A woman with a red headscarf and a long red dress is walking across a gravelly field. In the background, there is a fence made of wooden posts and a blue sky with scattered clouds.

SURVEY ON THE PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COLOMBIAN ARMED CONFLICT (2010-2015)



**VIOLACIONES
Y OTRAS VIOLENCIAS**
SAQUEN MI CUERPO DE LA GUERRA



**SURVEY ON THE
PREVALENCE OF
SEXUAL VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN
IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE COLOMBIAN
ARMED CONFLICT
(2010-2015)**



Survey on the prevalence of sexual violence against women in the context of the Colombian armed conflict 2010-2015

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Presentation

Results of the
survey, its
objectives and
the context it is
implemented in



The survey of the prevalence of sexual violence against women in the context of the 2010-2015 armed conflict is a tool that helps raise awareness about the threats and conditions of vulnerability that women have experienced in the framework of the armed conflict. The results of the survey demonstrate that sexual violence can be classified as widespread in this context during this period. In addition, the survey contributes to the production of more information about sexual violence and raises awareness about the occurrence of this crime and its persistence, despite the police reports made by women and their organizations. The study constructs the vision of female victims of violence, who from their diverse and multiple identities, bodies, geographic locations and socio-economic conditions, had the courage, generosity and trust to open their homes and share their pain.

The information produced by this survey of the 2010-2015 period shows a level prevalence of sexual violence against women of **18.36%** in the 142 municipalities that had a presence of the armed forces, guerrilla groups, paramilitaries or BACRIM.¹ This level of prevalence is calculated from the 875,437 females who were direct victims of some type of sexual violence during the six-year period covered by this study.

This data demonstrates that on average 145,906 females were direct victims of some type of sexual violence every year, 12,158 victims every month, 400 every day and 16 victims of sexual violence every hour. In conclusion, it is possible to infer that sexual violence is a habitual and frequent practice in accordance with international law.²

The survey was carried out in the framework of the "Violations and other Violence: Get My Body Out of the War" Campaign that emerged in 2009 as a partnership between women and feminist, victim and human rights organizations with the goal of raising awareness about sexual violence against women in the framework of the armed conflict, having an impact on impunity for this crime and demanding the rights of female victims to truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition.

1. One of the security issues that is still debated in the country is what to call the groups that emerged after the paramilitary demobilization. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP) continue to call these groups part of paramilitary groups. The national government seems to have eliminated the previously used concept of Criminal Groups or BACRIM and has opted for the term Organized Crime. Meanwhile, some think tanks speak of post-demobilization paramilitary groups (Ávila, 2016).

2. Widespread can be defined as "massive, frequent, action on a large scale, carried out collectively with considerable seriousness and multiple victims". The Ad Hoc Court for Rwanda – Judgement Chamber. Akayesu Case. Judgement of September 2, 1998, paragraph 580.

3. 48% of the women consider that the presence of armed actors in the municipalities increases sexual violence in the private domain and 56.5% of the women consider that the presence of armed actors in the municipalities increases violence in the public domain.

This campaign is promoted by Oxfam in association with: Mothers Opening Paths (Madres Abriendo Caminos) Women's Association (AMMAC); Network Association of Female Victims and Professionals; Santa Rita Association for Education and Promotion- FUNSAREP; Centre for Promotion and Culture (CPC); Regional Centre for Human Rights and Gender Justice (Humanas Colombia); Coalition against the Involvement of Children and Young People in the Armed Conflict (COALICO); José Alvear Restrepo Lawyers' Collective; Women's House Corporation; Woman Follow in My Footprints Corporation; Let's Go Women Corporation; Current Humanity Legal Corporation; and Peaceful Women's Route.

Ethical and security considerations

The implementation of this survey rigorously followed the recommendations published by the World Health Organization for addressing ethical and security issues in research about violence against women (World Health Organization, 1999; Valdez, 2004, p.428). These recommendations acknowledge that there are aspects about research into sexual violence that transcend research of other issues due to the potentially threatening and traumatic nature of this violence. In the case of sexual violence, the safety and even the lives of the women that provide information and those responsible for obtaining it can be in danger. For this reason, the survey took into account the following ethical imperatives: 1) Guarantee the safety of the women that provided information and the people responsible for collecting it. This aspect is heavily connected to the need to guarantee privacy/confidentiality when conducting the survey; 2) Ensure that the people who take on the role of collecting information have specific training so that they are able to adequately manage the emotional impact that the women could experience talking about the violence they suffered in the past or are currently experiencing; and 3) provide information to the women interviewed about the assistance mechanisms that they can turn to if they require support (González S, 2008).

It was very important in the field work that the women who collected the information explained the confidentiality procedures and the strictly academic purpose of the survey.

An informed consent form was created and general guidelines were designed for cases when the survey takers considered that the women interviewed required specialized assistance. Information was also delivered about the assistance

mechanisms available for female victims of violence. The women that took on the role of field work supervisor and participated in the application of the ENVISE⁴ (2010-2015) had prior experience conducting surveys and working in the field in areas that aren't where they live. The training they received over two days covered the following issues and activities: a) objectives of the study; b) conducting the survey; c) defining the roles of who collects information and who supervises the field work; and d) raising awareness to support the situations of raped women and to help them manage their own emotions that result from constantly hearing testimonies of violence. For this last point, one of the psychologists from the Women's House Corporation participated who specialized in managing cases of violence. A workshop was held on emotional management techniques so that the women that participated in applying ENVISE were prepared to support crisis situations.

The context in which the survey was implemented

The current study was implemented in a national context characterized by the confluence of a set of events, actors and factors. The first element that is important to note is related to the dialogue for the political solution of the armed conflict between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP)⁵ and the national government of Colombia. In second place, the emergence and strengthening of Criminal Groups – also known as neo-paramilitary groups, and the threats these groups represent to security, women and the implementation of the "Final Agreement to End the Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace".

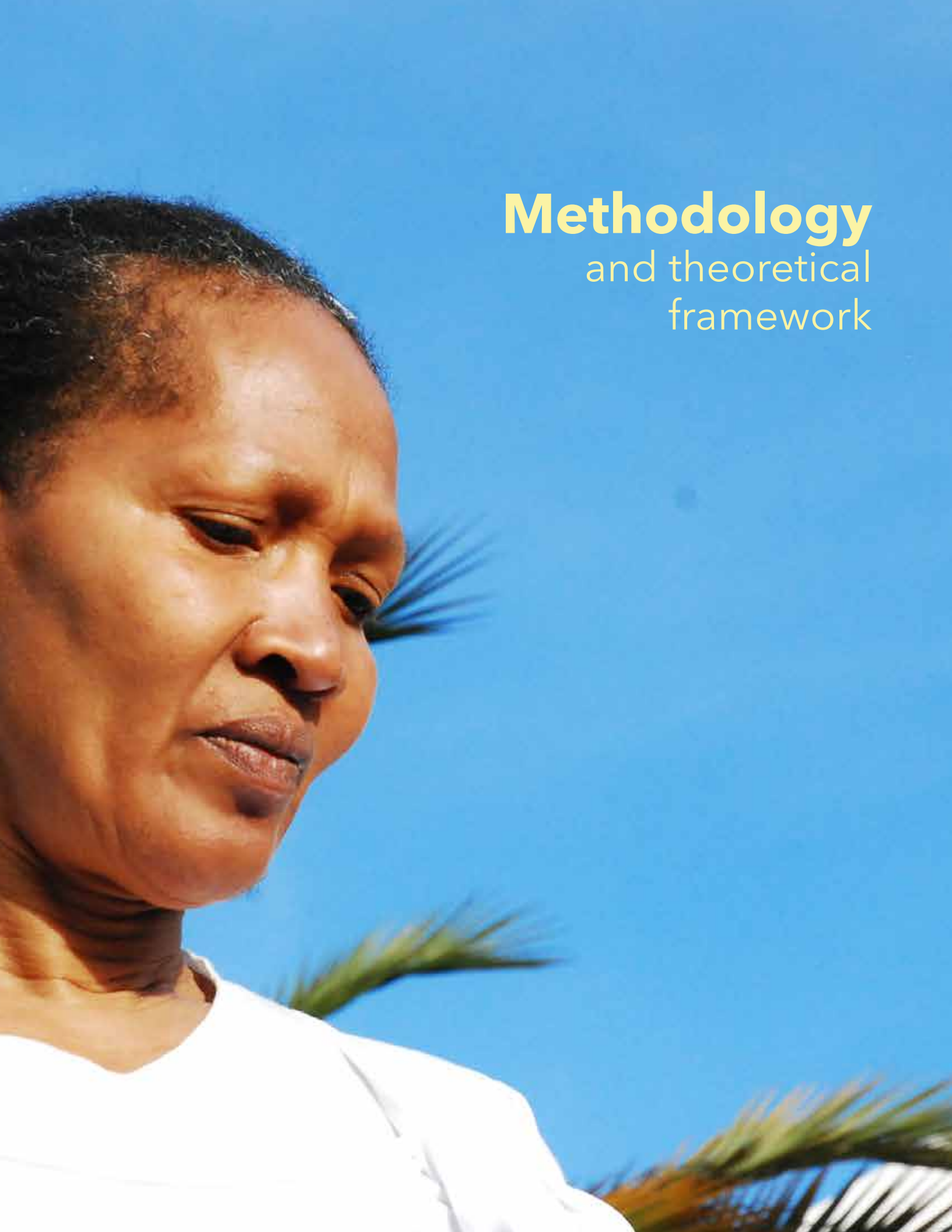
In terms of the first element, it is important to highlight that as a result of the peace agreement that was reached, the guerrilla is strongly committed to abandoning the armed struggle, leaving violence behind, complying with the rule of law and laying down their arms to become a political force. In exchange, the Government of Colombia is committed to granting guarantees of promotion, prevention, participation and security so that the ex-combatants can compete for political power without weapons.

An important aspect of these negotiations for the end of the armed conflict is related to placing the victims at the centre of the agreement and including the Integrated System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-repetition in Point 5.

4. ENVISE: This is the acronym in Spanish for the survey on the prevalence of sexual violence in the period 2010–2015 against females in the context of the Colombian armed conflict
5. Described as the FARC – EP in the rest of this document.

Three important entities have been created for women in this system: The Commission for Truth, Coexistence and Non-repetition; the Special Unit to Search for Disappeared Persons in the context of the armed conflict; and the Special Peace Jurisdiction. The creation of a special group for the investigation of sexual violence and violence against women is being considered that determines the responsibility of the aggressors and how women have been affected by the armed conflict. This study aims to contribute to this process.





Methodology

and theoretical
framework

The survey is defined as an exploratory study in that it has the objective of formulating a problem in order to achieve a more precise study possible or develop a hypothesis (based on establishing casual relationships or the need to go into more detail in a specific area). An exploratory study can have other functions: increase the familiarity of the researchers with the phenomenon they want to investigate with a more in-depth study later; clarify concepts; establish preferences for future investigations; collect information about possible practices to investigate in other studies in the framework of new realities; and provide a description of problems that are considered urgent for people that work in a specific field of social relationships (Selltitz et al., 1959).

However, and although in general terms we have described this as an exploratory study, it seems appropriate to also consider it as an initial stage in a continuous research process. Given the lack of studies on this issue, the survey is an initial stage that will help us, based on outreach work in the field, to establish research questions and a hypothesis that needs to be addressed in future studies. These subsequent studies will help validate the results of the study in terms of their level of generalization and specificity.

In methodological terms, the current study was conducted using a quantitative perspective in that recognizes the magnitude of this type of violence, its dynamics, victims and the authors of the sexual violence in the context of the armed conflict. Specifically, the survey measures the prevalence⁶ of behaviour linked to sexual violence against women in the context of the armed conflict during the 2010-2015 period in municipalities that experienced armed clashes confrontations between the armed forces, guerrilla groups and criminal groups or paramilitaries.

The sample for the study was selected using the following methodology: municipalities were chosen randomly (primary sampling units)⁷ based on the risk reports provided by the Ombudsman's Office. These municipalities experienced confrontations between the armed forces, guerrilla groups and criminal gangs or paramilitaries during the 2010-2015 period. Subsequently, the results of the survey are representative for women between 15 and 44 years of age that live in the urban centres of the 142 municipalities distributed across 29 departments of the country. The sampling method used is Stratified Multistage Sampling. In order to estimate the size of the sample, a prevalence is considered of 50% with a sample error of 5%. The sample size was 1,954 women. Additionally, the sampling design had a level of reliability of 95% and



6. Proportion of individuals from a group or population that have a specific characteristic or event in a determined period or moment.

7. The sample units correspond to municipalities, blocks, houses, homes and women with the target age range of the investigation.

an accuracy rate that guarantees that errors in the sample are less than 6% of the total.

The municipalities included in the sampling framework were classified in four strata, as detailed in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Distribution of the municipalities according to sampling strata ⁸

| | Category | Inclusion criteria (women) | # of municipalities |
|----------|-----------------------------|---|---------------------|
| Strata 1 | Main cities | More than 400,000 people | 5 |
| Strata 2 | Intermediate cities | Between 160,000 and less than 400,000 | 9 |
| Strata 3 | Medium-sized municipalities | Between 35,000 and less than 160,000 people | 21 |
| Strata 4 | Small municipalities | Less than 35,000 | 107 |

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENVISE 2010 – 2015 survey.

The municipalities were selected using a sample design that was proportional to the size of each strata. The municipalities included in the sample were:

TABLE 2: Municipalities of the sample

| Department | Municipality | Strata in the sample | Sample size |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Magdalena | Plato | 4 | 78 |
| Quindío | La Tebaida | 4 | 68 |
| Meta | Puerto López | 4 | 65 |
| Norte de Santander | Tibú | 4 | 61 |
| Sucre | Sincelejo | 3 | 105 |
| La Guajira | Riohacha | 3 | 103 |
| Nariño | San Andrés de Tumaco | 3 | 89 |
| Caquetá | Florencia | 3 | 83 |
| Norte de Santander | Cúcuta | 2 | 158 |
| Valle del Cauca | Buenaventura | 2 | 142 |
| Cundinamarca | Bogotá | 1 | 246 |
| Antioquia | Medellín | 1 | 229 |
| Valle del Cauca | Cali | 1 | 223 |
| Atlántico | Barranquilla | 1 | 159 |
| Bolívar | Cartagena de Indias | 1 | 145 |

8. The number of women at risk was used as an auxiliary variable, three strata are defined as a probabilistic inclusion and distributed from 2 to 4 as shown in the following table. Strata 1 is forced inclusion

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENVISE 2010 – 2015 Survey

The characteristics of the departments and municipalities linked to the dynamic of the armed conflict had consequences as it was not possible to collect information in Tibú, San Andres de Tumaco and Florencia due to security concerns, as well as for other reasons. This would have caused too high of a risk for the women interviewed and the team responsible for collecting the information.

In the first case, the Municipality of Tibú was replaced by San Martin de los Llanos in the Department of Meta, Florencia was replaced by Santander de Quilichao and San Andres de Tumaco was replaced by Arauca.⁹

Socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the women surveyed

Of the women surveyed, 48% are between 35 and 44 years of age, 29% are between 25 and 34 years and 23% are between 15 and 24 years of age. 42.2% of the women surveyed live in homes in socio-economic strata 2, 40% live in homes defined as strata 1 and 17% live in homes classified as strata 3. In terms of the ethnic group they belong to, 36% of the women surveyed are mixed race, 19% are white, 17% are afro-descendant and 5% are indigenous. It is worth highlighting that 21% of the women surveyed did not identify as belonging to any ethnic group.

Of the women surveyed, 40% are single, 35.5% live in a civil union with their partner, 17.7% are married, 3.3% are separated or divorced and 3.4% are widows. 30% of the women surveyed have completed high school, 24% have not finished high school and 18.8% have either completed or not completed primary school. 14% have either completed or uncompleted technical studies and 11.3% have completed or not completed a university degree. In terms of the women's work, 50% are responsible for domestic care work in their homes, 27.7% work independently and / or have their own business, 10.4% are employees in the private sector and 6.3% are employees in the public sector. In terms of the position that the surveyed women have in the home, 35.6% are spouses, 34% are single mothers and 25.3% are daughters.

9. Methodology for the selection of replacement municipalities: To replace the Primary Sampling Units (municipalities), it was taken into account that the replacement municipality should be classified in a similar sampling strata with a similar probability of inclusion. It is important to highlight that the selection of these municipalities was made based on a random selection from the group of municipalities that were included in the sampling framework.

The approach used in the research study

From a theoretical point of view, the research approach was framed in feminist theory¹⁰, which understands violence against women as a continuation of violence in their lives and not as disconnected expressions of anger or men losing control. ¹¹ As a result, sexual violence was considered in its multiple expressions and not just as rape or sexual harassment. For the survey, the spectrum of violence was broadened and included some forms of violence classified by the Colombian criminal code and others that have yet to be classified, such as the regulation of a person's social life.

There were eight types of sexual violence covered by the survey: rape; prostitution; pregnancy; abortion; forced sterilization; sexual harassment; forced domestic services; and the regulation of social and emotional life.

i. Rape is understood as an act of forcing another person to have sexual relationships or contact by threatening them with mechanisms of violence or using these mechanisms against them (ranging from physical violence to psychological to even symbolic) (Slaughter L., 2009, p.64).

ii. Forced prostitution was understood in this study as the action or set of actions carried out by a person or groups that have the aim of obtaining the imposition of sexual services through threats or other forms of violence in exchange for which the victim or usually the person who controls the victim receives monetary benefits. Forced sexual slavery is included in this category, which assumes the availability of the women's body for sexual use and where the social customs or legal protection that would normally limit the actions of a slave owner have no effect in this context (Sanchis, 2011, p.917).

iii. Forced pregnancy is understood as an action of control that affects pregnant woman. The desire for domination aims to ensure the continuation of their pregnancy or birth of their child against the will of this mother. This pregnancy can be the result of a rape, but this is not always the case. Additionally, on many occasions this attempt at control includes the unlawful confinement of the pregnant woman.

iv. Forced abortion defined as the set of actions that aim to abort a pregnancy against the will of the pregnant woman (Echeverri, 2002, p. 57).

10. This type of analysis tries to explain and interpret violence against women as an expression of the relationships of oppression, subordination and social injustice that they are subject to and as power devices that the patriarchal socio-sexual system uses to maintain, recreate and reproduce these relationships.

11. RADFORD and RUSSELL; 1992, p.34

v. Forced sterilization is considered in this study to be a forced reproductive planning action without the consent of the affected woman.

vi. Sexual harassment is understood as any pressure or insinuation that a woman does not desire and receives as part of the desire for sexual satisfaction of the person engaging in this harassment. It is clear that sexual harassment can take place through proposals, offenses, obscene gestures or sexual comments (MacKinnon, 1979; Fileborn, 2013).

vii. Forced domestic services have been defined as the action or set of actions through which a group of people (although it can also be one person) that have power forces a woman to carry out domestic tasks for them, which can transcend to sexual acts.

viii. The regulation of social life is understood as the act or set of acts that, through the use of force or the threat of force aims to establish behavioural and social conduct patterns. The main forms of regulating social life are controlling sexuality and the regulation of emotional life (Echeverri, 2002, p. 57).





**Estimates of
sexual violence
against women in
the context of
the Colombian
armed conflict**

Mujeres no parimos hijos e hijas para la guerra

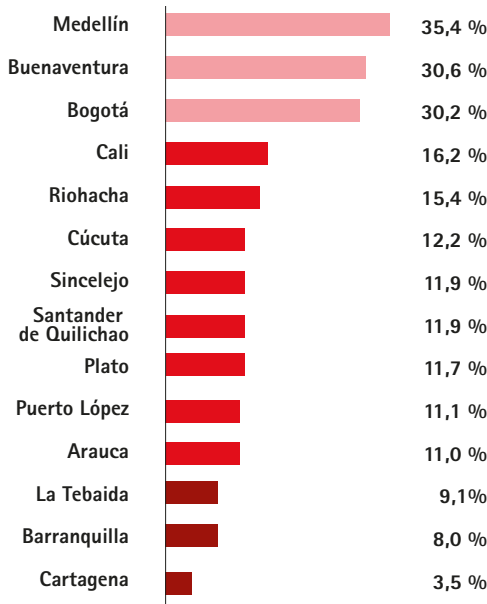
VERSIÓN 2014 - 2015



As mentioned in the presentation of the document, the prevalence of sexual violence for the period studied (2010-2015) in the 142 municipalities with the presence of the armed forces, guerrilla and BACRIM neo-paramilitary groups was estimated at 18.36%¹², which means that 875,437 women are calculated to be direct victims of some type of sexual violence.

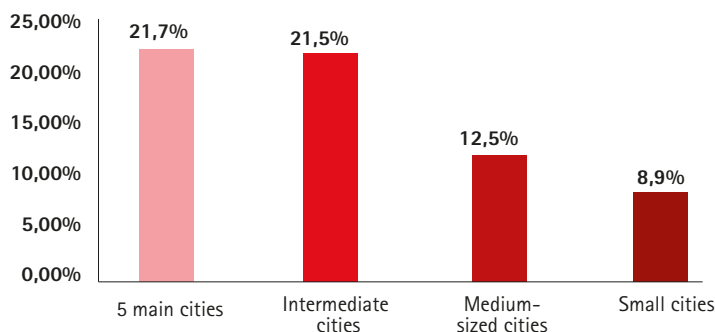
The following chart shows the prevalence of sexual violence against women in the framework of the armed conflict in the municipalities included in the sample.

Chart 1: Prevalence of sexual violence in the 15 municipalities included in the sample (2010-2015)



Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENVISE 2010 – 2015 Survey.

Chart 2: Prevalence of sexual violence in the sample municipalities grouped by size.



Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENVISE 2010 – 2015 Survey

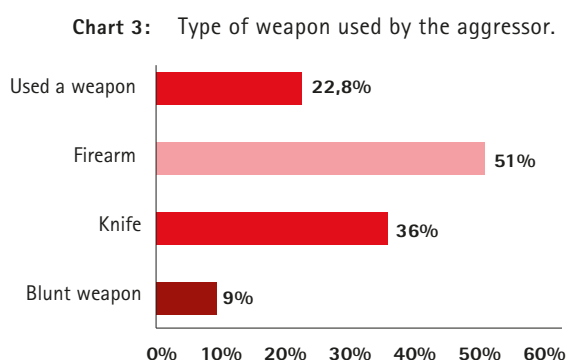
These charts show the prevalence of sexual violence in the survey's sample municipalities and the level of prevalence in the five main cities, intermediate cities, medium-sized municipalities and small municipalities represented in the universe of the survey represented by the sample, consisting of 142 municipalities.

The result demonstrates that sexual violence in the municipalities impacted by the armed conflict has a diverse and complex behaviour, given that there are significant differences between small municipalities and large cities:

12. The data of the prevalence is based on the number of women in the age range that were affected at least once by some form of sexual violence during the 2010-2015 period compared to the total number of women in the age range that could be affected by this type of violence during the established period. Taking into account that there are no official disaggregated projections by sex, age groups and areas (in this case for the urban centre) for 2016, the probabilistic sampling helped estimate the total number of women in the age range that live in the 142 municipalities that form the target universe of this study (for this case, populations in urban centres) for 2016. This data was used for the calculation of the prevalence rate, taking into account that it is reliable data and very close to the year of interest.

major cities such as Medellín and Bogotá have a prevalence rate above 30%. In terms of grouping the municipalities by size, in the main and intermediate cities the prevalence rate of sexual violence is similar, being above 21.5%. Women residing in the small municipalities are at less risk of being victim of some form of sexual violence than women living in other urban centres. As the population size of the municipality increases, so does the prevalence of female victims of sexual violence, demonstrating a major leap from medium sized municipalities to intermediate and main cities, with the risk of being a victim growing by 9%.

The survey identified the following results when investigating the type of weapon used by the aggressors: one out of every five female victims of some type of sexual violence was intimidated by their aggressor with a weapon. Of these, half were threatened with a firearm and one in three with a knife.



Source: Prepared by the authors based on ENVISe 2010 – 2015.

Disaggregated results according to socio-demographic characteristics

When analysing the female victims of sexual violence according to their ethnic group, age, type of municipality and socio-economic strata, the survey identified the following results:

- With a substantial statistical difference, the proportion of women that recognize having been victims of sexual violence and recognize being afro-descendant is higher than women from the other ethnic groups (afro-descendant 11.7%, indigenous 5.06%, mixed race 9.71% and others 8.23%).
- The proportion of female victims is greater for those between the ages of 15 to 24 than other age ranges (15 to 24: 11.1%, 25 to 34: 8.6% and 35 to 44: 9.0%).
- The proportion of female victims is higher for women living in socio-economic strata 1 than other socio-economic strata (Strata 1: 10.5%, Strata 2: 9.5% and Strata 3: 6.8%).

In summary, this set of estimations helps propose the hypothesis that afro-descendant females between the ages of 15 and 24 who belong to socio-economic strata 1 are more exposed to being victims of sexual violence than women from other ethnic groups, other age ranges and other socio-economic strata.

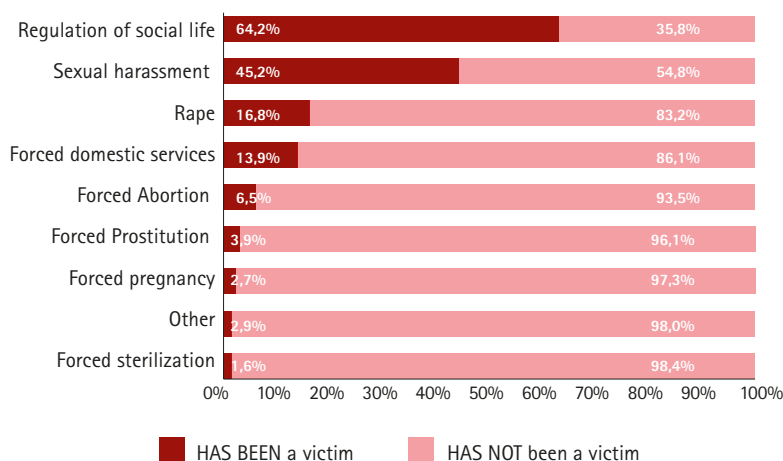
Female victims of sexual violence according to the forms of violence that they experienced

Analysing the female victims according to each of the types of sexual violence proposed in this study distributed according to ethnic group, age, socio-economic strata and the size of the cities where they live, the survey identified the following:

The proportion of female victims is greater for types of sexual violence related to regulating social life (64.2%) and sexual harassment (45.2%) than for other types of violence. On the other hand, of the females that have been victims of sexual violence, 16.7% have been raped, 13.9% have been victims of forced domestic service, 6.49% have been victims of forced abortion, 3.85% have been victims of forced prostitution, 2.68% have been victims of forced pregnancy and 1.63% have been victims of forced sterilization.

The following chart summarizes the percentage of women that have been victims according to the type of sexual violence included in the survey on the prevalence of sexual violence in the framework of the armed conflict.

Chart 4: Distribution of female victims according to type of sexual violence.



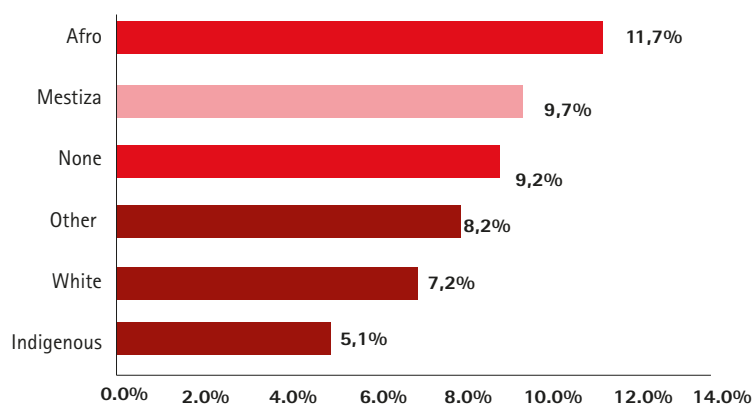
Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENIVSE 2010 – 2015 Survey.

- The proportion of female victims of the types of sexual violence related to regulating social life, forced domestic service, sexual harassment, forced sterilization, forced pregnancy, forced abortion and forced prostitution is higher for women who live in socio-economic strata 2 than women from other strata.
- The proportion of female victims of the types of sexual violence related to regulating social life, forced domestic services, sexual harassment and forced pregnancy is higher for women that are between the ages of 15 to 24 than women from other age ranges.
- The proportion of female victims of the types of sexual violence related to regulating social life and forced prostitution is higher in small municipalities with less than 35,000 people than women who live in major cities, intermediate cities and medium-sized municipalities.
- The proportion of female victims of the types of sexual violence related to forced domestic services and rape is higher in medium-sized municipalities than in the main cities and small municipalities.
- The proportion of female victims of the type of sexual violence related to sexual harassment is higher for afro-descendant women than the other ethnic groups, and this occurs more frequently in the main cities than in intermediate cities, small municipalities and medium-sized municipalities.
- The proportion of female victims of the types of sexual violence related to regulating social life, forced domestic service, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, forced prostitution and rape is higher for women whose aggressor was a family member compared to other actors defined as aggressors.
- The proportion of female victims of the types of sexual violence related to sexual harassment and forced sterilization is higher for women whose aggressor was not a family member compared to women who were victims of family members.

In summary, this study helps us establish that the main forms of sexual violence reported by female victims were the regulation of social life and sexual harassment. As proposed by the Constitutional Court, these forms of violence are a very clear manifestation of "the open restrictions to exercising self-determination and the basic freedoms of the female population, in the sense that women are submitted to stereotypical regulations and biases that tell them how to dress, the time to leave and arrive, their movements in public, entertainment spots, the company they keep, personal hygiene norms, development of their sexual and emotional lives and their moral behaviour" (Constitutional Court, 2015, p.16). The estimates presented here help us to propose the hypothesis that the types of sexual violence included in this study differentially affect women based on their racial origin.

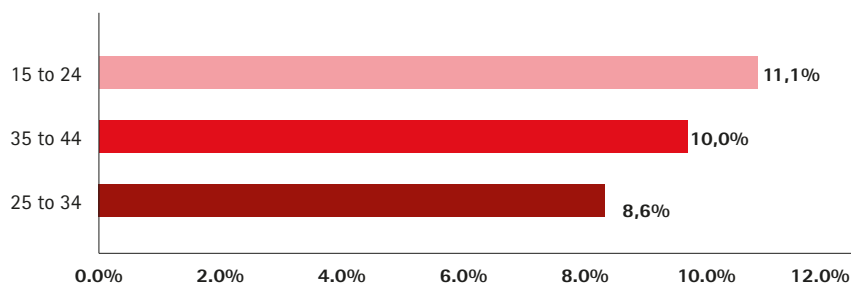
The following charts show the prevalence of sexual violence committed against women that live in the context of the armed conflict in the target municipalities of this study, disaggregated by ethnicity and age.

Chart 5: Distribution of female victims of sexual violence in the framework of the conflict according to ethnicity.



Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENVISE 2010 – 2015 Survey.

Chart 6: Distribution of female victims of sexual violence in the framework of the armed conflict according to age.

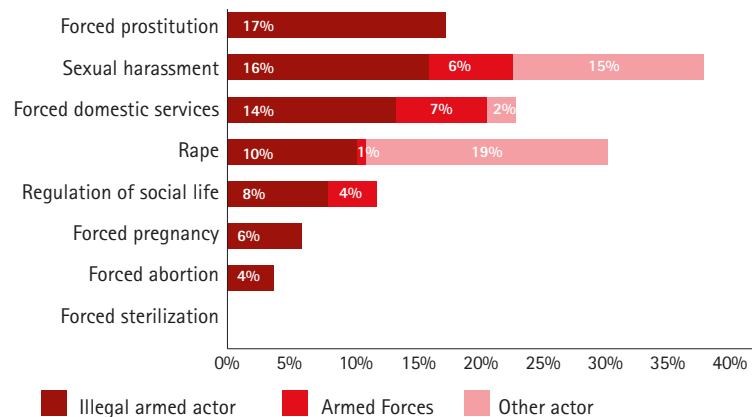


Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENVISE 2010 – 2015 Survey

The two previous charts demonstrate that afro-descendant females and females aged younger than 24 are at a greater risk of being victims of sexual violence in the framework of the armed conflict.

The following chart summarizes, the percentage of women that reported the aggressor to be an illegal armed actor, member of the armed forces or an undetermined actor for each type of sexual violence.

Chart 7: Distribution of the types of sexual violence against females committed by actors of the armed conflict.



Source: Prepared by the authors based on ENVISE 2010–2015

Amongst the armed actors, illegal armed actors are the greatest aggressors of the different types of sexual violence. The armed forces have mainly perpetrated sexual harassment (6%), forced domestic service (7%) and rape (1%). Other unidentified actors have committed sexual harassment (15%) and rape (19%).

In terms of the type of aggressors, an important finding is that the main perpetrator of the different forms of sexual violence committed against women that were included in this study is a member of their own family (with the exception of sexual harassment and forced sterilization).

In terms of the participation of family members as the main aggressors against female victims, it is important to take into account what was mentioned by the Constitutional Court in Court Order 009 of 2015¹³ regarding how acts of sexual violence against women are recorded in contexts of structural gender violence and discrimination. This is because these barbaric acts have been generally perpetrated by unarmed actors belonging to circles close to these women. Additionally, this ruling establishes that the presence of armed actors in the municipalities increases

13. Through which the second and third order of court order 092 of 2008 is monitored concerning transferring cases of sexual violence to the Attorney General of the Nation and the creation and implementation of a program to prevent the impact of gender through the Prevention of Extraordinary Gender Risks in the framework of the Armed Conflict and the Program to Prevent Sexual Violence against Displaced Women and Integrated Assistance to its Victims in the framework of monitoring Sentence T-025 of 2004. Constitutional Court, Special Court for Monitoring Sentence T-025 of 2004, Court Order 009 of January 27, 2015.

and strengthens the risk of sexual violence against women, despite the fact that this violence is generally not being perpetrated by these actors but by the victims' family members.

Even though the main aggressors of the different forms of sexual violence against women that are covered in this study are relatives, this can't be interpreted as an alien phenomenon in accordance with this legislation or without any relationship to the context of the armed conflict because it traverses Colombian society. On the contrary, the persistence of the conflict is the main contextual factor that submits women to the high probabilities of victimization and re-victimization, particularly associated with being victims of sexual violence.

Disaggregation by type of sexual violence

Female victims of regulation of social life.

60% of the female victims of regulation of social life reported that the events related to this violence occur in private spaces such as their own home. Other aggressors for this type of violence are non-family members (17%), illegal armed actors (8%) and other undetermined actors (3.8%). 60% of the females were victims of this form of violence more than three times. By ethnic group, mixed race females between 25 and 34 from socio-economic strata 3 and small municipalities are the main victims of this form of violence perpetrated by family members. Afro-descendant females between 35 and 44 years of age from intermediate cities were the main victims of this form of violence perpetrated by illegal armed actors.

Female victims of forced domestic service

88% of the female victims of forced domestic service reported that the events occur in the private space of their own homes. Other aggressors in these cases of violence are non-family members (24.1%), illegal armed actors (13.5%) and members of the Armed Forces (7.25%). 68% of the females were victims of this form of violence more than three times. In the cases in which the aggressor was a family member, the main victims were mixed race females between 25 and 34 years of age.

Female victims of forced pregnancy

38.7% of the female victims of forced pregnancy reported that the events occurred in their own homes. Other aggressors in the case of female victims of forced pregnancy are non-family members (44.7%) and illegal armed actors (6.1%).

29% of the female victims of this type of violence were victims of this form of violence once and 12.5% said they were victims more than three times.

Female victims of forced abortion

55% of the female victims of forced abortion reported that the events occurred in the private space (their homes) and 7% in public spaces. Other aggressors in the case of female victims of forced abortion are non-family members (18%) and illegal armed actors (3.83%). 56% of the female victims stated that they have been victims of this form of violence on one occasion and 14% on more than three occasions.

Female victims of forced prostitution

16.5% of the female victims of forced prostitution stated that these events occurred in the private space and 11.6% in the public space. Other aggressors include non-family members (33.3%) and illegal armed actors (17.4%). 22% of the female victims reported that they had been victims of this form of violence on more than three occasions.

Female victims of rape

92.5% of the female victims of rape stated that this crime was committed at least once in a private space and 84.3% reported that this occurred at least once in a public space. Other aggressors in the case of female victims of rape include non-family members (34%), illegal armed actors (10.2%), members of the Armed Forces (0.93%) and other undetermined actors (19%). 43% of the female victims of rape stated that they had been victims of this form of violence on one occasion and 36% said they have been victims of rape on more than three occasions.

Female victims of sexual harassment

50.8% of the female victims of sexual harassment stated that the events occurred in the private space and 35% in the public space. Other aggressors in the case of female victims of sexual harassment are family members (29.4%), illegal armed actors (16.2%), members of the Armed Forces (6.4%) and other undetermined actors (15.2%). 67% of the female victims stated that they were victims of this form of violence more than three times.

Female victims of forced sterilization

51% of the female victims of forced sterilization stated that the events occurred in the privacy of their own homes while 44.4% stated that it occurred in public spaces. Another important aggressor in the case of these victims were family members (25.3%).

Reports made by female victims of sexual violence.

78% of the women who said they were victims of sexual violence did not report the events. This means that approximately 620,418 women did not report the sexual violence they suffered while only 20%, which represents 174,990 women, reported that they had been victims of some form of violence. 2% did not respond to the question if they reported or did not report the victimising event to the relevant authorities. In terms of the institutions where reports were made, 51% of respondents reported the crime to the did Public Prosecutor's office, 18.5% to the Family Police, 15% to the police and 5.3% to the Ombudsman's Office. According to the women that did not report the crime, the most recurring reasons this were: fear of reprisals (24%); not interested in reporting it (23.3%); did not believe in nor trust the justice system (12.2%); did not want the family to find out (9%); and did not know how to do it (6%).

Below is a table with data on the institutions where female victims of sexual violence in the framework of the armed conflict reported this crime:

TABLE 3: Institutions where victims reported the crime.

| | Reported being a victim |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Public Prosecutor's Office | 51,06% |
| Ombudsman | 5,37% |
| Police | 14,92% |
| Colombian Family Welfare Institute | 1,26% |
| Family Police | 18,57% |
| Ombudsman's Office | 0,74% |
| No Information | 8,08% |
| Total (Universe Represented) | 161767 |

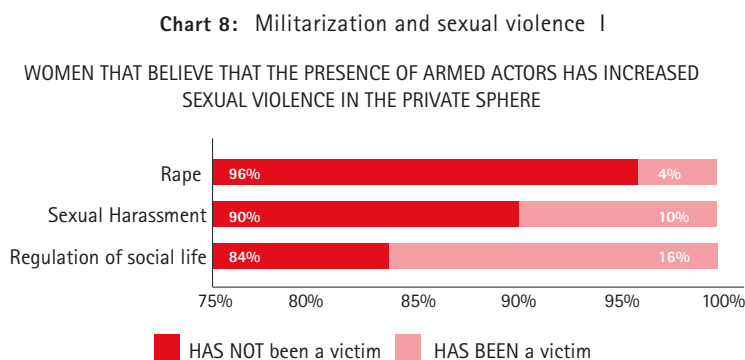
Source: Prepared by Women's House Corporation based on the ENVISE 2010-2015 Survey.
Results valid for drawing conclusions regarding the 142 municipalities included in the sampling framework.



**Militarization and
sexual violence**

This section of the report presents a series of connections between two types of questions: do you believe that the presence of armed actors has increased sexual violence and the different types of sexual violence that this survey focuses on? It seems that the presence of armed actors in the context of war, its culture and the patriarchy that accompanies it intensifies the vulnerability and threat of sexual violence for women. Maybe the guns can be silenced but the threat of the patriarchy, in terms of sexual violence, still persists and could possibly intensify. This is an important alert for generating institutional changes, prevention and monitoring policies, targeted justice actions and cultural change strategies.

Chart 8 shows the percentage of women, both victims of rape, sexual harassment and social regulation as well as other women, that consider that the presence of armed groups increases sexual violence in the private sphere.



Source: Prepared by the authors based on the ENVISE 2010 – 2015 Survey.

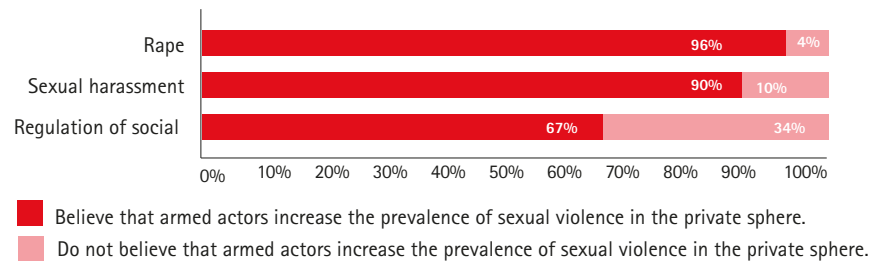
In the three cases of sexual violence mentioned here that statistically facilitate this "cross-referencing", it can be seen that most of the women that believe armed actors in the context of the conflict have increased sexual violence in the private sphere have not been victims of sexual violence. In other words, despite not being directly affected by sexual violence, the women's perception of vulnerability with respect to sexual violence is greater in this scenario than outside of it.

The result of the following question is presented in the next part: what percentage of women that have been or not been victims of rape, sexual harassment or social regulation believe that the presence of armed groups increases the prevalence of sexual violence?



Chart 9: Militarization and sexual violence II

WOMEN THAT HAVE NOT BEEN VICTIMS OF RAPE, SEXUAL
HARRASMENT AND REGULATION OF SOCIAL LIFE



Source: Prepared by the authors based on ENVISE 2010–2015.

This previous result seems to suggest that regardless of the type of sexual violence women have been victims of, these women believe that the presence of armed groups increases this form of violence.

Among the women that have been victims of social regulation, most believe that the presence of armed groups increases sexual violence regardless of whether these women having been victims of this violence in the private (68.5%) or public (70.1%) spheres.

This set of results allows us to propose the following reflections:

- The women that feel vulnerable in relation to the presence of armed groups feel this way, regardless of whether they have been victims or not.
- War and the militarization of life, its consequences and associated violations, which are not only present in the public sphere and between the trenches but can also affect the private sphere and the intimacy of the home interactions, affects sexual violence in both the private and public spheres.

In conclusion, regardless of whether they have or have not been a victim of the conflict, a large proportion of women believe that the presence of armed groups exacerbates the perception of risk of being a victim of sexual violence in the public and private spheres.



Conclusions

The prevalence of sexual violence against females in the context of the Colombian armed conflict is 18.36% for the 142 municipalities with a presence of the armed forces, guerrilla and paramilitaries or BACRIM. This data means that 400 females were victims every day during the period covered by this survey, which is higher than the data produced by the Ombudsman's Office, which for 2015 shows that on average 38 females were victims of sexual violence in the country every day.

The percentage of female victims of sexual violence is higher for the five main cities (21.7%) and intermediate cities (21.5%) while for medium-sized municipalities (12.5%) and small municipalities (8.9%) it notably reduces.

The data generated by the survey helps propose the hypothesis that the patriarchy has diverse regional expressions in Colombia as socio/sexual relationships and the different representations of

masculinity depend on social, historical and cultural contexts.

Thus, it is possible that the manifestations of violence against women are contingent on these patriarchal expressions in the region. This could explain the heterogeneous distribution of violence in the territory and that certain women or girls are at greater risk of being a target of specific forms of violence due to the context they are living in. As has been studied and affirmed by feminist researchers, patriarchal societies build, create, recreate and transform the different expressions of oppression and subordination present in socio-sexual and socio-economic relationships.

The results of the survey highlight the need for research that examines the patriarchy practices in the regions and what factors linked to these practices have a bigger influence on the specific forms and prevalence of violence committed against women. It would also be

interesting to establish what effects the socio-economic and political contexts have on the configuration of the patriarchy and what historic factors have contributed to the creation and reproduction of this situation. In other words, what are the discourses and practices that promote, perpetuate and recreate the power relationships of men over women? And what is the role of hegemonic masculinity in the persistence and transformation of violence against women in a post-agreement and peacebuilding context?

The survey establishes the hypothesis that afro-descendant women between the ages of 15 and 24 that reside in socio-economic strata 1 are more exposed to being victims of sexual violence than women from other ethnic origins, age ranges and socio-economic strata.

The estimates also help propose that different types of sexual violence affect women differently, depending on their age. Thus, women in the first age range (15-24) are the most affected by forms of sexual violence related to regulating social life, sexual harassment and forced pregnancy. The women from the second age range (25-34) are mainly affected by forced abortion, forced prostitution and rape.

The previous information, based on a feminist point of view, requires further qualitative research. For example, it is important to examine the existing relationship between territories, body and women in order to understand women's experiences, such as how the narratives and practices of violence continue to be normalized through the use of disciplinary mechanisms that generate fear and terror. Women between the ages of 15-24 and 25-34 are the main victims of the regulation of social life, which means restricting their way of dressing, limiting their freedom to develop social, emotional and sexual relationships and affecting their ability to live autonomously in their territory. It is also important to examine the relationship between the age of the women, ethnicity and the different types of violence.

The results of the survey helped identify the existence of a relationship between the use of weapons and sexual violence against women. The survey found that 22.8% of the female victims of sexual violence stated that the aggressor used a weapon to intimidate them, 51% stated that the aggressor used a firearm, 36% used a knife and 8.8% used a blunt weapon. This data highlights the need to investigate the interrelationships between hegemonic masculinities, militarism, arms build-up, sexual violence in contexts with the presence of armed actors and the use of weapons in public and private spheres of life.

The following final reflection can be made from this exploratory exercise: although it is considered important to recognize the magnitude of sexual violence against women in the scenario of the armed conflict, it is also relevant to recognize what has happened to the victims after the violent events, establish the impact of these types of events on their lives and what this has meant for these victims in terms of searching for social restoration alternatives.

For this purpose, it is necessary to continue efforts to establish if female victims of sexual violence in the framework of the conflict engage in or have engaged in "social restoration" processes. We refer to "social restoration" as the process in which an individual or collective critically re-establishes their forms of participation with a different social status or role to what they had before an event or situation – known as a "tipping point" – that affects or forcibly changes some areas of their life: their life trajectory; life cycle; family cycle; their labour trajectory; their place of residence; their social universe; their forms of relating to others; the people they relate to; and the reasons for their social relationships, as well as other life dimensions. This means that "critical social restoration" demonstrates changes that are obligatory as a result of an external event that affects voluntary, individual or family-based decisions produced in the context of a specific life story and that are referred to, experienced and adopted in everyday life.



Recommendations

To the national government and local authorities

- At national and territorial levels, comply with what is stipulated in Article 22 of Law 1719/14 regarding protection to guarantee access to justice for victims of sexual violence: "No official can coerce victims into making a statement about the events before having a suitable protection measure in place that guarantees their security conditions and the necessary level of confidence for filing charges".

Comply with the prevention measures established in Article 9 of Law 1257/08: "implement measures to promote the social sanction and report discriminatory practices and violence against women". The institutions responsible for providing the protection measure for female victims of sexual violence in accordance with their responsibilities have to design and implement protection mechanisms that are specifically designed for female victims that reside in rural zones.

- Design and implement educational and awareness raising campaigns to recognize the multiple forms of sexual violence against females in the post-agreement context and the need for a culture of zero tolerance towards violence against girls and women. These campaigns have to contribute to dismantling social and cultural patterns framed in the socio-sexual and patriarchal system that promotes or legitimizes the use of different forms of violence against women in public and private spheres.
- Publicise the assistance and protection mechanisms for female victims of sexual violence at national and territorial levels through the mass media, community media, social networks, amongst others.

To the entities responsible for guaranteeing justice

- Design and implement a public policy that facilitates access to justice for female victims of sexual violence, amongst other aspects.
- Guarantee respect for victims through transparency in the assistance mechanisms that are available for reporting and investigating crimes of sexual violence and strengthen training and disciplinary actions for all staff from the justice system so that they modify discriminatory and re-victimization behavioural patterns.
- Staff from the justice system have to adhere to what is stipulated in Article 19 of Law 1719/14. Specifically, there is a need to adapt the procedures for conducting an investigation and the burden of proof: "The determination of the occurrence of sexual violence will not be conditioned to the existence of physical proof".
- Design and consolidate specialized investigation units that, in coordination with women and victims' social organizations document cases of sexual violence that help identify victims and witnesses of the cases.
- Implement integrated reparation measures for female victims of sexual violence and their children that guarantee the restoration of the rights that have been violated and non-repetition of these types of crimes.
- Expand the presence of the National Institute of Legal Medicine in the municipalities of Colombia with the highest rates of sexual violence, given the importance of this agency in the mechanism for accessing justice.
- Strengthen the Public Prosecutor's Office in the territories to investigate and prosecute those responsible for crimes of sexual violence.
- Facilitate and offer protection guarantees when reporting sexual violence for victims, their family members and witnesses.

To the entities responsible for the area of health

- Fully comply with Ruling C-754 of 2015 of the Constitutional Court in terms of the obligatory nature of the health assistance protocol for victims of sexual violence.

- Establish concrete security measures and protocols for health professionals that assist female victims of sexual violence.
- Fully comply with Resolution 459 of 2012 (adopt the integrated health assistance model and protocol for victims of sexual violence) by providing mental health assistance for female victims of sexual violence as a free service that must not be considered specialized medicine.
- Train health professionals in the zones where there is no presence of the National Institute of Legal Medicine on how to take samples for legal purposes and managing the chain of custody in order to prevent the test from being lost.
- Comply with the guidelines of Laws 1257/08 and 1719/14 related to the provision of free and dignified assistance for female victims of violence.
- Encourage Medical Ethics Tribunals to take disciplinary measures related to professionals that misuse the conscientious objection process when practicing pregnancy termination for female victims of sexual violence.
- Encourage the Health Superintendence to comply with the control and sanction functions for the health service providers that charge for services to assist health of female victims of sexual violence and do not comply with what is stipulated in Law 1257/08.

To the institutions created for the post-agreement process

- The procedure and process led by the Special Peace Tribunal has to recognize the needs of women in the territories related to their ethnicity, age and other conditions
- The Special Unit for the Search for Disappeared Persons stipulated in point 5 of the final Agreement to end the conflict and build a stable and lasting peace investigates sexual violence in the cases of disappeared persons.
- The regulation of the Special Peace Tribunal has to explicitly contain prioritization mechanisms and case management procedures for victims of sexual violence.
- In the regional audiences of the Commission for Truth we recommend holding specific audiences related to the patterns of violence against females.

To the international community.

- Accompany the national and territorial government in the formulation and implementation of policies that include guaranteeing the rule of law and zero tolerance of human rights violations, particularly crimes of sexual violence committed against women in the framework of the post-agreement and peacebuilding processes. This zero tolerance has to include the investigation, trial and sentencing of the people guilty of sexual violence and to provide comprehensive reparations for female victims of this violence.
- Substantially strengthen cooperation with human rights, women's, feminist and female victims' organizations that provide integrated accompaniment to girls and women who are victims of violence in the framework of the post-agreement setting and work on researching and designing public policy proposals for the prevention, elimination and sanction of this crime.
- Support women's organizations in their ethnic diversities and in their agendas so that they develop capacities and skills to monitor the Final Agreement for the end of the armed conflict to build a stable and lasting peace.
- Support the proposals and agendas of women for the development of advocacy strategies and methodologies and documentation of cases of human rights violations of women and sexual violence to be presented to the Commission for Truth, Peaceful Coexistence and Non-Repetition, the Special Unit for the Search for Disappeared Persons in the Context of the Armed Conflict and the Special Jurisdiction for Peace.
- Use the multilateral and bilateral diplomatic instruments that are available to monitor and demand adequate accountability concerning the fulfilment of the implementation and content of the Final Agreement for the end of the armed conflict and building a stable and lasting peace.
- Socialize periodic monitoring reports with the organizations of women and victims concerning the implementation of the Final Agreement in Point 6.3 of the International Verification Component of the Monitoring, Promotion and Verification Commission for the Implementation of the Final Agreement (CSIVI) in the aspects related to support for experiences, resources, monitoring and best practices to contribute to the implementation of the agreement and peace building.

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