse (97 per cent of them being girls) are reported daily. (NGO Shadow Report to CEDAW 1998)
Homicide of children in the streets	In 2001, 147 children under 18 years old living in the streets were murdered in Guatemala, of which 91per cent were boys and 9 per cent were girls. (Owner-respuesta-rapida@casa-alianza-org, 9-12-02)
Child sexual abuse	21 per cent of girls and 11 per cent of boys in the UK have experienced sexual abuse. (Cawson et. al. 2000 in http://www.cwasu.org/factsondv.htm#)
Domestic violence	In 90 per cent of domestic violence incidents children are present. (Hughes, 1992 in http://www.cwasu.org/factsondv.htm#)
Female genital mutilation	It is estimated that over 130 million girls and women have undergone some form of female genital mutilation. Annually over 2 million girls are at risk of this practice, which occurs in 28 African counties, a few countries in the Middle East and Asia and among immigrant communities in Europe and North America. (WHO Fact sheet, 1997)
Male circumcision	20 per cent of boys around the world will be subjected to some form of male circumcision. The percentages of boys circumcised are: Australia 15 per cent, Canada 20 per cent, the United States 60 per cent. In the U.S.A., over 1.25 million infants annually - more than 3,300 baby boys undergo circumcision each day. (http://www.eskimo.com/~gburlin/mgm/facts.html)
Infanticide	60 million females, mostly from Asian countries are 'missing' - killed by infanticide, selective abortion, deliberate under nutrition or lack of access to health care. (Panos Briefing No. 27, 1998) A study in one clinic in India showed that out of 8,000 aborted foetuses, 7,997 were female. (Indira Jaising, 1995)
Child prostitution	Almost one million boys and girls in Asia spend each night providing sexual services for adults. Most of these children are coerced, kidnapped or sold into this multi-billion dollar industry. (Asia Today)
Honour killing	Girls as young as three to ten years old were among those killed on the pretext of their being a Kari - a term used for those having illicit relations – during 2002 in Sindh province, Pakistan. Karo-kari (honour-killing) has already claimed more than 382 lives during 2002. (Dawn, 23 December 2002, 18 Shawwal 1423, in http://www.dawn.com/2002/12/23/nat20.htm). Field research carried out by women activists in Iraqi Kurdistan reveals that over 4,000 women and girls were killed between 1991 and 2000. (http://www.cogsci.ed.ac.uk/~siamakr/Kurdish/KURDICA/2000/JUL/seminar.html)

	Thirty-six 'honour' crimes were reported in Lebanon between 1996 and 1998, mainly in small cities and villages. Reports indicate that offenders were often under 18. (http://www.unicef.org/newsline/00pr17.htm)
Acid attacks	Bangladesh saw a four-fold increase in reported acid attacks between 1996 and 1998, from 47 to more than 200. Girls and women were affected by this form of gender-based violence, while young men and adult men were the perpetrators. (Http://www.unicef.org/newsline/00pr17.html)
Self-inflicted violence	One in every 100 young women between the ages of 15 and 25 years in Ireland suffers from some form of eating disorder such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia. Between five and ten per cent of all anorexia cases are male. (Irish News, http://archives.tcm.ie/irishexaminer/1999/06/11/ihead.htm)

2. Gender-based violence

The concept of gender-based violence means violence inflicted or suffered on the basis of gender differences. However, this concept is commonly used to mean violence against women (VAW). The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women of 1993, in its Article 1, defines the term 'violence against women' as:

"Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (UNESCO 1999 p. 53).

Nevertheless, the concept also applies to boys, as particular groups of boys are also affected by violence because of their gender. In general, an understanding of how socially constructed gender identities lead boys to use violence to resolve conflict is helpful in looking for solutions to prevent violence. The use of the concept of gender-based violence is relevant in any study of violence against children, because gender cuts across other categories, such as poverty, caste, social class, race, culture and disability. Gender-based violence encompasses other descriptions of violence, but it is framed in broader terms with the understanding that the causes and solutions to violence are at once personal, political, economic and social, institutional and interpersonal.

Violence is complex not only because of its different categories, but also because of the multitude of causal factors. Moser (2001) suggested that violence is better understood if categorised in terms of a threefold continuum of political, economic and social violence, as this provides a holistic view. (Moser, 2001). In addition, it is possible to observe a cluster of four types of factors that interact with each other to facilitate various forms of gender-based violence.

These are:
* *Structural*: political, economic, and social structures and the policy environment, including cultural gender norms and ideologies that permeate society.
* *Institutional*: formal and informal gender/non-gendered institutions, organisations and social networks in which gender relations are embedded.
* *Interpersonal:* gender relations between individuals within families or households, as well as intimate or acquaintance relationships.
* *Individual*: personal history and biophysical make-up, ontogenetic factors of an individual's development, such as personality, that shape responses to interpersonal and institutional stresses.

The main areas of violence regulated in international treaties and conventions to protect children from violence [see appendices 1 and 2] are:
a) armed conflict and political violence,
b) violence in the community,
c) violence facilitated by poverty and the negative impact of globalisation, and
d) violence in the family.

2.1 Root causes of gender-based violence against children and the cycle of oppression

A *gender analysis* shows how gender-based violence appears in different contexts, and is perpetrated by a wide range of actors, for example: the army or other armed groups, the State, transnational corporations and transnational organised criminal groups, community members or family members and relatives. (See Save the Children Alliance Guidelines on Gender and Child Rights Programming).

Three theoretical approaches — human rights, development and gender — are presented in Section 3 below to provide some explanation of the causes and roots of gender-based violence. Section 1 outlines the root causes of gender-base violence from the perspective of the cycle of oppression. This perspective, referred to in Save the Children UK (Thomson w/others, 2003) suggests that certain forms of gender-based violence, such as harmful traditional practices, are deeply rooted in cultural values and beliefs.

Culture[1] is considered here in two ways. First, it is changing and dynamic and can be influenced, and it contains practices that impact differently according to class, gender, ethnicity, disability or sexuality, benefiting some groups and disadvantaging others. This approach looks at the characteristics of the society/community in which violence occurs to identify factors that might influence culture (e.g. the media, the community, the family and religious leaders). It also examines other social structures and particular characteristics such as race, gender, social class and caste *relations* in society, and of the perpetrators and children affected by abuse. Secondly, cultural practices can become obstacles, preventing children from accessing their rights, especially where family takes precedence over the individual.

A gender and power analysis of violence against children explores *gender*, *power relations* and *poverty*. Such a holistic approach sheds light on particular cultural contexts in which violence against children takes place, and illuminates *the cycle of oppression*: the causes, production and reproduction of gender-based violence.

It is well documented that men, in general, have power and control over women and girls, often through violence. This appears as a global phenomenon, taking different forms that cross cultures, and being perpetuated through patriarchal structures and by the socio-economic situation of the perpetrators and the abused women and children (UN, 1996). Girls and boys are socialised into differentiated gender roles that place them within unequal structures of power. Gender inequality disempowers girls by giving them unequal access to resources and not allowing them to participate in decisions that affect them within the family and community. Although this seems to be the general treatment both boys and girls receive from adults, discrimination against girls and women and devaluing views of them, disadvantage girls even more than boys in certain matters. Girls, for example, have less access to education than boys because they are primarily seen as future wives and mothers.

---

[1] The following explanation of *culture* is taken from the SC Alliance *Gender Guidelines for Child Rights Programming* : …"Boys and girls learn culture and contribute to its continuity, as well as to its transformation. Social identities are manifestations of culture and are also gendered. They are forged through a number of social relationships in which girls and boys take part. They are also a result of the cultural meanings attached to children's status relative to adults and to other girls and boys. Socialisation ideas and practices are a key part of a people's culture, and adult men and women use 'culture' to explain or justify child-rearing and socialisation practices, even practices involving unequal treatment, abuse, etc."

Gender inequality is entangled with *power relations*, with issues of who defines cultural values and practices, and with the wider framework of social relations between families and communities (e.g. racial, ethnic, caste and social class inequalities). The Optional Protocol to the CRC (art. 10.3) recognises poverty and underdevelopment as root causes and facilitating factors of the trafficking of children for the sale of children, child prostitution and pornography. *Poverty* plays an important role in perpetuating gender-based violence by creating the material background that makes children of poor families vulnerable to certain forms of violence like those mentioned above. Children affected by abuse while living in the streets or working in forced labour, for instance, are denied access to knowledge, information and education. This, in turn, prevents them from improving their economic situations and forces them to raise their own children in poverty, thereby making them vulnerable to violence and continuing the cycle of disadvantage and oppression.

An illustration of gender-based violence and its devastating effects presented by Save the Children-UK in Bangladesh is summarised below.

"Nazma's family arranged her marriage when she was only 14. Her husband was a rickshaw puller, then aged 25. Only a few months after marriage, Nazma realised he was giving less attention and losing interest in her. She came to know that her husband was visiting sex workers, gambling and using drugs. He also suffered from sexually transmitted infections. At times he became so sick that he could not go out to work for days. Meanwhile, Nazma started encountering skin problems around her genitals and began to lose weight very rapidly. At this stage, she became the mother of her first child, who was not a healthy one. The husband continued to neglect her as well as the child.

Nazma eventually visited a community health centre. The doctor gave her medical treatment and informed her that if she wanted to get better her husband should receive treatment as well. The doctor suggested that she might have got this infection from her husband, who might have got it from a brothel. One morning she approached him regarding treatment and he responded with outrageous aggression, strongly denying that he had any disease. Instead he claimed that Nazma had some kind of illegal relationship and got the disease that way. Since then she intermittently took medicines when she felt extremely ill but was never fully cured. In the meantime, she became a mother for the second time. Presently, Nazma lives with her mother in the slum. She wants to earn money for the survival and education of her children and for her treatment. But she is so devastated, both physically and mentally, that she has lost the confidence and strength to fight back."
(Source: Adolescent Reproductive Health Initiative, Save the Children UK, Bangladesh)

2.2 The nature and impact of gender-based violence against children

It is important to remember that all forms of gender-based violence are a violation of the rights of the child; they have negative impacts on the girl's and boy's health; they have a negative impact on their social development and they perpetuate power inequalities in interpersonal relations and within society.

- **All forms of violence against children violate the rights of the child**

The existence of gender-based violence goes against the principles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and many of its articles. It violates the following core principles:
(1) Non-discrimination (art. 2.1 and 23.1)
(2) The best interest of the child (art. 3.1)
(3) Survival and development (art. 6.2)
(4) Participation (art. 9.1, 12.1)

(See the SC Alliance *Gender Guidelines for Child Rights Programming* for information on how to interpret these key child rights principles with a gender focus)

The relevant regulations and articles, which establish the rights of the child in respect to different forms of violence are:
Article 19. 1. Protection from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.
Article 28. 2. Protection from being punished at school.
Article 32. 1. Protection from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.
Article 34. Protection from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse, including child prostitution and child pornography.
Article 35. Protection from abduction, sale and trafficking in children for any purpose or in any form.
Article 37. Protection from torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Cases of gender-based violence against children such as those illustrated above also violate CEDAW General Recommendation 19/12, arts. 3 and 6 of the Convention and art. 3 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

- **The impact of gender-based violence on the health of girl and boys**
Gender-based violence causes long-lasting physical, psychological and/or sexual damage, or even the death of girls and boys. Gender-based violence is a priority health and social issue. It affects girls' and boys' physical, mental, sexual and reproductive health, their self-esteem, their ability to work, and to make decisions about their fertility (e.g. teenage pregnancy; sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, chronic pelvic pain and unwanted pregnancies) (http://www.ippf.org/resource/gbv/ma98/2.htm; Winkel, 2001; Richards, 1996).

- **The impact on their social development**
Gender-based violence against girls and boys deprives them of the environment and the means to fully develop their potential. Children become desensitised to suffering; they may learn to see the use of violence as a legitimate means to achieve their own aims. All these risks of impairments to the development of children into adults affect society as a whole, constraining their contribution to its development.

- **Inequality and power relations**

Gender based-violence perpetuates power inequalities in interpersonal relations and in society, thus reproducing the structures that enable gender-based violence to exist. An overwhelming factor at the heart of gender-based violence is the pervasive inequality between women/girls and men/boys and the discrimination that women and girls face within society as a whole. Economic and social underdevelopment is in itself an expression of unequal power relations and violence. Moreover, gender-based violence is the ultimate means of enforcing unequal social, economic and political relations between women and men, at all levels of society and in all countries of the world (http://www.ippf.org/resource/gbv/ma98/2.htm).

3. Conceptual approaches

This section explores three main conceptual approaches to gender-based violence:
a) human rights,
b) development and
c) gender.

a) The human rights approach

The concept of children's human rights provides children throughout the world with a universal standard against which the treatment of individuals and groups by governments, NGOs and community institutions is measured. The concept of human rights has been described as 'action-demanding' (Freeden 1991, in Pickup *et. al.* 2001). Therefore, understanding gender-based violence against children as a violation of human rights enables activists to demand both the State's protection, and recourse against the perpetrators of abuse. The identification of child rights with human rights and the specific forms of violence against them has been recently acknowledged and incorporated into international human rights law (see Appendix 2).

Major International Human Rights Conventions and their jurisprudence have been criticised for posing limitations to understanding gender-based violence as a violation of human rights. Some of the barriers mentioned are:

- The concept of human rights reflects the values and priorities of the male and western-dominated bodies that created it. Thus, women and children's particular circumstances, their unequal power and priority needs were not acknowledged.
- The conceptualisation of 'the family' took for granted traditional power relations and identities within the family that are based on gender inequality, and emphasis on the unity of the family prohibits scrutiny of violations of rights that may take place within it.
- The concept of equal treatment between men and women, adults and children, means to address the unequal situations of individuals, so as to avoid perpetuation of injustice (UN Centre for Human Rights, 1994 cited in Pickup *et. al.*, 2001).
- Human rights have been difficult to enforce because, until recently, their interpretation and jurisprudence focused narrowly on violations committed directly by the state. This was rooted in the view that the 'public' and 'private' spheres of life are distinct and separate from each other, and that events within the private sphere of the home are beyond its jurisdiction (Pickup *et. al.*, 2001). The abuse of power and the political sphere have been defined in terms of men's experiences of subjugation by the state. These definitions have excluded other situations of oppression, namely male domination, thereby leaving out the experiences of half the human race. Therefore, both the Conventions and the interpretation of human rights law have been characterised by gender bias, which has made human rights law difficult to enforce.

From 1989 onwards a number of international Conventions, Treaties, Declarations and Platforms for Action were passed to expand the notion of human rights to gender-based violence affecting girls, boys and women. For instance, the **UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC)** was enacted to make visible the particular needs and rights of children and to provide a legal framework, of which the main principles and some of the rules were summarised above.

Improvements in the international legal frameworks to combat gender-based violence against children came through the **Optional Protocol to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography** which entered into force in 2002. The Optional Protocol emerged after international concern at the significant and increasing international trafficking in children for the purpose of the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. This resulted from the widespread and continuing practice of sex tourism and the growing availability of child pornography through the Internet, where it was recognised that girls are particularly vulnerable. In other words, the Optional Protocol to the CRC acknowledged the impact of globalisation on strengthening some forms of gender-based violence against children and on the development of others, and therefore, laid down responsibilities to the State parties in order to further the CRC and to combat these forms of gender-based violence.

The Optional Protocol to the CRC:
a) Proposes a holistic approach addressing facilitating factors such as poverty, underdevelopment, and socio-economic unequal relations of power and gender discrimination;
b) Acknowledges the importance of raising public awareness through the media to reduce consumer demand;
c) Encourages strengthening global partnerships among all actors and improving law enforcement at the national level.

"Child Rights Programming means using the principles of child rights to plan, manage, implement and monitor programmes with the overall goal of strengthening the rights of the child as defined in international law."[2]

To address gender-based violence from a CRP perspective means:
- Addressing the root cause of violence and addressing unequal power structures between women/girls and men/boys (patriarchal structures), and power relations between children and adults.
- Putting children at the centre, recognising them as right-holders and social actors.
- Giving priority to children, child-friendly environments and child-friendly information on violence and abuse.
- Recognising governments as primary duty-bearers accountable to address and take action against gender-based violence.
- Seeing parents and families as primary caregivers and protecting and supporting them in this role.
- Using participatory and empowering approaches, working in partnerships and alliances to promote the rights of the child to address gender-based violence.

---

[2]   Child Rights Programming: How to Apply Rights-Based Approaches in Programming: A Handbook for International Save the Children Alliance Members. Save the Children.

In fact, the Optional Protocol establishes the State Parties' duties to criminalise and make extraditable any act of trafficking in children for the purpose of sale, child prostitution and child pornography. Furthermore, State Parties are obliged to submit reports to the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the measures taken to implement the Optional Protocol provisions (http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-12htm).

The **UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations against Women (CEDAW)** was adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December 1979. This was the culmination of decades of international efforts to protect and promote the rights of women. It resulted from initiatives taken within the UN System since 1947 to consider and make policy recommendations to improve the position of women and from the increasing strength and efforts made by the international women's movement. Between 1949 and 1959, the Commission of the Status of Women (CSW) prepared a number of treaties that protected and promoted the rights of women in areas where the Commission considered these rights to be particularly vulnerable. In 1967, the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women was passed, providing in a single legal instrument international standards articulating the equal rights of women and men. As a Declaration it had no binding obligations for States, but it nevertheless had moral and political force. In 1975, during the first World Conference on Women (Mexico) a call was made for a Convention on the elimination of discrimination against women, with effective procedures for its implementation (http://fiji-gov.apdip.net/gender/ CEDAW_PAGES/ Cedaw_Background.htm).

CEDAW is the first and only Convention that comprehensively addressed women's rights in political, cultural, economic, social, and family life. This Convention is an important instrument to combat gender-based violence against children because it includes violations of the rights of girls and young women and contains specific obligations for the State to eradicate certain forms of gender-based violence (http://www.whrp-ireland.org/cedaw/ cedaw.html). The CEDAW Committee passed *General Recommendation 19* in 1992, stating that gender-based violence is a 'form of discrimination which seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on the basis of equality with men'. General Recommendation 19 explicitly calls for an abolition of honour killing, bride burning and other forms of gender-based violence based on cultural traditional practices (cited in Fitzpatrick, 1994, p. 534).

All recent International Conventions, Declarations and Platforms for Action addressing women' rights also include the rights of girls. In 1993, when the Vienna Declaration stated that women's rights are human rights, the international community began to pay special attention to gender-based violence. In 1994, the UN created a Special Reporter on violence against women, the causes and consequences, and numerous reports of investigations and recommendations have since been produced. In 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action stated that traditional forms of violence that target girls, and violence in the family and the community, violate human rights and need to be condemned and eradicated. In addition, the Convention of the Rights of the Child also points out that "cultural" arguments cannot justify gender-based violence.

Particular forms of gender-based violence within armed conflict have become increasingly visible since the war in former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. On 22nd February 2001 the International Tribunal Court for ex-Yugoslavia passed a landmark judgement condemning

three (male) commanders for rape and forced prostitution of girls and women during the war. The sentence stated, for the first time ever, that these acts constituted crimes against humanity and war crimes. Along the same lines, the 1998 Statute of the International Criminal Court, which entered into force in July 2002, established rape and other sexual violence as war crimes. Two important changes within international human rights law have been: a) the expansion of State responsibility and accountability for violations of human rights carried out by individuals (Beasely and Thomas, 1994), and b) the growth in understanding of crimes occurring in the home as a form of torture (AI, 2001, p.4). These expansions became possible by shifting the public and private boundaries of the above-mentioned interpretation of human rights laws, and they made evident the State's duty of diligence to protect women, girls and boys from violence in the family and in the community.

b) The development approach

The development approach to gender-based violence is characterised by a view that development organisations should not interfere in 'culture' (Smyth 1999 in Pickup *et. al.*, 2001), and a focus on violence as a barrier to women's participation in development. Both views reveal an inadequate interpretation of girls, boys and women's rights

The concern with culture seems to be a smokescreen for the real concern that development work should not actively challenge gender power relations in intimate relationships between women and men, girls and boys (Pickup *et. al.*, 2001) and within the home. Fear of addressing gender-based violence as a public issue primarily stems from the fact that it is still considered a private matter, taking place within the four walls of the home, rather than being seen as a social issue (http://www.ippf.org/resource/gbv/ma98/2.htm).

The exploration of the human rights approach showed that gender-based violence is a violation of human rights and that the State has a duty of diligence to prevent and punish it. Therefore, as a result of these recent international initiatives, gender-based violence must now be understood as a 'public matter'. Furthermore, culture is neither fixed, coherent nor homogenous and it can be transformed. The CRC expressly forbids holding the rationale of culture over children's fundamental rights to life and health. In fact, art. 24.3 of the CRC establishes the State Parties' duty to "take all effective and appropriate measures with a view to abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of the children". It is worth noting that no reservations have been made to this provision (Innocenti Digest, 2).

Moreover, women in the South, enduring or at risk of suffering gender-based violence have made it clear that global action by development organisations to support women's struggles against gender-based violence is welcome (UN, 1996). They are seeking to re-conceptualise 'tradition' so that it co-exists harmoniously with the values of non-violence and human rights, accepting and celebrating those aspects of their culture that are beneficial to them while rejecting aspects that are harmful. (See an illustration of successful implementation of this human rights approach, which respects culture and children's rights below, in the Save the Children case study in Kenya).

Work carried out by development agencies to eradicate gender-based violence often focuses on violence as a barrier to women's participation in development, rather than as a violation of girls', boys' and women's rights. This perspective is known as the 'efficiency' approach

and is useful for highlighting the costs of gender-based violence, but it is insufficient to eradicate violence. The efficiency reasoning cannot address the structural causes of violence against girls, boys and women (patriarchal gender identities, institutions and unequal power relations). Furthermore, by encouraging women's and girls' participation in gender-blind social and economic programmes, it implicitly condones and perpetuates violence against women. For example, development strategies in the South were identified as being among the structural factors that exacerbated violence against women because, by increasing women's economic power or independence they challenged the status quo (Sen 1998, McIlwaine 2000).

Some of the weaknesses of the development approach that should be tackled to eliminate gender-based violence can be summarised as follows:
- *Structures.* The development structures in which women are being encouraged to participate are left unquestioned.
- *Gender impact.* Development strategies that are based on technical approaches, without considering their particular gender impacts, can exacerbate unequal gender power relations that in turn facilitate gender-based violence.
- *Special factors and unequal social relations.* Humanitarian programmes for refugees and displaced persons usually fail to protect women and girls from violence and rape in the camps since they ignore special factors and unequal social relations between women and men, adults and children, relief workers and the populations with whom they work.
- *Gender-based violence considered in economic terms.* Violence against women and girls has often been framed as a concern for development agencies in narrowly economic terms. This interpretation precludes adequate analysis of power relations between men and women in development processes.

c) A gender framework
A gender framework to understanding violence starts by recognising both violence and conflict as gendered activities within a patriarchal system of ideology and institutions. This means that, as social actors, women and men and boys and girls all experience violence and conflict differently, as victims and as perpetrators (Moser, 2001).

Gender-based violence is grounded in ideas of masculinity and femininity (prescribed norms and definitions of what it means to be a male or a female) and how men and women and boys and girls are positioned *vis a vis* one another, and *vis a vis* other groups. In addition, gender identities exist within a patriarchal system that encourages violent behaviour within a context of assumed privilege and hierarchical power for certain groups of men, and that instils in many men a sense of entitlement to use violence to keep their privileges (Dobash and Dobash, 1980).

Gender-based violence is also rooted in the pressures and the effects of compulsory and dominant forms of masculinity around the world and in specific cultural manifestations. Added to this are the personal experiences of violence of individuals nurtured in a culture of violence, who take from the environment, the family, the media or the community experiences (http://www.un-instraw.org/en/research/mensroles/background.html1#a1) that can facilitate the learning and reproduction of violence (Bandura, 1973; Levinson, 1989).

Research has identified *protective*, as well as *risk factors*, that play a part in socialising children into violence. For instance, exposure to violence — in the family and the community as well as on television — when tolerated and even promoted by the community, religious leaders and institutions, can have a detrimental impact on children. In contrast, it has also been noticed that even children affected by severe forms of gender-based violence can survive it and establish non-violent relations in adulthood when there are interventions that stop, prevent and condemn violence in society (Parnyk Mendel, 1995; Hester *et. al.*, 2000).

A gender analysis alerts us to an intention (as opposed to a natural expression) in differentiating between the sexes. It generates demands for change, and for the satisfaction of women's, girls' and boys' rights, as women, girls and boys are usually less often heard and their needs less often satisfied than those of men. A gender analysis considers that girls and boys have differential access to resources, that they have different needs and interests within a context of unequal power relations. It implies recognising the nature of exclusion and empowerment in terms of gender ideologies. In addition, a gender perspective on economic and infrastructure costs and consequences of violence and conflict facilitates identifying how these costs differentially affect women and men, girls and boys. This helps with the design of appropriate and effective development programmes.

Using a gender lens makes a difference to what you see of war, peace and child abuse. Therefore, applying a gender analysis in decision-making can make a difference in what actions are taken. Gender awareness calls for sensitivity to *gender difference*, inviting us to notice *gender power relations* and to see how these shape institutions like the family, the military or the State; how they intersect with class and ethnic relations; and how power, oppression and exploitation work in and through them. Gender awareness invites us to act for change (Cockburn, 2001, p.18).

3.1 Relevant duty-bearers

The CRC establishes the following relevant duty-bearers for guaranteeing children the enjoyment of their rights:
i)   The State (arts. 2.2, 3.2 and 37)
ii) Parents, legal guardians and individuals legally responsible for children (art. 3.2)
iii) Institutions, services and facilities for the care and protection of the child (art. 3.2).

Through the CRC, the State parties appear as the main duty-bearers and are responsible for guaranteeing the rights of the child. Articles 18, 19, 20, 24, 27, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37, and 39 lay out the State's duties with regard to children. Those obligations are *positive actions*, *subsidiary obligations* and *omissions*. The State has the *duty*, through positive actions, *to assist* parents, guardians and other individuals legally responsible for the care of the child, in the performance of child-rearing responsibilities. The State also has to take all necessary appropriate measures *to protect* children from all forms of violence, economic and sexual exploitation, and to *provide treatment and rehabilitation programmes* for social integration of children affected by abuse. Although the CRC establishes that parents and other legal guardians have the main responsibility for providing children with an economic living

standard appropriate for their development (art. 27), the State is made responsible for guaranteeing children access to this right when parents cannot fulfil their obligation. Therefore, the State obligation in this regard, is subsidiary to that of the parents and other legal guardians. Finally, the State has obligations to refrain from acting in ways that violate children's rights. Art. 37 asserts that State parties shall ensure that no child is subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and State parties also have to avoid arbitrarily or unlawfully depriving children of their freedom.

The *Optional Protocol on the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of the child, child prostitution and child pornography* extends the measures that State parties should undertake in order to guarantee the protection of the child from sale, child prostitution and child pornography. This Optional Protocol reinforces the responsibility of the State and of international legal co-operation between State parties, as relevant duty-bearers.

The Optional Protocol to the CRC Art. 3 on the trafficking of children, provides a very important legally binding obligation establishing States' positive duties to criminalise and make punishable all acts involved in the sale of children (as defined in art. 3). According to the Protocol regulations, the State also has to promote the *dissemination of information about rights*, promoting the participation of the child and the community in such dissemination (art.9); and to *submit periodical reports to the Committee on the Rights of the Child* on the measures the State has taken to implement the provisions of the CRC (art.44.1.) and of the Optional Protocol to the CRC (art. 12.).

CEDAW establishes the positive duty of the State to take action in all fields to guarantee women's (and girls') human rights (art. 3), including taking temporary special measures to accelerate equality (art. 4). It also obliges State Parties to take measures to suppress trafficking and sexual exploitation of women (art. 6).

4. Recommendations for good practice in combating gender-based violence against children

A human rights approach to gender-based violence appears to be essential in designing intervention programmes and ensuring good practice. In particular, the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography offers guidelines that, if put into practice, could lead to the elimination of these violations of children's rights.

A human rights based approach offers a holistic framework that includes good development practices and gender analysis in addition to the principle of non-discrimination and child participation. This approach conveys principles and rules, most clearly laid down in the CRC, the *Optional Protocol to the CRC on the sale of children* and *CEDAW*. For instance, the *Optional Protocol* proposes addressing the contributing factors of the cycle of disadvantage and oppression mentioned above: underdevelopment and poverty, economic disparities, inequitable socio-economic structures, dysfunctional families, lack of education, urban-rural migration, gender discrimination, harmful traditional practices, armed conflicts and trafficking in children. The Protocol also proposes raising public awareness to reduce consumer demand and it emphasises the importance of strengthening global partnership among all actors and improving law enforcement at the national level.

Basic human rights strategies to combat gender-based violence against children derive from the previously described international instruments. Save the Children's position on child rights programming (in Thomson w/others, 2003) and Newell (in Inocenti Digest 2) both maintain that gender-based violence against children should be addressed by the State and non-governmental organisations, according to the following principles:
- Non-discrimination of children with regard to adults.
- Non-discrimination of girls with regard to boys and adult women and men.
- Non-discrimination of disabled girls and boys.
- Clear indication of duty-bearers, their responsibilities, their accountability and the punishment they might receive if they breach their responsibilities.
- Child participation in decision-making, monitoring and accountability processes.

Specific actions to address gender-based violence:

Policy level
- Set up appropriate mechanisms to ensure accountability of duty-bearers.
- Promote legislation and education to combat gender-based violence and punish perpetrators. This includes:
  i) Legal reform to remove tolerance in the law for any level of violence against children, in any form and in any sphere.

ii) Reviewing law, policy and practice on possession of guns and other lethal weapons, to reduce the risk and severity of injury.

iii) Reform of juvenile justice systems in conformity with the Convention and United Nations rules and guidelines.

- Draw up policies aimed at the mass media to transform social values. This implies reviewing the role of the media and seeking to use its positive potential for raising awareness and preventing violence.
- Set up co-ordinating structures (inter-sectoral and interdisciplinary) at national, regional and local levels to implement the commitment to combat gender-based violence in practice. This should include the strengthening of international co-operation and international law to combat trafficking of children for any purpose and in any form, as set forth in the CRC and in the Optional Protocol.

Programme work
- Increase knowledge on gender issues and gender-based violence among professionals and in the school curriculum.
- Review all forms of support and all services for children and families from a specifically anti-violence perspective.
- Promote life skills education programmes for adolescent boys and girls on healthy relationships, gender equality, non-violent conflict resolution and responsible sexual behaviour.
- Provide children affected by gender-based violence with appropriate health and counselling services and access to legal representation to enable their recovery, legal defence and/or to claim compensation for the damages suffered.
- Ensure that legal information on gender-based violence and the rights of the child is included in projects in other sectors (education, child work, health etc.).

Working with Children
- In order to create sustainable changes we need to listen to children and take their voices into consideration seriously when developing programmes and polices against gender-based violence and in the implementation and monitoring of activities.
- Work with boys and men in the community to take initiatives for more equal gender roles and relationships, and to work against violence and child sexual abuse. Promote programmes for young men on parenting and stress the benefits of men playing a more active role in nurturing their children and abandoning the culture of violence and abuse.
- Encourage parents to allow girls and boys to express their views and participate in decisions that affect them. Parents should be discouraged from beating or otherwise punishing their children when they speak up and express their views.

5. Case Studies

Some case studies of Save the Children's experience in the field are outlined below. These illustrate examples of gender-based violence against children and of good practice, with children's participation, to combat gender-based violence. All names reported in the cases are fictional.

CASE STUDY 1:
Masculinity and violence against girls in South Asia

SC UK and SC Sweden have been involved, in collaboration with UNICEF, in a series of initiatives to increase understanding of masculinity and its relation to gender inequity and violence against women and girls. *Let's Talk Men* was a three-year film project on masculinities in South Asia. Local filmmakers in India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan made four documentary films exploring different aspects of male identity and providing a way to deconstruct patriarchy in their cultural contexts. The scripts were developed through workshops, in which the male filmmakers were encouraged to portray realistic situations from their own cultures. The primary target audiences for these films are adolescent boys and girls in both rural and urban settings. Targeting boys and young men is particularly important since so little media is addressed to them, even though it is men who are the main perpetrators of violence against girls. The films (and accompanying workbooks) have been used in schools and in community projects to bring out issues of violence against girls and to present alternative role models and ways of behaving for boys.
(Source: Thomson w/others (2003). Rights of Passage, Harmful Cultural Practices and Children's Rights. Save the Children UK)

CASE STUDY 2:
Gender-based violence in school in Bolivia

The following case study from Bolivia illustrates a form of gender-based violence in the school and community, and shows how the girl affected used the workshop provided by Save the Children and a local partner in her school to face and confront discrimination.

"Ely was born in Copapujio Central in Cochabamba 15 years ago. 'A Path to Peace', a project implemented by Save the Children, CETM (a local partner) and CECI, was introduced in her school. The project's main objective was to improve children's social skills so that they could resolve interpersonal conflicts without violence.

Four or five months ago a severe stomach infection prevented Ely from attending classes for several days. When she returned to school her world fell apart. One of her classmates had spread the rumour that she

was pregnant and had not been sick. Denigrating comments from her peers became incessant; what is worse, she lost the trust of her girl friends and boys looked at her differently, some even trying to coax her into having sex with them. The community did not help for they accepted the rumour without questioning it.

Though Ely finally had to leave her community to start high school in a different town before her problem was resolved, she put up a fight before leaving. Using the tools she had learned from "A Path to Peace", in an attempt to debate not only about what happened to her but other issues related to discrimination as well, she started a dialogue with her classmates. Today Ely is again smiling at life. Though she still hears denigrating remarks about herself from time to time, she is confident of her present and future. She is also aware that she has become an example for other girls who used to bow their heads too easily."
(Source: information provided by Marcela Vallejos Blanco, Save the Children Canada/UK in Bolivia)

CASE STUDY 3:
Gender-based violence in the family and collective advocacy in India

Save the Children in India participated in an advocacy and awareness rising campaign to support an 11-year-old girl child who was being sexually abused by her father. This case study illustrates the participation of the girl and her mother, women's organisations and the court to stop the abuse and prevent further harm.

"Ila Pandey, the girl's mother, married Jagdish Pandey in 1986, in Karvi, Chitrakoot, Uttar Pradesh, and they had three daughters aged 11, 9 and 4. Jagdish Pandey battered his wife and as a result she was forced to leave the home on a few occasions. He has similarly beaten up all his daughters. Recently, Ila Pandey learned from her eldest daughter that her father was subjecting her to sexual abuse. When Ila Pandey attempted to confront her husband he brutally beat her, and she left the home. The father refused to let his daughters join their mother, conditioning this to the end of school exams. At the end of school term Jagdish Pandey still did not allow the daughters to join their mother. At that point Ila Pandey, assisted by some women's organisations, returned home and took them with her. Since then, they had been hiding in a shelter.

"A number of women's organisations (SARC, Varanas, Gudiya, Varanasi AALI, and Lucknow Sahog, Almora) provided Ila Pandey help and advice. In addition, the National Commission for Women became involved in the case and talked to each party, including the girl who had been abused. A seven-day fast and sit-in was staged in Karvi, Chitrakoot, to raise awareness on domestic violence and child sexual abuse. A Public Hearing was held at the conclusion of the fast. Then a restraining order was obtained from the Family Court in Lucknow and the girl's custody was given to her mother. Several organisations are supporting Ila and her daughters.

"Save the Children conducted a Situation Analysis of Violence Against Girls in Uttar Pradesh and the outcomes of this study will soon be published. The recommendations of this study were employed to propose a prevention programme on gender-based violence inflicted upon girls in the region."
(Source: Save the Children UK, India)

CASE STUDY 4:
Early marriage in Nepal

This case study was obtained through girl's participation in research and shows good practice to tackle early marriage. Different social castes and ethnic groups participated in the study. The role of the community and the media were identified as important in how girls and boys perceived early marriage.

Save the Children UK carried out the study in Nepal, talking directly to girls and involving them in an effort to discover the difficulties faced by girls, their parents and other stakeholders in seeking solutions to violence and discrimination against girls. *Early marriage* was a key issue identified. The study was carried out with different ethnic communities and castes in the Surkhet district of mid-western Nepal, where early marriage is common.

"The girls who participated in the discussion groups are 14 to 17 years old. It is a big issue that they have not married. Men say, 'Look! What will these girls do in the future,' and want to take revenge on them. If girls do not marry until 18 or 20 years the issue of their not being married becomes bigger. An unmarried girl then becomes a topic of conversation and people start to suspect that she is promiscuous…"

The project aimed to highlight the capacity and potential of rural girls to expand their secure environment. A core *group of 19 girls* were selected as beneficiaries as well as participants in planning the project. They defined their own activities as working with children's groups, women's groups and local authorities. This process–oriented project was based entirely on the initiatives of the girl children and was a new approach. SC UK supported the girls in this rural village development committee, and from these experiences the girls replicated the same process in adjoining communities to share their thoughts and feelings more widely.

The girls developed greater confidence, openness, and individual conflict management. They also developed the ground rules for the project and monitored progress. Discussions with parents led to changes in attitudes towards girls. For example, one 12-year-old girl who had been destined for early marriage was reprieved by her parents as a direct result of their participation in a workshop on discrimination against girls.
(Source: Gautam, Irada (1999). The Difficulties Girls Face in Families, Save the Children UK, Nepal)

CASE STUDY 5:
Alternative rites of passage in Kenya

The following case study shows the work done in Kenya by Save the Children Canada and local organisations and offers an excellent example of good practice to put children's rights and the CRC into practice when culture and tradition are appearing as obstacles. This case study also illustrates the implementation of the guiding principles for good practice. (See Save the Children Rights Programming, and see section 4 above.)

In Tharaka District of Kenya female genital mutilation (FGM) was considered mandatory for all girls and was carried out at puberty to mark the girl's maturity from childhood to womanhood (ages 13-16 years). Save the Children Canada started a programme with girls,

parents and community leaders addressing FGM as a violation of the rights of the girl child and educating them about the health risks involved in the practice. An anti-FGM campaign was organised with a small group of parents who opposed their daughters being mutilated. A model of alternatives to the traditional ritual, called Alternative Rites of Passage (ARP), was developed so the girls could graduate into womanhood without having to undergo FGM.

Local community members were trained as trainers, and the community fully participated in identifying with the campaign so community members own any process of change put in place to address FGM. *The methodology* employed through the ARP process in relation to FGM refers to organised ceremonies for young girls that adopt traditional rites and combine positive aspects of the traditional system with selected modern-day life education programmes. Community members, women, men and girls designed the ARP, ensuring that important aspects of the culture were taken into account. During the traditional week of seclusion the girls go through both formal and informal education sessions, which include lessons on personal hygiene, boy/girl relationships, traditional harmful practices, self-esteem, empowerment, and teachings on important aspects of their culture. The following *results* can have been seen:

- Since the project started in August 1996, over 1,700 girls have passed into adulthood without having to undergo FGM.
- In the Tharaka community the rate of girls being circumcised has dropped in 6 years from 98 per cent to 70 per cent.
- The community based trainers and members of local women's groups assisted Save the Children to develop a training manual for community based trainers, a facilitators' guide to ARP training.
- Community leaders now address FGM issues in public gatherings/meetings and some leaders have started taking action against traditional circumcisers.
- There is a general understanding that FGM has harmful health and social effects on the victims and should be discouraged.

  (Source: Jane Meme, Save the Children Canada, quoted in Thomson, (2003) p. 87)

6. Conclusion

This review of theoretical/conceptual approaches to gender-based violence, with a focus on human rights, development and gender, shows that, taken separately, each approach offers a fragmented explanation of the phenomenon. Integrating all perspectives into a holistic approach is essential to adequately understand the causes of gender-based violence and effectively move towards its elimination.

A development approach involves the intervention of development agencies (based in developed countries) aiming to improve the economic and socio-political conditions of people in developing countries. The development perspective often lacks a clear understanding that the rights of girls, boys and women have primacy over 'culture' and that 'culture' and 'tradition' can be interpreted in a manner many women, girls and boys who suffer gender-based violence in their societies would contest. In addition, development approaches have, in many cases, unconsciously commodified women and girls by viewing them as 'development actors', and intervening to enable them to 'participate in the economic process'.

The development approach clearly needs to make sure that NGOs relate to the populations that they work with from a human rights perspective, seeing them primarily as human beings entitled to rights, rather than simply as agents of development. This approach must also recognise the gendered nature of human rights. In the context of human rights, a gender analysis of unequal power relations in socio-economic and political structures provides a strong understanding of the causes of poverty and underdevelopment, as well as of the differential impacts — in terms of gender relations — that any development intervention will bring about. Finally, the gender approach, analysing unequal power relations between genders in all spheres of life, must be included in the human rights and the development perspectives. Understanding gender is the key to developing strategies of personal and social transformation to end violence, acknowledging that the causes and solutions to violence are at once personal, political and structural.

The human rights approach clearly conceptualises rights and obligations, and the individual's entitlement to demand State protection and redress against gender-based violence. In tackling gender-based violence against children, a rights-based approach appears as a solution. This is because rights-based approaches merge good development practices with human rights principles and use gender and power analysis to understand and address root causes. This holistic approach is set up in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, CEDAW and other international treaties; its implementation in practice, as the case studies show, offers effective and appropriate guidance to change harmful practices and transform those aspects of culture which sustain them.

Appendix 1: Forms of Gender-Based Violence against Children

	Specific Forms of Child Abuse	Gender Specific Connotations
Armed conflict and political violence (situations previous, during and after conflict; displaced populations; refugee camps)	• Risk of death or disability due to landmines • Torture • Child combatants/soldiers • Trafficking into prostitution • Use of children in pornography • Trafficking in children to work in enslavement situations (e.g. bondage)	• Girls might be at risk of dying due to a landmine explosion when walking to fetch water, or wood. Boys are at risk when playing in certain areas or herding animals. • Girls might suffer sexual torture (including rape; forced impregnation; forced abortion; torture when pregnant). • Boys recruited as soldiers or armed groups in conflict areas. • Girls involved in armed conflict might be used sexually by fellow male combatants to provide comfort. • Girls mainly, but also some boys, might be forced into prostitution or pornography. • Boys trafficked to work in mines, sugar plantations, etc.
Community violence (traditional practices involving violence; inter-caste and inter/religious violence; racial discrimination; deliberate discriminatory treatment of children involving violence and/or prejudicial to health)	• Forced marriage • Pre-natal sex selection • Infanticide • Rape • Honour killing • Acid throwing • Forced prostitution in religious temples • Dowry related abuse • Denied access to food, education and health • Sentenced to imprisonment for being raped • Genital mutilation	• Girls become domestic workers of their husband's families. • Girls are at risk of early pregnancy leading to maternal mortality since their bodies are not mature enough to give birth. • Baby girls are killed when only a few weeks old. • Girls are at higher risk of malnutrition and disease due to inadequate feeding and care. • Girls have less or no access to education. • In some countries boys are under-achieving and dropping out of school because they do not see its relevance in their lives.

		• Boys are at risk of being circumcised both in developed as well as in developing countries. • Girls are at risk of female genital mutilation. • Boys are forced to undergo painful and dangerous initiation rites in some cultures.
Structural poverty and negative impact of globalisation (children in the street; children enlisting or accepting hazardous work or combat to survive, or to feed their families; children given away, hired out, and/or sold by their parents)	• Trafficking in children to work in forced and/or hazardous labour; prostitution; pornography • Kidnapping and trade of babies and children for transplant of human organs • Children involvement in sexual tourism • Slavery bondage • Compulsory recruitment to the army or armed groups • Torture; rape; murder • Children used to transport or sell drugs	• Sexual tourism and the pornography industry put an overwhelming number of girls at risk, although boys are also at risk. • Teenage street mothers are at risk of having their babies abducted for human trafficking. • Boys are more likely to get involved with street gangs and their association with drugs. • Trafficking in girls for prostitution and pornography usually encompasses their "seasoning" by means of sexual torture and gang rape. • Homicides of street children overwhelmingly affect boys.
Violence In the Family	• Incest • Witnessing domestic violence • Physical, psychological, sexual or economic abuse; neglect, abandonment • Honour killing • Torture; mutilation; murder	• Gynaecological problems, STDs, HIV/AIDS, early sexual experience, infertility, unprotected sex, unwanted pregnancy, abortion, re-victimisation, high-risk behaviours, prostitution, substance abuse and suicide affect boys and girls differently. • Depression, suicide gestures or attempts, loss of 4.7 million years of productive life, death. • When witnessing domestic violence girls and boys learn about female subordination and male oppression.

Appendix 2: Internet Links for UN Conventions

UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)	http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html	10 December 1948
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-9.htm	10/12/1984
UN Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action	http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/ VIENNA.PDF	14-25 June 1993
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-7.htm	18/12/1979
UN Programme of Action of the UN ICPD Chapter IV – Gender Equality, Equity and Empowerment of Women	http://www.iisd.ca/linkages/Cairo/program/ p04000.html	5-13 September 1994 Cairo, Egypt
UN Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action	http://www.undp.org/fwcw/plat.htm	Beijing, 1995
UN Convention on the Rights of the Child	http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-10.htm	20/11/1989
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on involvement of children in armed conflicts	http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-11.htm	25/05/2000
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornograph	http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-12.htm	25/05/2000
Asian Human Rights Commission – Asian Carter	http://www.ahrchk.net/charter/index.php	22-11-2001

Children and
Gender-based Violence

African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child	http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/africa/afchild.htm	1990. Came into force Nov. 29, 1999.
ILO regulations on child labour	http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/decl/publ/reports/report3.htm	28 June 1930. Came into force 1 May 1932
General Conference of International Labour Organization. Forced Labour Convention	http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/31.htm	25 June 1957. Came into force, 17 January 1959
General Conference of the International Labour Organisation CCIL Abolition of Forced Labour Convention	http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/32.htm	Came into force 9 March 1927
UN Slavery Convention	http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/f2sc.htm	Came into force 19 November 2000
ILO Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour C182	http://ilolex.ilo.ch:1567/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C182	1973. Came into force 19 June 1976
ILO R190 Recommendations concerning the Prohibition of Worst Forms of Child Labour	http://ilolex.ilo.ch:1567/cgi-lex/convde.pl?R190	17 July 1998
C138 Minimum Age Convention for Admission to Employment C138	http://ilolex.ilo.ch:1567/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C138	Came into force 1 July 2002
UN Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC)	http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/romefra.htm	IT-96-23T
UN ICTY judgement 22 February 2001 declaring rape and enslavement for sexual purposes as a crime against humanity	http://www.un.org/icty/foca/trialc2/judgement/kun-tj010222e.pdf	IT-96-23/I-T In the Trial Chamber
Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War	http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/92.htm	12 August, 1949. Came into force 21 October 1950

Additional Protocols to the IV Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949	http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/iwpList74/77EA1BDEE20B4CCDC1256B6600595596	8 June 1977. Came into force 7 December 1977
UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement	http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/pub/idp_gp/idp.html	1998
Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others	http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/33.htm	2 December 1949. Came into force 25 July 1951
SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution	http://www.saarc-sec.org/publication/conv-traffiking.pdf	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation May 1997
World Summit for Social Development and Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action	http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/wssd/documents/	A/CONF.166/9
Programme of Action of the United Nations International Conference on Population & Development (ICPD)	http://www.iisd.ca/linkages/cairo.html	5-13 September 1994 Cairo, Egypt
Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally	http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/27.htm	Adopted by General Assembly resolution 41/85 of 3 December 1986
SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution	http://www.saarc-sec.org/publication/conv-traffiking.pdf	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation May 1997
UN Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age	http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/63.htm	7 November 1962. Came into force 9 December 1964, in accordance with article 6

References

Action Aid India (1994). *Violent Homes: A Study of Shakti Shalini's Experience with Women Victims of Domestic Violence.* New Delhi: Action Aid.

AI (2001). *Amnesty International Campaign Against Torture.* London: AI.

Beasly, M. E. and Thomas, D. Q. (1994*). "*Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue," in Finemann, M.A. and Mykitiuk, R.(eds.) *The Public Nature of Private Violence*, London: Routledge.

Casa-Alianza (2002). *La Sangre de los Niños Fluye en Guatemala.* (Poor children's blood in Guatemala). Email received from owner-respuesta-rapida@casa-alianza.org, 10th December.

Cockburn, C. (2001). "The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence", in Moser, C. and Clark, F. (eds.), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London: Zed Books.

Child and Woman Abuse Study Unit (2002). *Facts on domestic violence.* (http://www.cwasu.org/factsonsac1.htm#Defining%20Domestic%20Violence).

Dobash, R. E. and Dobash, R. (1980). *Violence Against Wives. A Case Against Patriarchy.* London: Open Books.

Gautam, I. (1999). *The Difficulties Girls Face in Families*, Save the Children UK Katmandu.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998). *Conference on Gender-Based Violence.* (http://www.ippf.org/resource/gbv/ma98/2.htm).

Jaising, I. (1995). "Violence against Women: The Indian Perspectives", in Peters J. and Wolper A. (eds.) *Women's Rights/ Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives.* New York Routledge.

Moser, C. (2001). "The Gendered Continuum of Violence and Conflict. An Operational Framework", in Moser, C. and Clark, F. (eds.), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London: Zed Books.

Moser, C. and Winton, A. (w/d) *Violence in the Central American Region: Towards an Integrated Framework for Violence Reduction.* Working Paper 171. Overseas Development Institute.

Neft, N. and Levine, A. D. (1997). *Where Women Stand: An International Report on the Status of Women in 140 Countries, 1997-1998.* Random House, New York.

NGO Shadow Report to CEDAW – South Africa (1998). *Violence against Women.* South Africa: Masimanyane CEDAW Working Group.

Panos Briefing (1998). *The Intimate Enemy: Gender Violence and Reproductive Health.* No 27. London: Panos.

Pickup, F. with Williams S. and Sweetman, C. (2001). *Ending Violence Against Women: A Challenge for Development.* Oxford: Oxfam.

Save the Children (1999). *Gender Equity Policy*, International Save the Children Alliance, London.

Save the Children (2002). *Child Rights Programming: how to apply rights-based approaches in programming.* A Handbook for Save the Children Alliance members. International Save the Children Alliance, London.

Save the Children (2003). *Gender Guidelines for Child Right Programming* (cd-rom), Save the Children Alliance, London.

Thomson M. w/others (2003). *Rights of Passage, Harmful Cultural Practices and Children's Rights,* Working paper no. 25, Save the Children UK

UN (1996). IV UN World Conference on Women. Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. UN Publications: New York.

UN (2002). *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children. Special Concerns.* (http://www.un.org/rights/concerns.htm)

(http://www.un.org/icty/foca/trialc2/judement/kun-tj010222e.pdf).

UNICEF (1997) *Children and Violence.* Innocenti digest, No. 2. Florence: UNICEF.

WHO/UNICEF/UNFPA (2000) Female Genital Mutilation. A Joint WHO/UNICEF/ UNFPA Statement (http://www.who.int/inf-fs/en/fact241.html).

WHO (2002) *Database on Violence against Women.* (http://www.who.int/frh-whd/)

WHO (2002) *Female Genital Mutilation. Programmes to date: What Works and What Doesn't?* (http://www.who.int/frh-whd/PDFfiles/Programmes%20to%20Date.pdf)

Save the Children fights for children's rights. We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.

Save the Children