

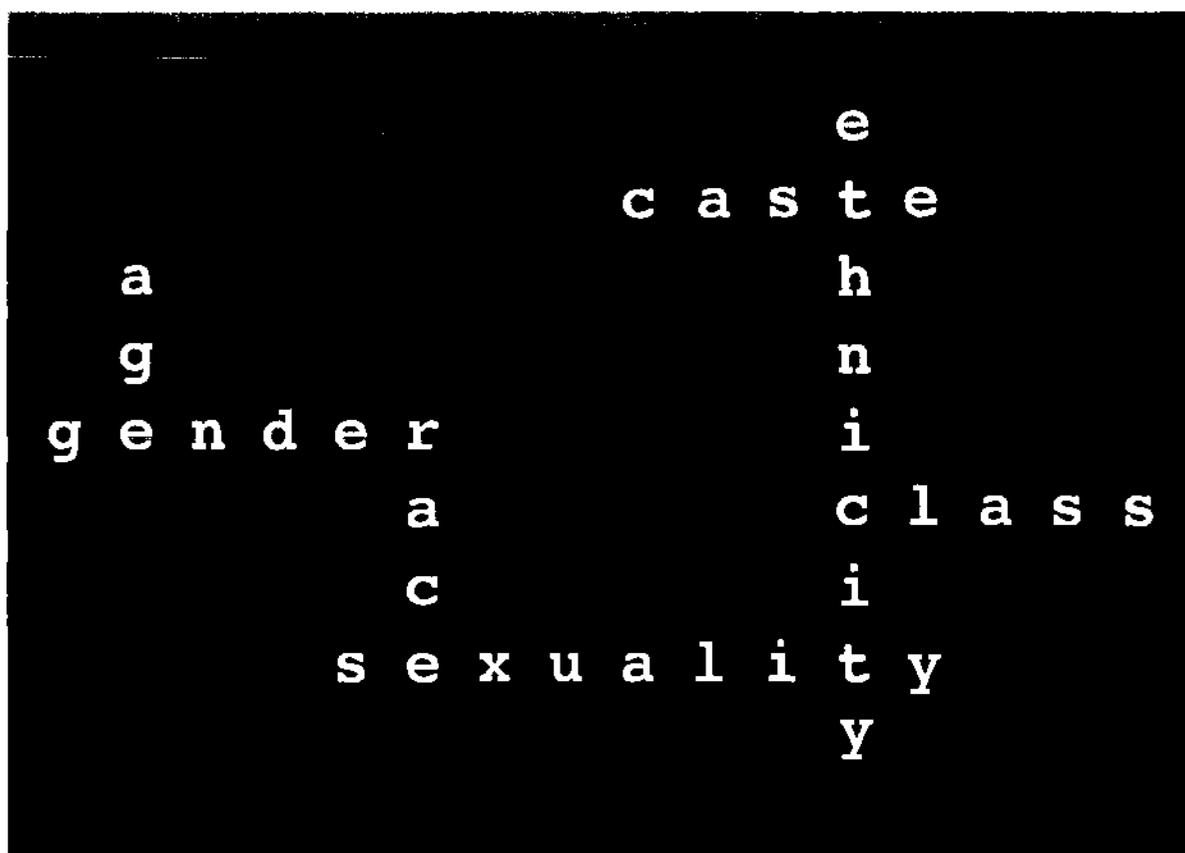
**Women at the Intersection:
Indivisible Rights, Identities,
and Oppressions**

A Study Guide

elmira Nazombe and Bojana Blagojevic
Center for Women's Global Leadership

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Center for Women's Global Leadership
Douglass College, Rutgers University
160 Ryders Lane
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8555 USA
Tel: (1-732) 932-8782; Fax: (1-732) 932-1180
Email: cwgl@igc.org; Website: www.cwgl.rutgers.edu

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First of all, we have been inspired by the record of the countless women who have lived everyday with the reality of how intersecting identities - race, ethnicity, caste, indigenous class, sexual orientation, ability, immigration and/or refugee status, citizenship - combine with gender identities and roles to create situations of multiple oppression, but who have continued to use this reality to strengthen and deepen their advocacy and organizing on behalf of various women. Because of them, we understand what intersectionality means.

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elmira Nazombe Bojana Blagojevic
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Introduction and Overview

There is an indivisible connection between the many overlapping aspects of women's identities - race, ethnicity, class, national origin, ability, sexual orientation, etc. - the kinds of oppressions they experience - racism, xenophobia, poverty etc. - and the human rights to which they are entitled - civil and political, economic and social rights. It is critical for all those interested in women's human rights to explore and articulate these connections as a part of their work to build an environment in which all women can fully enjoy all of their human rights. It is these connections that are the subject matter of the pages that follow.

In order to understand these connections, we propose the use of a methodology that shines a light on the differences and variations that make up the rich fabric of who women are in both their individual and collective identities while also highlighting how these differences can be used against them to perpetuate privilege and power. We call this methodology an intersectional human rights methodology because its purpose is to make plain the connections or intersections that can have such an important effect on the enjoyment of our human rights.

Women's **Human Rights Hearing at the World Conference Against Racism**

The World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) provided a unique opportunity to explore and make visible the connections just described. On August 31, 2002 in Durban, South Africa, the Global Center and its partners convened a women's human rights hearing entitled "Women at the Intersection of Racism and Other Forms of Oppression" as a part of its activities at the conference. The hearing involved 15 women from 12 different countries. The testimonies bore witness to the fact that women often experience, at the same moment, human rights abuse that is rooted in several different aspects of their identity: race, sex, class, age, ethnicity, citizenship status, sexual orientation, etc. Women are not the only ones to experience overlapping and compounding discrimination, but women's experiences of this discrimination are often different from men's experience. It was the goal of the hearing to give visibility to women's experiences of these intersections, but also to tell the stories of some of the innovative strategies that women are using to struggle against racism and other oppressions.

The issues addressed by the hearing and by the WCAR are not just for some countries and those groups who are discriminated against; rather, they are issues for all countries - both for those who have been discriminated against and those who discriminate. Racism and multiple forms of oppression are everyone's issue and must be named and recognized in every community.

As a result of our experience in Durban, we have developed three complementary resources: a video excerpt of the hearing, this study guide which assists in deeper analysis of the subject matter of the hearing as well as linking it to local realities, and a book that includes both a more complete record of the hearing and commentaries on the WCAR experience.

The Hearing Video

The video is a sampler of the powerful testimonies presented at the hearing. The video is designed to help illuminate the ways in which women's rights: 1) to bodily integrity; 2) in situations of war and conflict; and 3) in immigration and migration, are systematically and repeatedly violated. It shows how identities can intersect and overlap to intensify the violations of women's rights. But it is more than victims' stories. Women are responding with both courage and creativity to the challenge of intersecting discrimination.

The video shows that racism is about more than skin color. We use racism here to signify all situations when privilege and power combine with identities, singly or in combination, such as skin color, ethnicity, religion, nationality, class, caste, sexual orientation, ability, etc. to create and perpetuate systems of domination or oppression. Racism here is used to refer both to domination based on skin color and also other forms of identity based domination. In many parts of the world racism has been linked to whiteness because of its historic connection to European colonialism. Although the visible whiteness may have disappeared in some places, the colonial legacy of the hierarchy of privilege that colonialism created continues to exist and disadvantage many women. But the roots of racism can also be in centuries old differences based on work or lifestyle differences. We have deliberately chosen to use the word oppression rather than discrimination because we want to portray the systematic and comprehensive nature of these violations.

The testimonies reveal both basic facts about the situations in which women are facing multiple forms of oppression, but also the historical roots of that oppression. They reveal how laws and practices can both intentionally and unintentionally perpetuate this combination of racism and other oppressions. Also how the law is often blind to the combination of oppressions further complicating the struggle against them.

The Study Guide

This study guide has been prepared to help groups deepen their understanding of the ways racism and other oppressions combine to affect women's lives. The basic premise of this guide is that a human rights methodology can be helpful in developing a more complete understanding of the how's and why's of intersectional oppression as well as strategies for dealing with it. There are four basic elements in an intersectional human rights methodology: (1) Getting the Basic Facts, (2) Understanding the Context, (3) Analyzing Existing Policies and (4) Developing Alternatives. The raw material for this understanding will come from two sources: (1) the testimonies from the hearing and (2) participant experiences in their own community or nation. Each section of the study guide includes ways to analyze the stories told on the video and questions to help build an analysis of racism in our own communities and nations. The material of the guide is organized into three approximately three-hour sessions.

Session One is well suited to a group that can have only a single session, with a series of activities for use with the testimony segments of the video. Its goal is to sharpen our understanding of the intersection of racism and other oppressions and the way they affect women's human rights.

Session Two is suitable for a group wishing to develop a more in-depth understanding. The session uses the video testimonies, but adds additional background material and information sheets. The session provides an opportunity to practice using a women's human rights intersectional methodology to address women's experiences of racism both in the situations described in the video and back home. The WCAR book may also be used in connection with this session.

Session Three uses the section of the video that focuses on women's organizing. The goal of the session is to encourage groups to think about the roles of both the human rights system and women's organizing in the struggle against intersectional oppression. It also focuses on the development of concrete alternatives and policy responses to overcome multiple oppressions and realize women's human rights in their own communities.

Suggestions for Using These Materials

- **Structure and Timing of the Sessions:** Each session includes time for both examination of the material presented in the video/book and time for reflection on those issues back home. It is important to leave adequate time for both activities. We have tried to estimate the amount of time each activity should take, but the actual times are likely to vary substantially by the size and specific interest of the group. The sessions include several small group activities to maximize participation. It is important to allow extra time to facilitate the flow between small and large groups.
- **Be Prepared:** Resource materials have been coded to correspond to the session and activity where they are to be used. It may be necessary to make additional copies of some of the materials in advance of the session to make group processes flow more smoothly.
- **Everyone Teaches/Everyone Learns:** The activities presented here are based on the premise that everyone has experience that can be relevant to our collective understanding of indivisible identities, oppressions and rights. The goal of the activities is to both respect and encourage a critical perspective on each person's experience as well as use both positive and negative experiences as sources of learning. The complexities of identity and experiences of racism, xenophobia and other oppressions are emotional issues. Expect emotions to be a part of your discussion. Our intersectional methodology demands that we take the risk of confronting these difficult issues in order to build a collective strategy for ending intersectional oppression.

The WCAR Book

Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities and Oppressions includes proceedings of the human rights hearing held in Durban, South Africa in September 2001 during the World Conference Against Racism. It includes the full text of all 12 testimonies around the themes: war, conflict and genocide; migration and immigration; and bodily integrity and sexuality. In addition, the book includes a section of reflections on the issues raised by the conference as seen through the eyes of conference participants and an analysis of the gender outcomes in the official conference statements.

Session One: Understanding the Intersection of Identities, Rights, and Oppressions

Introduction

The first step in the elimination of racism is being able to recognize it and name it in its many forms. In each community the forms that racism takes will need to be identified. Since racism rarely functions alone, it is important to be able to identify it as it is combined with sexism, xenophobia, castism, classism, or ableism, etc., that is, when intersectional oppression is operating. Negative exploitation of identity for the sake of power and privilege is oppression.

Objectives

In this session, the meanings of basic concepts of racism, identity, rights, oppressions and intersectionality will be explored. The session will seek:

- To see how racism can have many faces
- To see the connections between racism and other rights violations
- To look at the specific ways in which women's rights may be violated as a result of the combination of their 'racial' identity with other identities
- To introduce a human rights methodology as a way to help understand intersectional oppression

Activity One: Creating Starting Points for Discussion and Viewing the Video

Objective: To build a common base of understanding: by sharing perspectives and comparing understandings of key terms as a preparation for viewing the video.

Time: 1 hour and 30 minutes

Materials: *Information Sheet on the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR)*, *Guide to Understanding the Intersection Grids*, *Understanding Intersections - Testimonies Worksheet*, the WCAR Video, chart paper, and markers

Getting Started

- Open the workshop by welcoming the members and stating briefly the overall goal of the workshop:
To gain a better understanding of how racism, sexism and other ism's occur simultaneously in women's lives and affect the enjoyment of their human rights and to think about what to do about it.
- Ask members of the group to introduce themselves by sharing what they know about the World Conference Against Racism in Durban or how issues of racism come up in their community and why they want to participate in the workshop. The time of this activity will vary with the size of the group, but each person should speak no more than one minute. If the group is large there will be time for only volunteers to share information. If it seems desirable you might want to record notes of each persons experience on chart paper.
- After each member of the group has had a chance to speak, pass out the one page *Information Sheet on the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR)*. Take one to two minutes to highlight some of the information about the conference, like the major themes and chief outcomes. Alternatively ask the group to take two minutes to quickly read over the sheet and then ask for any questions or clarification. Any member of the group with knowledge would be able to respond. If no one is familiar with the conference, you may wish to take a few moments for participants to share their reactions to the idea of the conference. You may wish to consult the Glossary at the end of the study guide where some key terms are defined.

Brainstorming Key Definitions

- Lead the group in a brainstorming session to write down their understanding of key terms from the WCAR process: racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, identity, rights, oppressions, and intersectionality. Your knowledge of the group and the terms raised in the first sharing exercise should help identify the terms that need to be defined. You may wish to have anticipated this discussion and have a few definitions already written on chart paper that can be placed in the front of the room. The goal is to have some consensus on the meanings of terms, but not necessarily complete agreement on a single definition. These definitions will provide a point of reference for the definitions they will see and hear in the video. If there are no persons from communities affected negatively by racism and other forms of intersectional oppression, you may want to point this out as the definitions are being developed and ask the group to listen careful for other definitions from affected persons as they watch the video.

Understanding Intersectionality and Using an Intersectional Human Rights Methodology

- Explain that throughout the study guide, we will be seeking to use human rights tools to help understand intersectionality and racism, and so the next few minutes will be spent in an introduction to the idea. Ask the group to suggest some of the kinds of information that they think might be necessary in order to understand intersectional oppression and to act to eliminate it. Record their suggestions on chart paper. Post a large chart paper sheet outlining the four steps of the Intersectional Human Rights Methodology: *Knowing the Basic Facts, Understanding the Context, Reviewing Policies and Systems of Implementation, and Designing and Implementing Intersectional Policy Initiatives*. Explain that activists developed the steps outlined during the WCAR process. In order to make sure there is general understanding of the elements of the four steps, spend a few minutes comparing the lists, and list the specific suggestions of the group under each of the headings all the elements that they wish to make a part of a human rights methodology. Explain to the group that there will be more work on the Intersectional Human Rights Methodology in Session Two.
- Hand out the *Guide to Understanding the Intersections Grids*. Ask the group to think about the three categories: Racism Defined, Rights Violated, and Intersections and the definitions that the group has just developed. Take a few moments to discuss some of the examples to make sure group members feel comfortable with the categories they will be using to understand the video testimonies. You will want to point out that the grids allow us to collect information for steps one, two, and three of the Intersectional Human Rights Methodology.

Viewing the Video

- The group may choose one of several options for viewing the video: (1) view the video in its entirety, (2) view it in sections, pausing after each major section to allow time for note taking on the grids, or (3) divide the group into three sub groups and assign each group a particular set of testimonies to concentrate on.
- Ask the group to view the video while thinking about the definitions they have listed and see if the video suggests other definitions.
- Once the viewing is completed, be sure to give the group members five minutes to record their first impressions from the video under the grid headings, if they have not already done so.

Information Sheet on the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR)

The World Conference will be a unique opportunity to create a new world vision for the fight against racism in the 21st century. Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Press Release, 20 March 2000

Some Basic Facts

- The United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance took place in Durban, South Africa, 31 August to 7 September 2001.
- There were two affiliated conferences, both under the United Nations banner. The first was the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Forum from August 28 through September 1. The second was the intergovernmental UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) from August 31 through September 8.
- An estimated 5,500 civilian delegates attended the NGO Forum held at the Kingsmead Cricket Stadium.
- Participating in the World Conference were 2,300 representatives from 163 countries, including 16 heads of State, 58 foreign ministers, and 44 ministers. Nearly 4,000 representatives of NGOs and over 1,000 media representatives were registered.
- This WCAR was the third such meeting held by the United Nations. The first was convened in 1978, the second in 1983, both in Geneva. Those two conferences focused on the injustices of the apartheid regime of South Africa. Ironically, the third WCAR met in South Africa, seven years after the dismantling of apartheid.

Milestones in the United Nations Efforts Against Racism

- 1948 - UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
- 1965 - UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- 1978 - First UN World Conference Against Racism reaffirms the inherent falsity of racism and its threat to friendly relations among nations
- 1983 - Second UN World Conference Against Racism calls for measures against ideologies such as apartheid, Nazism and neo-Nazism. It also noted the double discrimination often encountered by women
- 2000 - Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination adopts General Recommendation calling for special attention to women
- 2001 - UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances convenes to consider five broad areas:
 1. Sources, causes and contemporary manifestations of racism
 2. Victims of racism
 3. Measures of prevention, education and protection aimed at eradication at all levels
 4. Provision of effective remedies and redress measures at all levels
 5. Strategies to achieve full and effective equality including international cooperation

(From the *WCAR Press Kit*, <http://www.un.org/WCAR>)

WCAR Participants

- All Member States of the United Nations
- All regional organizations and commissions involved in the preparation of regional meetings
- Representatives of organizations which have received a standing invitation from the General Assembly to participate as observers
- UN specialized agencies, regional commissions, bodies and programmes
- Representatives of UN mechanisms in the field of human rights
- Interested non-governmental organizations represented by observers, in accordance with UN Economic and Social Council resolution 1996/31
- Other interested governmental organizations represented as observers

(From <http://www.un.org/WCAR>)

WCAR Objectives

- Review progress made in the fight against racism and racial discrimination, in particular since the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, and to reappraise the obstacles to progress in the field and to identify ways to overcome them
- Consider ways and means to better ensure the application of existing standards and their implementation to combat racism and racial discrimination
- Increase the level of awareness about the scourge of racism and racial discrimination
- Formulate concrete recommendations on ways to increase the effectiveness of the activities and mechanisms of the United Nations through programmes aimed at combating racism and racial discrimination
- Review the political, historical, economic, social, cultural and other factors leading to racism and racial discrimination
- Formulate concrete recommendations to further action-oriented national, regional and international measures aimed at combating all forms of racism and racial discrimination, and
- Draw up concrete recommendations to ensure that the United Nations has the necessary resources for its activities to combat racism and racial discrimination

(From the WCAR NGO Forum website: <http://www.raeism.org.za/index.htmT>)

WCAR and Gender

The hope is for the victims of racism and compounded discrimination to have a positive sense of what the human rights agenda can do for them...Women who suffer from double discrimination will be looking to the Conference to come up with concrete and realistic proposals to address their problems and will accept no less. Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, New York, February 2001

While race is one reason for inequality and gender is another, they are not mutually exclusive forms of discrimination. Indeed, too often they intersect, giving rise to compounded or double discrimination. For many women, factors relating to their social identity such as race, color, ethnicity and national origin become "differences that make difference." These factors can create problems that are unique to particular groups of women or that disproportionately affect some women relative to others.

When a woman's race is factored into her experience, the double burden of gender and racial discrimination and related intolerance become evident. Areas of particular concern include the disadvantages faced by minority women in the labor market, trafficking in women, and race-based violence against women. Ethnic or race-based violence against women is considered the most recognizable example of intersectional discrimination. Rape against women singled out because of their ethnic or religious origin has now been recognized as a weapon of war by international criminal tribunals.

Until recently, intersection of gender and racial discrimination and its consequences had not been subject to detailed consideration. The problems were categorized as manifestations of either one form of discrimination or the other, but not both. Ultimately, this allowed the full scope of the problem to escape analysis, which then led to ineffective and inadequate remedies. This is now changing. Through its "gender mainstreaming" policy, the United Nations, for example, is acknowledging the different ways in which gender roles and gender relations shape women's and men's access to rights, resources and opportunities. The ultimate goal is to achieve equality.

At a recent Asia-Pacific expert seminar in preparation for the World Conference, participants paid particular attention to two consequences of compounded discrimination: irregular migration and trafficking in women. The Seminar noted that, "racial, ethnic and gender discrimination were root causes of migration and trafficking." It was recommended that, during the World Conference, "special focus be put on gender issues and gender discrimination, particularly the multiple jeopardy that occurs when gender, class, race and ethnicity intersect."

(From the WCAR Press Kit - "Gender and Racial Discrimination," <http://www.un.org/WCAR/e-kit/gender.htm>)

WCAR Outcomes Relating to Gender

- *UN World Conference Against Racism Declaration, paragraph 69:*
"We are convinced that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance reveal themselves in a differentiated manner for women and girls, and can be among the factors leading to a deterioration in their living conditions, poverty, violence, multiple forms of discrimination, and the limitation or denial of their human rights. We recognize the need to integrate a gender perspective into relevant policies, strategies and programmes of action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to address multiple forms of discrimination."

(From <http://www.hri.ca/racism/official/finalreport.shtml>)

Guide to Understanding the Intersection Grids - Examples

The following examples are given to help explain the terms used in the Grids and to give an idea of the kind of insights that might be looked for. All the examples are drawn from the testimonies of the Hearing.

Racism

- The German alien law that ties residency of a migrant spouse to an existing marriage for a period of two years even if the marriage relationship is an abusive one.
- The social and economic realities that force Baadi (Dalit) women into permanent positions as prostitutes or treatment as such within Nepali society.
- The indifference to the magnitude of AIDS in Africa based on the views that Africans are promiscuous and that there is a pan African culture of sex as a commodity and fertility as a duty to one's ancestors.

Rights Violated

- The high incidence of sexual abuse against African American women prisoners during their prison sentences denies them their right to bodily integrity and security of person.
- The condemning of generations of Palestinian young people to lives of deprivation in refugee camps robs them of their right to an adequate standard of living and their people to the right to self-determination.

Root Causes

- The current struggles of indigenous women in Guatemala are the result of both being caught in the middle of the civil war in their country and the history and deliberate underdevelopment of indigenous communities under colonialism.
- The disproportionately high incidence of AIDS/HIV infection among black South African women needs to be understood in light of both the history of apartheid in South Africa and the subordinate role of black women in their communities.

Intersectional Oppression

- The sexual assault by government soldiers on a woman presumed to be of a different ethnic group while she and male members of her family were fleeing from the inter-ethnic conflict.
- The military accusations of involvement with the opposition guerilla forces against and abuse of indigenous Guatemalan women trying to defend themselves.

Violators: Those directly and indirectly involved in human rights violations

Persons

- The hospital personnel who verbally abused the Roma woman in childbirth.
- The physical and mental abuse of foreign domestic workers by the Malaysian employers and the violation of the terms of their employment contracts.
- The prison guard who arranged the rape of an African American woman prisoner by a male inmate.

Institutions

- The international pharmaceutical companies whose concern about profits and protecting its copyrights lead to the challenging of South African attempts to bypass or suspend copyright law in an effort to address the epidemic proportions of AIDS.
- The US immigration procedures for gender based asylum and permanent residence can take ten years or more during which time contact with relatives in the home country may be impossible and there can be long waiting periods for permission to travel outside the US.

Policies

- The U.S. immigration policies and practices which are reluctant to recognize fleeing from sexual violence and abuse as sufficient grounds for granting asylum.
- International economic policies of rich governments and international financial institutions that target a role for women, particularly minority and poor women, as low wage workers whether in their own or other countries.

Violations based on Women's Biological Identity

- The justification of the murder of a pregnant Haitian migrant woman in the Dominican Republic by the military on the grounds that it would mean one less Haitian to deal with.

Violations of Gender and Social Roles

- The duping of Nepali women with promises of marriage as a cover-up for sale and trafficking as prostitutes.
- The exploitation and failure to respect the labor rights of domestic workers who are migrant workers and therefore non-citizens

Understanding Intersections - Testimonies Worksheet

	Racism Defined	Rights Violated	Intersections	Comments
War & Conflict: Chinese Women in Indonesia				
Bodily Integrity & Sexuality: Roma Women in Serbia				
Migration & Immigration: Haitian Women in the Dominican Republic				

Activity Two: Expanding Our Understanding

Objectives: To give small groups a chance to discuss what they have seen in the video and to think about it in terms of the definitions and understandings that they shared in Activity One.

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: Discussion Question Sheets for each person, one large chart paper with questions for posting, chart paper, markers, and Questions sheets for each group (optional)

Discussion/Analysis

- Explain that the goal of the next activity is to discuss in depth the content of the testimonies heard in the video. Post the Discussion Questions. Have the group read the questions together and answer any questions of clarification.
- Divide the large group into several smaller groups (no more than six to eight persons) to consider the questions. Each group is responsible for answering the questions to the best of their abilities based on the information in the video. Their own notes should be helpful with this process. Each group is given a large sheet of paper and markers to record their answers to the three questions. These sheets can be posted around the room following the discussion.

Activity Three: Building an Analysis

Objectives: To assemble the information and understandings developed in the small group work and to provide an opportunity for the large group to deepen their analysis.

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: Large chart paper with three columns and markers

Discussion/Analysis

- Using a large sheet of paper or a blackboard, recreate the *Understanding Intersections - Testimonies Worksheet* with three parallel columns under the headings: Racism Defined, Rights Violated and Intersections. The sharing of the results of small group discussion should start with "Racism Defined" and proceed with the other topics until all columns have been filled and all topics discussed. Ask one person from each group to share the definitions of racism the group felt were revealed in the stories told in the video. The Facilitator records these answers. Once all groups have reported, allow time for general discussion. What are the similarities in the situations? Does racism have some common elements in different places? Continue this discussion until the group feels it has grasped both the similarities and the particularities that constitute the experience of racism in the different situations portrayed in the video.
- Rights Violated: Repeat the exercise with the "Rights Violated" column and the questions gathering information from each group. Note if there are situations in which the legal definitions of rights does not necessarily cover the realities of the hurt experienced by women. You may wish to recall the definitions of "rights" from Activity One and ask the group how those definitions relate to the rights they identified in the video. (It might be helpful to have copies of the summary of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Form of Racial Discrimination* available for reference as needed.)
- Intersections: Complete the "Identities Intersecting" column in a similar manner. Ask the group to recall its previous discussion on rights. The group may wish to think about how the experiences covered by rights may differ from the multiple rights that may be involved in experiences of intersection.

Activity Four: Back-Home - Sharing Experiences of Intersection in Our Own Realities

Objectives: To use the understanding of racism and intersection gained from viewing and discussing the video as a tool to understand local realities and experiences.

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: *Understanding Intersections - Bringing It Home Worksheet* and chart paper

Discussion and Brainstorming

- Ask the group to build a list of examples of women experiencing intersection of oppressions/violations in their own community and society. The group should be encouraged to develop a wide range of examples that reflect the kinds of differences and similarities they saw in the video. Alternatively if the group is small, each member of the group could be given an opportunity to share their own experience of intersectionality.
- The group might conclude its discussion by answering the questions about definition of racism, rights violated and intersections for the experiences they have shared. (Another *Understanding Intersection Grid* could be handed out and filled in as the discussion proceeds.)

Understanding Intersections - Bringing It Home Worksheet

Situations	Racism Defined	Rights Violated	Identities Intersecting	Comments

Session Two: Using Intersectional Human Rights Methodology - Case Studies in Intersectionality

Introduction

A woman may often find her rights violated simply because she is a woman. But almost as often she may find that she is targeted for rights violations because she is a woman of a particular racial or ethnic group or because she is a woman from a different country than the one she is living in or some other dimension of her identity. The violation of her rights may be the result of her identity as a woman plus her race, ethnicity, caste, culture, class, citizenship, age, religion, health status and/or disability, marital and/or citizenship status, and sexual orientation. The aspects of her identity combine to multiply and shape the violations of her rights. That is, just as the parts of her identity are inseparable, those combined identities represent the source of violations of her human rights.

It is not easy or possible to isolate one part of her identity as the single source of the violations. It can be said that she is experiencing intersectional oppression. Oppression is the unjust exercise of power to create privilege by domination over another person or group. Intersectional oppression is not a women only phenomenon. All those who have overlapping identities, both men and women, can experience intersectional oppression. But women and men often experience intersectional oppression differently. In order to address intersectional oppression it is critical to understand these differences.

Objectives

The objective of this session is to use a human rights methodology to deepen the analysis of racism begun in the first session and to explore the intersectional oppression in more detail by using the three hearing testimonies featured in the video as case studies (testimonies from the video and the book). The session will seek to:

- Help participants determine the basic facts of the three case study situations including what rights are violated and the gender specificity of the violations
- Help the participants understand how the historical, social, political, and cultural contexts such as war and conflict and immigration and migration affect the experience of intersectional oppression in each of the three case studies
- Help participants think about how policies and practices, both intentionally and unintentionally, may contribute to and affect the nature of intersectional oppression in the case study situations

Activity One: Introducing the Human Rights Methodology

Objective: To familiarize the group to the four steps of the Intersectional Human Rights Methodology as preparation for using them in the case studies.

Time: 45 minutes

Materials: *Intersectional Oppression and An Intersectional Human Rights Methodology Sheet, Human Rights Intersectional Methodology Outline*

Getting Started

- Post the Agenda for Session Two.
- Introduce the session: the overall goal of the session is to further explore the intersection of identities, rights, and oppressions by focusing on particular case studies and relating/comparing them to the experiences in our own communities/countries.
- Explain the general structure of the session using the posted agenda
 1. Introduction of the Human Rights Methodology
 2. Outlining the tasks of the groups
 3. Reviewing the resource materials available for the groups
 4. Understanding the themes and the cases studies
 5. Viewing the video and reading the case materials

6. Group discussions
 - Case study analysis
 - Back-Home analysis
7. Report backs to the large group
 - Case study report
 - Back-Home report

Discussion

Hand out the *Intersectional Oppression*, *Intersectional Human Rights Methodology*, and *Human Rights Intersectional Methodology Outline*. Have each of the steps read aloud. Post the outline of the four steps of the methodology to make discussion easier.

Knowing the Basic Facts

- Whose **rights** were violated?
- What **rights** were violated?
- What rights violations are unique to **women's biological identity and gender and social roles**?

Understanding the Context

- What were the **root causes** of intersectional oppression?

Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

- Who were the human rights **violators** in this case - **persons, institutions, and policies**?
- Which policies have different impacts on women of different identities?
- Which policies may create **hierarchies of privilege** or deepen historic animosities?

Design and Implementation of Intersectional Policy Initiative

- What new **policy initiatives** or combination of programs might work to break the connection between identity and oppression by addressing simultaneously several sources of interlocking oppression?

Ask the participants to think of examples of the key concepts in the outline of steps: rights, violators, hierarchies of privilege, etc. Record these on chart paper so that they can serve as a reference as the discussion proceeds. Suggest that they refer to the *Guide to Understanding the Intersections Grids* handed out during Session One for additional ideas about the concepts.

Once all the concepts have been explored, give the group time to discuss each of the steps in the methodology to clarify the meaning of each of the steps. You might suggest that they try to think of examples that they can remember from the video. This session could conclude with participants brainstorming reasons why they think that the intersectional methodology might be a useful tool for women's human rights activists.

Intersectional Oppression and An Intersectional Human Rights Methodology

Each one of us has more than one identity. We may be a woman or a man, but we are also of a particular race or ethnic group. We may be old or young, from a particular religious community, speak a particular language, or have been born in a particular country. We may be heterosexual or bisexual or homosexual. We may be rich or poor or somewhere in between. In an ideal world the human rights framework assures us that these identities are irrelevant to our entitlement to full enjoyment of all of our human rights. Unfortunately, there is a wide gap between that ideal and the everyday lives of many people. When overlapping identities or the intersection of identities become the source of violations of human rights, we say that it is a situation of intersectional oppression. Oppression occurs when power is used unjustly by an individual or a group to create privilege for themselves by the domination and denial of the rights of others. But different persons and groups experience intersectional oppression differently. Understanding these differences is a key element in learning how to overcome them.

Ethnic or race-based violence against women is a highly recognizable example of intersectional oppression. For example, we may read that a woman was assaulted by a man as she walked down a dark street, but if we learn that the woman was from an ethnic minority community and she was walking because she was too poor to afford public transportation and her attacker was from the majority community, then we can describe this situation as an intersectional violation of her rights. It is not possible to determine with certainty which aspect of her identity was responsible for the violation of her rights, it is the combination of those identities that put her in a vulnerable position. However, the legal system, charged with responding to this injustice, might look at the sex and/or race of the violator and the violated and make different determinations about responsibility. That system does not have an easy way to factor in the decades of animosity between the two groups that created a community climate of permission for the rape. Nor does it have a way to look at the systematic disinvestments in the infrastructure of the minority community that left it without a public transportation system that could have played a role in the protection of the violated woman's rights.

An important task of the work on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is to uncover the realities of intersectional oppression for diverse groups of women and men and to develop strategies that simultaneously address the various sources of that oppression.

Toward an Intersectional Human Rights Methodology

Essential to the task of advancing the human rights of women therefore must be the development to new ways to recognize and address intersectional oppression. The UN Commission on the Status of Women in March 2001 called on governments, the United Nations and civil society to "develop methodologies to identify the ways in which various forms of discrimination converge and affect women and girls and conduct studies on how racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance are reflected in laws policies, institutions and practices and how this has contributed to the vulnerability, victimization, marginalization and exclusion of women and the girl child" (Commission on the Status of Women, 45th Session, "Gender and All Forms of Discrimination, in Particular Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance," *Final Report on the Forty-Fifth Session of the CSW*, page 21. See: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/45sess.htm>). Women's human rights activists have pioneered the development of strategies to understand intersectionality.

Knowing the Basic Facts

- The first requirement is to be able to describe women's realities more accurately and to determine what rights have been violated and what identity factors contribute to the violation of their rights: race, ethnicity, descent, citizenship status, class, etc. For example, to understand how multiple discrimination affects women's educational status, data must be available that identifies differential educational status of women of different racial or ethnic groups with different economic status. Key data about individuals and groups whose rights have been violated will need to be both disaggregated by sex, race and ethnicity, but new combined data categories will need to be create to reflect the reality of the many combinations of identities that are affected by discrimination. These new forms of data will make it easier to identify the magnitude of the impact of particular problems and policies on particular groups of women. The sources of this data will be both statistical information and the testimonies of women who are experiencing intersectional oppression.

Understanding the Context

- The second task is to identify the root causes and the context of the problems. Contextual realities will include the legacy of slavery or colonialism or ancient animosities, as well as present and historical religious and cultural differences both real and imagined. This process makes possible the complex identifications of all those persons, institutions and policies that may be involved in the human rights violations. For example, disaggregated data may reveal the extent of rape of ethnic women during a situation of war, but an analysis of the context reveals a history of inter-ethnic struggle for economic power that created a climate of acceptance among the majority group for the rape of minority women.

Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

- With basic facts and a contextual analysis as background, the next step is to evaluate policy initiatives and systems of implementation for their usefulness in address the problems faced by different women in their different intersectional identities. For example, review of a policy that has been designed to address racial discrimination and economic opportunity for one group of women could reveal that the initiative creates further tensions with another group of women. The policy therefore may be revealed to actually exacerbate competition and/or create a hierarchy of "more privileged" and "less privileged" minorities that serves to perpetuate the power of the dominant group.

Design and Implementation of Intersectional Policy Initiatives

- The final step is using all this information to develop new strategies to eliminate and reverse patterns of negative discrimination that have been identified. Strategies could include ideas for new or modified local, national, regional or international laws or processes that address forms of multiple oppressions. The designation of rape against women because of their ethnic or religious origin as a weapon of war as an international war crime would be an example.

Human Rights Intersectional Methodology Outline

Knowing the Basic Facts

- Whose **human rights** were violated?
- What **human rights** were violated?
- What violations of rights are unique to **women's biological identity and gender and social roles**?

Understanding the Context

- What are the **root causes** of intersectional oppression?

Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

- Who were the human rights **violators** in this case: **persons, institutions, and policies**?
- Which policies have different impacts on women of different identities?
- Which policies may create **hierarchies of privilege** or deepen historic animosities?

Design and Implementation of Intersectional Policy Initiatives

- What new **policy initiatives** or combination of programs might work to break the connection between identity and oppression by addressing simultaneously several sources of interlocking oppression?

Activity Two: Introduction of Small Group Work

Objective: To outline the tasks of the small groups for using the human rights methodology on the case studies and their experiences to develop a better understanding of intersectional oppression. To introduce the resource materials for the small groups.

Time: 15 - 30 minutes

Materials: Small Group Case Study Basic Materials: 1) Case Study Questions/Back-Home Questions for Each Testimony, 2) Human Rights Methodology Worksheets (*Knowing the Basic Facts*, *Understanding the Context*, and *Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation*) for each Case Study, Back-Home Notes for Each Testimony, Group Task List

Supplementary Resource Materials: Full texts of the video case study testimonies, Information Sheets on the national context of each testimony, *Summary of Hearing Themes*, *Testimony Profiles* (Summary sheet of all testimonies), and the full text of hearing testimonies found in the WCAR book (optional).

Getting Started

- Post a list of the tasks of the small groups. Explain that most of the work of this session is to be done in small groups.
- Each group will work on an intersectional analysis of one of the three testimonies featured in the video. Each group will have a series of questions based on the testimony that it will need to answer.
- Each group will also have a case study intersectional worksheet to complete that reflects the first three parts of the human rights methodology. Following this, each group will turn its attention to intersectional realities in their own communities/nation. The work of the groups will be recorded on large sheets and posted on the walls at the end of their session.
- Small Groups Tasks
 1. Read background materials on case studies and human right themes
 2. Answer *Case Study Questions*
 3. Complete *Case Study Work Sheet*
 4. Brainstorm local/national intersectional problems
 5. Answer *Back-Home Questions*
 6. Complete *Back-Home Work Sheet*
 7. Post discussion results

Creating the Groups

- Remind the group that each small group will work on a testimony that embodies one of the hearing themes: Bodily Integrity, Immigration/Migration, and War Conflict and Genocide. Ask participants to choose which group they would like to work with. An ideal size for the groups would be no more than six to eight persons.
- Pass out the *Case Study Questions*, *Three Case Study Work Sheets*, *Back-Home Questions* and *Back-Home Worksheet* to each group member. Give the group time to look over the sheets. Answer any questions of clarification.

Introducing the Resource Materials

- This study guide and the WCAR book contain a number of supplementary materials that can be helpful in developing an analysis using the human rights methodology. You will want to choose which ones of these resources will work best for your group or have as many of them available as you feel the group may wish to look at. Together the materials supply important additional information about basic facts, context and policies. Take a few moments to review the list of both basic resources and supplemental materials. Ask each group to think about the materials that they would like to use.

Case Study Questions

War, Conflict and Genocide - Indonesia: Mass Rape of Indonesian Chinese Women (Ita F. Nadia)

Knowing the Basic Facts

- Whose **human rights** were violated in this case?
- What human **rights** were violated?
- What human rights violations did the ethnic Chinese women experience because of their **biological identity and gender and social roles**? What is the **social role** of Chinese women in their communities and how does that role relate to the violations against them?

Understanding the Context

- What were some of the **root causes** of violence against the ethnic Chinese women in Indonesia?
- What role did the economic crisis, in combination with the economic status of ethnic Chinese, play in the resulting intersectional oppression?

Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

- Name the **violators** of human rights in this case. Who are the **persons** involved? What **policies** enable the violations? Which **institutions** sanction the violations and/or are direct or indirect party to the violations?

Back-Home Questions

- Can you think of other cases of intersectional oppression, in your community or in the world, that happen in the context of war, conflict, and genocide? Give specific examples.

- Can you recognize any aspect of what happened to the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia in your or your community's own experience?

- Is any group in your society a target of discrimination in times of economic and political unrest? Why? What are their multiple identities? What is their ethnicity, race? What is their economic and social status?

Case Study Questions

Bodily Integrity and Sexuality - Serbia: Roma Racial and Sexual Discrimination (Vera Kurtic)

Knowing the Basic Facts

- Whose **human rights** were violated in this case?
- What human **rights** were violated?
- What human rights violations did the Roma women experience because of their **biological identity and gender and social roles**? What is the **social role** of Roma women in their communities and how does that role relate to the violations against them?

Understanding the Context

- What were some of the **root causes** of intersectional oppression against the Roma women?
- What role did the Roma distinct culture and way of life play in the oppression against them?

Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

- Name the **violators** of human rights in this case. Who are the **persons** involved? What **policies** enable the violations? Which **institutions** sanction the violations and/or are direct or indirect party to the violations?

Back-Home Questions

- Can you think of any other cases of intersectional oppression, in your community or in the world that involve the issue of bodily integrity? Give specific examples.

- Can you recognize any aspect of what happens to the Roma, and especially to the Roma women, in your or your community's own experience?

- Is there any group of people in your community who are undercounted (or not counted), invisible and whose culture and way of life are rejected and negated by the mainstream society? Who are they? What are their multiple identities? What are their ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, and national origin? What is their economic and social status?

Case Study Questions

Migration and Immigration - Dominican Republic: Discrimination Against Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Descendants (Solange Pierre)

Knowing the Basic Facts

- Whose human **rights** were violated in this case?
- What human **rights** were violated?
- What human rights violations did the Haitian women experience because of their **biological identity and gender and social roles**? What is the **social role** of Haitian women in their communities and how does that role relate to the violations against them?

Understanding the Context

- What were some of the **root causes** of intersectional oppression against Haitian workers in the Dominican Republic?
- How did Haitians' immigration/migration status affect their experience of racism?

Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

- Name the **violators** of human rights in this case. Who are the **persons** involved? What **policies** enable the violations? Which **institutions** sanction the violations and/or are direct or indirect party to the violations.

Back-Home Questions

- Can you think of any other cases of intersectional oppression, in your community or in the world, that happen in the context of migration and immigration? Give specific examples.
- Can you recognize any aspect of what happens to Haitians in the Dominican Republic in your or your community's own experience?
- Is there a group of migrant/immigrant workers in your community who are subject to oppression? Who are they? What are the dimensions of their identity?
- Is there a group of migrant/immigrant workers in your community who are subject to discriminatory policies because of the color of their skin? Who are they? What are the policies that discriminate against them? What role does racism play in how this group of people is treated?

Human Rights Intersectional Methodology - Knowing the Basic Facts

Whose rights were violated?	What rights were violated?	What human rights violations are unique to women's biological identity and gender and social roles?

Human Rights Intersectional Methodology - Understanding the Context

What were some of the root causes of intersectional oppression in this case?

***Human Rights Intersectional Methodology -
Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation***

Who were the human rights violators in this case?		
Persons	Institutions	Policies

Back-Home Notes

Migration and Immigration - Dominican Republic: Discrimination Against Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Descendants (Solange Pierre)

1. Can you think of cases of intersectional oppression, in your community or in the world that happen in the contexts of migration and immigration? Give specific examples.
2. Can you recognize any aspect of what happens to Haitians in the Dominican Republic in your or your community's own experience?
3. Is there a group of migrant/immigrant workers in your community who are subject to oppression? Who are they? What are the dimensions of their identity?
4. Is there a group of migrant/immigrant workers in your community who are subject to discriminatory policies because of the color of their skin? Who are they? What are the policies that discriminate against them? What role does racism play in how this group is treated?

Text of Ita F. Nadia's Testimony

War, Conflict and Genocide Indonesia: The May Rapes of 1998

Little Fransisca was eleven years old, from a Batavian-Chinese family, living in a Chinese slum in West Jakarta. During the May riot, her house and the family pig farm were looted. The father ran, leaving the mother, Fransisca, her sister and a small brother. The looters took the pigs and raped the mother, her sister, and Fransisca. Two days later, the mother killed herself by drinking mosquito repellent after leaving Fransisca and her sister in a nearby clinic. Still bleeding from the rape a week later, I came to the clinic, finding them very weak, especially Fransisca. With the intravenous infusion and blood transfusion strapped in her arm, she held my hand tightly when I touched her. She did not let my hand go for the whole day. The next morning when I said goodbye, she cried without saying a word. Finally, I decided not to go home. Around 11 o'clock, she tightened her grip and her tears kept dropping. I put my face on her cheek, and soon found out that she already died.

Day after day, the number rose, and the horrors came into the many forms of brutal sexual violence, including gang rape and mutilation, that targeted especially women of Indonesian-Chinese descent. In response, the Voluntary Team of Humanity set up a special division called The Division on Violence Against Women, which immediately set up crisis centers, counseling team and a fact-finding mission. We got requests from communities in various parts of Jakarta to arrange group discussion to come to grasp of what was happening. We shared our understanding of this tragic event as a form of state violence that use ethnic and gender violence as a means of causing public terror. This combination of racist and sexist violence reflected at one level militaristic tendency to use women's bodies as means for terror, and at the second level, exploited the racist legacy of Indonesian colonial history. During Dutch colonial rule, the Indonesian Chinese were given special status and rights to collect taxes from the natives for the colonial rulers, thus using them as buffers and scapegoats.

As the news of the violence spread, the Division on Violence Against Women faced intimidation and threats. Unidentified callers threatened to rape all women volunteers. There was a strong wave of denial and disbelief in the public discourse about the reality of the rapes. Instead of voicing anger over the rapes, the House of Representatives demanded that the Voluntary Team for Humanity be brought to court for "bringing up lies and shaming the nation in the face of the world." Following the disclosure of the May rapes, groups of women from all over Indonesia, including West Papua, Aceh, and East Timor, came forward to testify against violence against women that occurred in the areas of conflict and military operations.

With all of them, I realize that I cannot just hope, but still have to fight hard so that the transition in Indonesia will lead to significant changes that will make Indonesia a place where everybody, regardless of her or his sex, ethnicity, religion, and race, feels safe and free. That was my promise to Fransisca as I held her hand in her dying moment, my promise to the two girls who lost their nipples, to Ita Martadinata who was silenced before she could speak up, a promise that I will keep until the end.

Text of Vera Kurtic's Testimony

Bodily Integrity and Sexuality

Serbia: Roma Racial and Sexual Discrimination

Another case of a young Roma woman that came as a refugee from Kosovo was very disturbing for all of us. She and her sister have joined the women's movement and worked hard on achieving women's human rights. But she, Ismeta, decided to act upon the will of her parents and sacrificed herself in order to escape difficult living conditions, and accepted to be sold by her father into marriage. Ismeta was sold for \$9,000 US dollars, which was used to transport her and her family illegally to Sweden. She married a Roma man who came from Bosnia and her family sought asylum in Sweden.

The international community too has ignored the fact about the rapes of Roma women in Kosovo. And trafficking of women among which, the great numbers are of Roma nationality. Out of fear of social despise, Roma women do not bring their experience to courts. No woman, all around the globe, has received the full support after the horrible experience of violence, since the institutional officials and the procedure itself blame her for the rape. Not one woman that came to our organization because of rape wanted to go through the official institutions.

You have to understand that there is another dimension in the lives of Roma women: all the institutions that are there to provide assistance are WHITE, only white people are employed there, only white people are involved in the decision-making process. Racism is very much present and this is the primary reason that Roma women rather give up than seek assistance from the institutions.

I was lucky to live differently than my grandmothers - to receive education, not live in the Roma ghetto and choose the way of life for myself. But for me too, I still live in the society that is not liberated from prejudices, violence and wars, racial and religious intolerance and hatred.

No one expected me to graduate from primary school, just because I am Roma. Not my teachers. Not my family. By completing my education, I feel that I can somehow manage to get full integrity that otherwise would be impossible: I would probably be married to a man and be his slave for the rest of my life.

Text of Solange Pierre's Testimony

Migration and Immigration

Dominican Republic: Discrimination against Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Descendants

When I turned nine years old, I started formal schooling. We were a group of 15 students from my community who walked 14 kilometers each way, every day, to the nearest school. It was in school that I first felt shocked by extreme racism. My first hard experience was with my history teacher who took us out of the classroom on February 27th, the national holiday, because Haitians should not be present for the Dominican national holiday.

I always felt committed to the struggle of my town - the injustices that my people, my group, have suffered in addition to the state-sponsored oppression and exploitation where women and children are most vulnerable.

To the east of the country, the military was at their most creative. At two in the morning, they broke into one of the Haitian homes. They tied up the partner of a migrant Haitian woman and they raped her repeatedly. Later they forced her 18-year-old son to engage in sexual intercourse with her. After this incident, the husband did not offer his support. He said he could not continue living with a woman who had had sexual intercourse with her son. The woman went crazy. This woman was a member of my organization.

In my country it is said:

- That you should not hospitalize Haitians with Dominicans. They should be hospitalized in separate quarters.
- That you should not supply medical help to Haitian women in labor. The doctor who does would be fined 10,000 to 25,000 pesos.

In the country where I was born, I exist under three names - Solange Pierre, Sonia Pierre, and Solange Pie - but only one identity. My struggle has been for recognition of this identity. My challenge is the integration and the respect for each one of my names.

Information Sheet on the National Context of Indonesia

War, Conflict and Genocide

Indonesia: Mass Rape of Indonesian Chinese Women by Ita F. Nadia

Understanding the Facts of the Story

*In order to make sense of the senseless, the tendency is to search for old enemies. The fault lines of ethnicity, class and gender are the first to emerge.*¹

In 1998, Indonesia, the second most culturally diverse country in Asia with 225 million people consisting of 360 tribes and ethno-linguistic groups, was in the midst of economic and political crisis of dramatic proportions. The economic crisis caused much human suffering: most families' incomes shrunk to less than the amount necessary to purchase a subsistence quantity of rice. Nearly half of the Indonesian population was pushed into poverty, and women were the hardest hit: "they [women] are the first to be laid off, have taken sharper cuts in access to food and other necessities, and girls are being pulled from school to help with their families' survival."²

The political crisis included student-led demands for political reform that had managed to bring down the three-decade rule of President Suharto. Under Suharto's leadership, from 1966 to 1998, the military ruled through an oppressive and authoritarian system.

One major outcome of the crisis was violence directed against the community of nearly 7 million ethnic Chinese who live in Indonesia. The economically better-off Chinese were portrayed as traitors who caused, or at least aided the crisis. Indonesia's Chinese comprise less than 3% of the total population and control about 70% of the country's private economic activity.³ This was further exacerbated by the stories of the "wealthy Chinese" in the mass media.⁴ Anti-Chinese sentiments and violence were stirred and culminated in the May Riots of 1998. Chinese homes and businesses were destroyed, and Chinese women were subjected to organized and systematic rapes and other forms of sexual violence. Over 170 cases of rape committed against ethnic Chinese women were documented in Indonesia during one week.⁵

Understanding the Story Behind the Facts: Exploring the Root Causes

The Chinese in Indonesia

Since the time of the Dutch colonial rule beginning in early 1600s⁶, the Chinese in Indonesia have been used as a buffer and scapegoat in economic downturns and times of popular unrest. The Dutch colonists had given the Indonesian Chinese special status and rights to collect taxes for the colonial rulers, creating resentment among the other Indonesians.

In the view of Ita F. Nadia, ethnic Chinese were victims of state violence that used, "ethnic and gender violence as means of causing public terror." She observed, "This combination of racist and sexist violence reflected at one level a militaristic tendency to use women's bodies as means for terror, and at the second level, exploited the racist legacy of Indonesian colonial history."⁷

Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

The policies of the international financial institutions and Indonesian government's partnership with international speculators created a false economic progress that ended in a collapse and caused much suffering to Indonesian people. As the "fault lines of ethnicity, class and gender" emerged, the violence erupted and Chinese women were raped.

Failed Economic Policies - International and Local

During the 1990s, Indonesia was hailed as one of the "Asian Miracle" countries. Before President Suharto was ousted, the World Bank loaned his government about \$25 billion, over 32 years, at least 20-30 percent of which was reportedly diverted through informal payments to GOI staff and politicians.⁸ Before the crisis of the 1990s, Indonesia enjoyed an economic growth of 7.5% a year. However, after the closure of sixteen banks in November 1997, as recommended by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), depositors/foreign currency speculators withdrew their money from those and other banks. In order to protect the rupiah, the Indonesian Central Bank increased the interest rate by more than 50%, leading to the closure of many medium and small enterprises. A sharp fall in the value of rupiah in January 1998 led to a financial panic, causing the domestic and foreign investors to abandon their rupiah-denominated assets.⁹

Accountability Denied

In Noeleen Heyzer's (UNIFEM) and Martin Khor's (Third World Network) words, "The ethnic riots in Indonesia, the massive rapes of Chinese women, and the burning of small shop-houses selling rice and foodstuff accompanied the turmoil of changing political leadership that could no longer respond to the needs of its people."¹⁰ The Indonesian government's response to the mass rapes of Chinese women was that of skepticism, blame, and failure to admit responsibility for the violence. When questioned about the pictures of rapes in the *Asian Wall Street Journal* and on the Internet, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Altas, argued that the reports were deliberately made up.¹¹ As Ita noted in her testimony, the House of Representatives demanded that the "Voluntary Team for Humanity" be brought to court for bringing up "lies" and shaming the nation in the face of the world for disclosing the rapes.

¹ Heyzer, Noeleen (executive director of UNIFEM) and Martin Khor (Third World Network). "The Asian Financial Crisis: Causes, Consequences and Ways Forward." Development Forum: Speaker's Corner. The World Bank Group. http://www.worldbank.org/devforum/speaker_heyzer.html

² Weisbrot, Mark (Research Director at the Preamble Center, Washington, DC) "Neoliberalism Comes Unglued." *Z-Magazine*. <http://www.zmag.org/ZMag/articles/iveisbrotoctg8.htm>

³ Sevilla-Sharon, Maia. "The Chinese Question in Indonesia: The Economic Factor in Ethnic Conflict." *Columbia East Asian Review*, Fall 1999. <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/ccba/cear/issues/fall99/text-only/sharon.htm>

⁴ Wibowo, Ignatius (Lecturer at the University of Indonesia and Head of the Centre for Chinese Studies). "Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Indonesian Chinese after the Fall of Soeharto." Research Notes and Comments. *SOUJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 16, Issue 1, April 2001. p. 129.

s Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 74

⁶ "The Legacy Events Index: Indonesian Conflict." New York: The Legacy Project, 2001. <http://www.legacy-project.org/events/display.html?ID=g>

⁷ Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 76

⁸ Aslam, Abid. "Development: World Bank's Guilt on Indonesia Corruption." IPS - Inter Press Service, Washington, February 14, 1999.

⁹ Wibowo, Ignatius (Lecturer at the University of Indonesia and Head of the Centre for Chinese Studies). "Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Indonesian Chinese after the Fall of Soeharto." Research Notes and Comments. *SOUJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 16, Issue 1, April 2001. p. 128-129.

¹⁰ Heyzer, Noeleen (Executive Director of UNIFEM) and Martin Khor (Third World Network). "The Asian Financial Crisis: Causes, Consequences and Ways Forward." Development Forum: Speaker's Corner. The World Bank Group. http://www.worldbank.org/devforum/speaker_heyzer.html

¹¹ Ibid. p. 134-135

Information Sheet on the Historical Context of the Roma

Bodily Integrity and Sexuality

Serbia: Roma Racial and Sexual Discrimination by Vera Kurtic

Understanding the Facts of the Story

Roma people are generally undercounted and virtually invisible in official data. Out of an estimated 12 million Roma worldwide, eight million are said to live in Europe.¹ The Roma share of Serbia's 10 million population is said to range from 140,000 to 800,000.²

Roma constitute 80% of the illiterate population in Serbia - only 2% have a high-school education. Most Roma live in ghettos, in poorly built earth and cardboard dwellings, and have few contacts with the outside world and the official culture of the country. Many Roma cannot speak the national language, do not have knowledge to fill out the official forms, and have no adequate knowledge about the public institutions and services. They earn their living by either working in other people's homes, smuggling, which includes endless traveling, walking and hard work. Because of this, they age very fast and die very young.³ Life expectancy of Roma is the lowest of any group in Europe. In former Czechoslovakia, the infant mortality rate of the Roma is more than double the rate for the rest of the population.⁴ In Yugoslavia, only 1.4% of Roma people are over 60, compared to 26.9% of the Yugoslav population as a whole.⁵

Roma Women Doubly Effected

Only 3% of Roma population is officially employed and only 1% of these are women, who hold the lowest and the least paid positions at the working place.⁶ Roma women constitute about 50% of the total Roma population in Serbia.⁷ It is women who do the household chores, raise children and support their families by collecting recycled cartons, or working in the gray economy. A patriarchal system is strongly present in the Roma communities, thus making Roma women victims of double discrimination - as members of a rejected culture - marginalized minority women - and as women in patriarchal community. "Roma customs mean that many women are sold to husbands or escape with them at an early age"⁸. Roma girls are disadvantaged because of their early marriage. They stop attending school at the age of eleven or twelve.⁹ They are "owned" by the husbands and are expected to have many children and provide for the family. In addition, they are often victims of gender-based violence.¹⁰ As Vera noted in her testimony, the international community has ignored the facts about the rapes of Roma women in Kosovo and the trafficking of women, among which the greatest number are Roma.

Understanding the Story Behind the Facts

Originally, Roma came from northeastern India. Their westward migration began about 1,000 years ago. By the 15th century, Roma were settled in the Balkans. Intolerance against and persecution of the Roma people accompanied the Protestant Reformation and the rise of the nation-state in the 16th century. In the 18th century Austria-Hungary, Roma children over 5 years old were taken from their parents to be raised in non-Roma families. In Romania, Roma people were kept slaves until the 1860s. During World War II, up to 500,000 Roma were executed in Nazi camps.¹¹

The root causes of this discrimination and persecution against Roma can be traced to the societies/states' constant failure to understand and accept the Roma distinctive culture and way of life. Since their arrival in Western Europe, Roma were subject to negative stereotyping, and have been perceived as criminals and social deviants, thus inspiring mistrust, fear, and rejection.¹² Due to their distinct nomadic lifestyle, Roma never fit into the established structures of the State, and were typically considered as a social problem.

Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

Policies and systems of implementation at the local, national and the international level perpetuate the invisibility of Roma as people and of the intersectional discrimination against them. Policies towards Roma have ranged from persecution and exclusion to forced integration and assimilation. These policies have included the outlawing of Roma, their culture, language and lifestyle. In some cases, Roma language, traditions, and way of life were outlawed, and bans were imposed on their nomadic lifestyle. Policies toward Roma were often contradictory. For example, they were legally required to send their children to school, and at the same time subject to a law that limited the duration of their stay in urban areas.

Assimilation policies, the most pervasive under the communist regimes of Central and Eastern Europe, however, at least provided the bare minimum of social provisions to Roma people.[^] But abuses were also present. In the latter part of the communist era in Czechoslovakia, many Roma women were sterilized without their full, informed and voluntary consent. The purpose, according to a July 1977 government document was to, "reduce the 'high unhealthy' Romani population."[^]

In the post-communist regimes, the economic, social and political situation of Roma is accompanied by the lack of financial resources to implement non-discriminatory and affirmative policies in housing, health, education and employment.[^]

Because racism is present in local institutions, Roma women are reluctant to seek assistance from them when they are subject to racial and sexual abuse. In Vera's words, "All the institutions that are there are white, only white people are employed there, only white people are involved in the decision-making process."¹⁶

¹ Zehr, Mary Ann. "Eastern Europe Pressured to Integrate Roma Students." *Education Week*, Vol. 21, Issue 38, May 29, 2002. p. 8

² Mrsevic, Zorica and Ana Prodanovic (Project Officers, Oxfam in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). "Roma Women Speak Out." Oxfam. Policy - Gender and Development. Links - November 2002.
<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/policy/gender/oonov/11ooroma.htm>

³ Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 21

⁴ UNICEF. "The Effects of Poverty on Early Childhood." *The State of the World's Children, 2001*.
<http://www.unicef.org/sowco1/2-3.htm>

⁵ ICARE - Internet Care Anti-Racism Europe, <http://www.icare.to/caucus/health.html>

⁶ Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 21

⁷ Bitu, Nicoleta. "Double Discrimination of Roma Women." United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Expert Group Meeting on "Gender and Racial Discrimination", 21-24 November, 2000, Zagreb, Croatia. EGM/GRD/2000/EP.6. November 10, 2000. p. 2

⁸ Mrsevic, Zorica and Ana Prodanovic (Project Officers, Oxfam in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). "Roma Women Speak Out." Oxfam. Policy - Gender and Development. Links November 2002.

⁹ ERRC - European Roma Rights Center. "Romani Women in Romani and Majority Societies." *Roma Rights: Notebook*. Number 1, 2000. http://www.errc.org/rr_nn_2000/notebi.shtml

¹⁰ Mrsevic, Zorica and Ana Prodanovic (Project Officers, Oxfam in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). "Roma Women Speak Out." Oxfam. Policy - Gender and Development. Links - November 2002.

¹¹ McKee, Martin. "The Health of Gypsies." *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, Volume 315, Issue 7117, November 8, 1997- P-1172 (2p.)

¹² Minority Rights Group. "Protection of Minority Rights in Europe: Policy Recommendations." Based on the case studies of Eastern and Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union. An Occasional Paper, Commissioned by the Advisory Committee on Human Rights and Foreign Policy of the Netherlands. June 1996.

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Delphi/6509/nether.html>

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ ERRC - European Roma Rights Center. "Silent Attack: A Campaign of Sterilization of Romani Women." *Roma Rights: Past Abuses*. Number 1, 2000. http://www.errc.org/rr_nri_2000/past_abuses.shtml

¹⁵ Minority Rights Group. "Protection of Minority Rights in Europe: Policy Recommendations." Based on the case studies of Eastern and Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union. An Occasional Paper, Commissioned by the Advisory Committee on Human Rights and Foreign Policy of the Netherlands. June 1996.

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Delphi/6509/nether.html>

¹⁶ Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 25

Information Sheet on the National Context of the Dominican Republic

Migration and Immigration

Dominican Republic: Discrimination against Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Descendants by Solange Pierre

Understanding the Facts of the Story

Haiti and the Dominican Republic share the island of Hispanola in the Caribbean. Today, approximately 500,000 to 700,000 Haitians live and work in the Dominican Republic, and an equal number are Dominican Haitians. Only about 5% of them have identification documents.¹ The exact number of Haitians in the Dominican Republic has never been determined, since the Dominican government never conducted a census of or released any demographic information about this population.²

Haitian men/migrant workers (braceros) work in the sugar cane fields and are forced to live in bateyes - hostels for temporary workers - where Haitian women are not authorized to live. Haitian sugar cane cutters work 12-18 hours per day and are subject to terrible living and working conditions.³ They experience racism, inhuman labor conditions, abject poverty, dismal conditions, lack of access to health care and education and regular roundups and forced repatriations even after generations of living in the Dominican Republic.⁴ In the month of January 2001 alone, 4,000 Haitians were thrown out of the country, with no advance warning, no chance to prove their legal status, and no opportunity to contact their family or collect their belongings.⁵ The situation of these migrant workers has not changed very much since the 16th century when slaves were imported from Africa to cut sugar canes.

While the entire Haitian community suffers discrimination, women suffer in particular ways. For example, they have less job opportunities and are at a high risk of sexual and physical violence. Haitian women are more vulnerable since their presence is not acknowledged either in the bateyes or in the cane fields. Since they are not recognized by the state as dwellers of the bateyes or workers on the plantations, neither they nor the violations against them are documented. For example, rape of women in government-owned bateyes by the military personnel.

About 5% of the cane cutters are women and they are paid half of what men receive. The State Sugar Council does not have a record of women living in the bateyes. According to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Country Report 1999, the only function attributed to women is "to guarantee the presence of the migrant workers in the subsequent harvests."⁶ Thus, the report continues, "Haitian immigrant women, as they are not acknowledged, cannot obtain documentation or any other type of benefit or service, and consequently they and their offspring are condemned to a situation of illegality and permanent exploitation."⁷

Understanding the Story Behind the Facts

The island of Hispanola was the first New World colony settled by Spain. Maltreatment of the local Taino Indians (Arawaks), (whose population, estimated at 1 million in 1492 had been reduced to about 500 by 1548) led to the need for new labor force for sugarcane cultivation led to importation of African slaves, whose labor was used almost exclusively by 1520.⁸

When Spanish attention turned to richer New World colonies, the French settled in the west part of the island, today known as Haiti, continuing the cultivation of sugarcane by imported African slave labor. By the early 1800s, the slaves outnumbered the French, the slave population of Haiti revolted, defeated the French and founded the first independent Latin American State, Republic of Haiti, in 1804. In 1801, rebel leader Toussaint L'Ouverture, conquered Santo Domingo, the Spanish part of the island, briefly bringing the entire island under the Haitian rule. For the next 45 years Dominican territory alternated between Haitian and Spanish rule. Dominican history portrays the Haitian 22-year rule as harsh and oppressive.?

Racial prejudice is at the core of anti-Haitianism. It was during the colonial era when the Dominican Republic was governed by the Spanish and Haiti by the French, that the linguistic, cultural, and perceived racial differences between the two populations came to the fore. Creole-speaking Haitians are descendants of African slaves. Spanish-speaking Dominicans also have African ancestry, but many claim Spanish or other European ancestors. The Haitian population is generally considered "blacker" than that of the Dominican Republic. Dominican nationalists emphasized their cultural and racial distinction from Haiti by identifying themselves as "Hispanic" and calling Haitians "Black."

Many Dominicans assume that all black people are Haitian, or have Haitian blood. A Human Rights Watch Report observes, "It is also frequently believed that all sugar cane workers and all residents of *bateyes* are Haitian, although the labor pool in the sugar industry and the population in the *bateyes* is ethnically diverse, including second- and third- generation Dominico-Haitians and even Dominicans without Haitian ancestors."¹⁰

The root causes of animosity towards Haitians can be traced back to the historical conflicts and resentments dating back to the colonial period. In the twentieth century, during the U.S. occupations of Haiti (1914-34) and of the Dominican Republic (1915-25), a large population of Haitians from the border area was brought to work on the Dominican sugar plantations.

Dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo came into power in 1930 and ruled the Dominican Republic until his assassination in 1961. His rule was characterized by anti-Haitian campaigns. These campaigns were built on the historical animosity and the perception of Haitians as a threat to Dominican national sovereignty. In an effort to remove Haitians from the country and to 'Dominicanize' the sugar cane industry, Trujillo ordered a massacre of Haitians in October of 1937.¹¹ It is estimated that more than 30,000 Haitians were killed in the massacre.¹² Anti-Haitian stereotypes promoted by Trujillo still persist.

Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation

Haitians in the Dominican Republic live in a status of "permanent illegality"⁴ and are subject to state-sponsored policy of oppression and exploitation. A large number of Haitians have lived in the Dominican Republic for 20, 30 or more years, without any legal status. The "illegality" is then passed on to children who cannot obtain any documents since their parents do not have any.⁴ Because the government does not allow the Haitian women and men to be "legal" in the country, it evades the responsibility of protecting their human rights.

Racism is entrenched in the anti-Haitian policies. According to the Human Rights Watch report, Haitians are targeted for deportation "based on the color of their skin."⁵ The government uses a loophole in their citizenship law that people "in transit" and their children are not entitled to citizenship status. Haitian immigrant workers are considered to be "in transit", even after living in the country for more than one generation.¹⁶

In spite of its racist policies, the Dominican government denies racial discrimination against Haitians. In a report, the government told the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 1999: "It is worth emphasizing that there is no racial prejudice [in the Dominican Republic] . . . [and] there is absolutely no foundation for the belief that there is discrimination against Haitians living in the country."¹⁷

¹ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States. "Situation of Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Families in the Dominican Republic." Chapter 9. *Country Report: Dominican Republic*, 1999. <http://www.cidh.oas.org/countryrep/DominicanRep99/Chapter9.htm>

² Gavigan, Patrick (A consultant to the National Coalition for Haitian Rights - NCHR). *Beyond the Bateyes*. New York: National Coalition for Haitian Rights, May 1996. p. 14

³ Griffin, Regina. "Hidden from Sight: Cane Cutters in the Dominican Republic." *America*, Volume 173, Issue 3. July 29, 1995 - August 5, 1995. p. 22 (3p)

⁴ Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 34

⁵ Llopart, Jordi Pius. "Apartheid Dominican Style." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Volume 35, Issue 2. October 2001. p. 26 (7/8p)

⁶ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States. "Situation of Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Families in the Dominican Republic." Chapter 9. *Country Report: Dominican Republic*, 1999. <http://www.cidh.oas.org/countryrep/DominicanRep99/Chapter9.htm>

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Country Reports: Dominican Republic. "The First Colony." <http://www.countryreports.org/history/dominhist.htm> [http://lcweb2.l0c.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+dooi3](http://lcweb2.l0c.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+dooi3)

⁹ Gavigan, Patrick (A consultant to the National Coalition for Haitian Rights - NCHR). *Beyond the Bateyes*. New York: National Coalition for Haitian Rights, May 1996. p. 6

¹⁰ Human Rights Watch. "Illegal People": *Haitians and Dominico-Haitians in the Dominican Republic*. A Human Rights Watch Report on Dominican Republic, Volume 14, Number 1 (B), April 2002. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/domrep/>

¹¹ Gavigan, Patrick (A consultant to the National Coalition for Haitian Rights - NCHR). *Beyond the Bateyes*. New York: National Coalition for Haitian Rights, May 1996. p. 7-8

¹² Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 35

*3 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States. "Situation of Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Families in the Dominican Republic." Chapter g. *Country Report: Dominican Republic*, 1999. <http://www.cidh.oas.org/countryrep/DominicanRepgg/Chapterg.htm>

H Ibid.

¹⁵ Human Rights Watch. *"Illegal People": Haitians and Dominico-Haitians in the Dominican Republic*. A Human Rights Watch Report on Dominican Republic, Volume 14, Number 1 (B), April 2002.

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/domrep/>

¹⁶ Raj, Rita, Ed. (In collaboration with Charlotte Bunch and Elmira Nazombe). *Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership, June 2002. p. 37 (footnote)

*? Human Rights Watch. *"Illegal People": Haitians and Dominico-Haitians in the Dominican Republic*. A Human Rights Watch Report on Dominican Republic, Volume 14, Number 1 (B), April 2002.

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/domrep/>

Summary of Hearing Themes

War, Conflict and Genocide

Women shall be especially protected against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault. Article 27, Geneva Convention

At the turn of the century, wars and conflicts were taking place in more than 20 countries around the world. The great majority of victims in contemporary wars are civilians - the majority of whom are women. For hundreds of years, mass rape and other forms of human rights violations have been committed against women in war situations. Whether as civilians or as combatants, women suffer multiple forms of violence in conflict situations because of their sex and gender roles, and also because of their racial, ethnic, national and other identities. In armed conflicts around the globe, women's human rights are violated through sexual and physical violence. In every recent conflict - East Timor, Rwanda, Kosovo, Bosnia, Algeria, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, etc. - rape and other forms of sexual violence have been used against women as a tool of war. Traditionally, women have been seen as symbols of communities' integrity and honor. It is the strategy of the warring parties to subject women of a particular racial, ethnic, or national group to rape, sexual and physical abuse and harassment, in order to dishonor the other community, ethnic, or racial group. Often combined with a policy of forced impregnation, the goal of the systematic rapes is the destruction of an ethnic or racial group's pride - a form of genocide.

Bodily Integrity and Sexuality

Women are entitled to the equal enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. These rights include, the right to liberty and security of person. Article 3, Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women

Bodily integrity means the right to dignity and respect in one's physical body and to be free from abuses and assaults, subtle and overt, including unwanted sexual exploitation of all forms. The violations of this principle worldwide are pervasive, and include a diversity of obvious and subtler discriminations, from the trafficking of sex workers to the regulation of the bodies of women controlled by the state and religious authorities. Examples of violations of the right to bodily integrity and sexuality range from Roma women being controlled by their communities' traditional norms and the dominant European societies in which they live, to African-American women in prison being abused by the prison system and by its officers. Many bodily integrity abuses that happen to a woman are not just because she is a woman, but also because she has many identities: her race, her caste, her class, her sexual identity. The abusers, whether men in her own society, the dominant outside group, or employees of the state, believe that they can get away with rape, beatings, and humiliation because they know that the victims have difficulty trying to report this abuse and will not be supported in their call for justice.

Migration and Immigration

The right to life of migrant workers and members of their families shall be protected by the law. Migrant workers and members of their families shall be entitled to effective protection by the State against violence, physical injury, threats and intimidation, whether by public officials or by private individuals, groups or institutions. Article 9, International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families

The processes of globalization have complicated the problems of internal conflicts, and economic crises leading to an increase in the movement of people across borders, legally and illegally, especially from poorer to wealthier countries. The definitions of migrant, immigrant, refugee and asylum seekers are merging and government policies have had difficulty responding to these new forms of migration. Migrants, especially women, who constitute more than half of the world's migrant population, are subjected to multiple forms of human rights violations. Women migrants are subject to xenophobia and racist violence, as well as domestic battery and sexual assault, and they often lack access to legal protection. More women than men tend to migrate for family reasons, either to reunite or to establish a new family. Also, cultural practices in women's countries of origin, that restrict women's freedom, mobility and security, makes women the prime candidates for migration as a form of involuntary or desperate flight. The vast majority of women, from those highly qualified and with college degrees to undocumented laborers, usually work at unskilled jobs for years after immigration.

Testimony Profiles

Bodily Integrity and Sexuality

Serbia: Roma Racial and Sexual Discrimination

Roma activists Vera Kurtic and Slavica Vasic reveal the double discrimination faced by Roma women: forced to face discrimination and humiliation in government-sponsored health services and invisibility to official agencies, as well as endangered by bride-selling and other forms of gender discrimination by their own community.

South Africa: HIV/AIDS Challenges and Sexual Discrimination

Nobuntu Prudence Mabele, an HIV-positive AIDS activist recounts her personal struggles and the discriminations she faced as a person living with AIDS as well as her efforts to organize other black women with HIV on behalf of their rights in order to get appropriate medical treatment and other social services.

Nepal: Dalit Trafficking

Indira Ghale, a teacher and Dalit activist with the Feminist Dalit Organization (FEDO) speaks of the sexual exploitation of Baadi (a Dalit sub-group) women within Nepal and of the efforts of her organization to improve the situation of Dalit women in Nepal.

United States of America: Criminal Justice System

Tonya McClary, a civil rights and criminal defense lawyer talks about the experiences of African American and African women subjected to sexual abuse, violence and neglect of critical health problems while serving sentences in United States prisons.

Migration and Immigration

Dominican Republic: Discrimination Against Haitian Migrant Workers and Their Descendants

Solange Pierre, of Haitian descent, has lived all her life in the Dominican Republic, a country that refuses to acknowledge her claim to citizenship or to any rights. She shares the stories of the brutal treatment of Haitian migrant women workers by the Dominican military.

Malaysia: Foreign Domestic Workers - The Obstacles

Meera Samanther and Rozana Isa of the Women's Aid Organization tell of the strategies of their organization to help foreign domestic workers secure their rights and receive justice from the courts in their cases against their Malaysian employers as well as expanding their protection by government.

Germany: Women Migrants Organizing for Their Rights

Behshid Najafi, an Iranian exile now living in Germany, narrates the journey of her development as an activist learning the vital lesson of the critical need to combine economic justice activism with women's human rights and anti-racism and the efforts of her organization to secure the full spectrum of human rights for immigrant women living in Germany.

United States of America: Experiences of Immigrant Women Workers and Asylum Seekers

Nahar Alam, originally from Bangladesh, is an organizer of immigrant women domestic workers in the U.S. Her story includes her flight to the U.S. from an abusive husband of a child marriage in Bangladesh, to her personal struggle to learn English and be granted asylum to her commitment to working with other immigrant workers.

War, Conflict, and Genocide

Indonesia: Mass Rape of Indonesian Chinese Women

Ita F. Nadia, human rights worker, shares her experiences of trying to assist and bring comfort to Chinese women and girls who were victims of violence during the political and economic crisis in Indonesia in 1998.

Palestine: Women's Lives in Refugee Camps

Manar Faraj and Vivian Stromberg recount the experiences of a Palestinian granddaughter and grandmother living out their lives in a refugee camp: the daily struggles for survival, the special challenges faced by young girls, the hopes in a new community center and the longing for peace.

Republic of Congo: War, Conflict, Sexual Violence, and Ethnicity

Doris Mpoumou tells the story of her own rape and humiliation at the hands of her country's military because of assumptions about her ethnic identity as she tried to flee the inter-ethnic conflict in her country.

Guatemala: Genocide and Ethnocide of Indigenous People

Maria Toj Mendoza, a Mayan Kiche, remembers the long genocidal war in her country, the experiences of women working to keep their families and communities together, the role of the military and external governments and the inspiration drawn from women's struggles in other parts of the world.

Activity Three: Using Human Rights Methodology - Small Group Work

Time: 1 hour

Materials: Group Task List, Enlarged Case Study Worksheets (*Knowing the Basic Facts*, *Understanding the Contexts*, *Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation* for each group from Session Two, Activity Two), and markers

Getting Started: Viewing the Video, Reading Materials - 20 minutes

- You may wish to give the groups the option of organizing their preparations for using the human rights methodology in whatever way they choose, or you may wish to suggest a standard procedure for all groups.
- Some groups may feel it is necessary to show the video a second time. You may wish to choose from the following options:
 1. View the entire video
 2. View only the testimony, case-study segments
- Others may feel that it is not necessary to view the video a second time. As an alternative, you might choose to ask the group to look over their notes from Session One in order to refresh their memory on the details of the stories.
- Urge the groups to look at the content of the other resource materials and assign group members to read the other materials and make notes on the case study questions and case study intersection work sheet.

Discussion/Analysis of the Case Study

- After reading the materials, the groups should discuss the particular cases based on the information they got from the video, the information sheets, and the book. Explain to them that this will be done by completing together the enlarged three case study work sheets. The discussion will consist of group members volunteering information from their notes about their responses to the questions relating to the three general intersectional methodology elements.
- Hand out the enlarged case study work sheets and markers to each group.
- Hand out the Group Task List to each small group. Inform the participants that the purpose of the task list is to guide their discussion. Go over the task list.
- You may wish to make the following suggestions about the process of the discussion:
 1. Completing the *Knowing the Basic Facts* worksheet: Participants can give their answers to the questions - Whose rights were violated? What rights were violated? What rights violations are unique to women's biological identity and gender and social roles? The recorder should note them on the large worksheet.
 2. Group members give their responses to the case study questions, and the group recorder writes all the answers on the chart grid, under the appropriate columns.
 3. Before moving to *Understanding the Context* the group answers may wish to take a few minutes to reflect on what connections/insights can be found from the given responses/discussion.
 4. The group repeats this procedure for each of the other two steps in the methodology: *Understanding the Context* and *Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation*.
 5. At the end of the discussion, the group will have a collection of their individual responses to the case study questions on the three intersectional methodology chart grids.

Group Task List

- Choose a Volunteer facilitator and reporter.

Case Study

- Read background materials on case studies and human right themes.

- Answer Case Study Questions.

- Complete Case Study Worksheets.

Back-Home

- Brainstorm local/national intersectional problems.

- Answer Back-Home Questions.

- Complete Back-Home Worksheet.

- Post discussion results.

Activity Four: Reporting Back and Summing Up

Objectives: To inform the larger group about what was learned from the individual case studies. To inform the larger group about what was learned from relating the individual case studies to their own personal or community experiences. To wrap-up the session by sharing important learnings.

Time: 45 minutes

Materials: Large chart paper

Getting Started

- Give the group ten minutes to walk around the room and read the results of the work of the other groups.

Sharing and Discussion of Case Studies

- Beginning with the *Knowing the Basic Facts* large work sheet, a volunteer from each group reports on each group's answers to the questions. Whose rights were violated? What rights were violated? What rights violations are unique to women's biological identity and gender and social roles?
- After hearing from all the groups, take a few minutes to reflect on what connections/insights can be found from the given responses/discussion in each of the three themes.
- Follow the same procedure for reporting the discussion of *Understanding the Context* and *Intersectional Review of Policies and Systems of Implementation* themes and discuss/note any intersecting dimensions, similarities, connections, coming from the groups' responses.

Sharing and Discussion of Back Home Situations

- Ask participants to take out the Theme Sheets. Ask groups to share their examples of intersectional discrimination (other than the case studies) that happen in the context of war, conflict, and genocide, immigration and migration and bodily integrity. Suggest that they note these examples on the theme sheets.
- Begin a new large sheet with three columns: Themes; Groups discriminated against at home; and Multiple dimensions of their identity.
- Referring to their Back-Home Notes, ask the group volunteer reporter to give the results of their discussion under each of the headings. First list all groups discriminated against and then all descriptions of identity. If additional themes are reported add them to the theme column.
- Ask the participants to identify some of the intersecting themes that came up during the report-backs. What were some of the similarities across the cases? Let the participants volunteer to comment by raising their hand.

Discussion/Evaluation

- In the final go-around, each participant should say quickly two things they learned from the session and how they might be able to use that in their work.
- You may wish to close the session asking for any suggestions about follow-up activities and by thanking everyone for their contribution to the session.

Session Three: Breaking the Connection Between Intersection and Oppression

Introduction

Women who experience the reality of gender and race (ethnicity, caste, national origin, and class, etc.) oppressions need policy alternatives that particularly address their reality. Identities should be a source of celebration and of choice, not of oppressions. The negative connection between the identity and oppression needs to be broken. Policy alternatives are needed at the global, national and local levels, in both large societies and within oppressed communities. Women will need to be organized to work on these alternatives. This session is the final step in the human rights methodology: Developing Alternatives That Work. This session is an opportunity to use all of the information and insights gained in the earlier sessions to develop strategies that can make a real difference in the lives of women who live in the midst of intersectional oppressions.

Objectives

In this session, strategies to deal with the intersectional oppressions in situations of: war, conflict and genocide, migration and immigration, and threats to bodily integrity and sexuality will be developed and explored.

- To brainstorm how current policies might be modified or new policies created to address intersectional discrimination.
- To consider the kind of organizing required to work on these new strategies.
- To develop both long-term and short-term goals in the eradication of intersectional oppressions.
- To develop strategies for the achievement of these goals.
- To determine what allies need to be recruited.
- To consider obstacles to the achievement, especially contextual barriers and how to overcome them.

Activity One: Review and Preparation for Small Group Work

Objective: To introduce the session and review tasks and basic understandings about the fourth step in the Intersectional Methodology process.

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: *Intersectional Oppression* and *An Intersectional Human Rights Methodology Sheet* (previously distributed), Large chart paper listing the tasks of the small groups, *Creating Alternatives that Benefit Women at the Crossroads of Gender and Race Oppression*, and chart paper

Getting Started

- Introduce the session by asking the group to look again at point four of the Intersectional Methodology handout. You may wish to have written out this point on chart paper or a blackboard so that everyone can read it together.
- Ask one member of the group to read the point out loud.
- Ask the group members to share briefly their understanding of the meaning of this step in the methodology. You may wish to write the points made on chart paper so that the group will have a common starting point for the exercise that is to follow.
- Explain that during this session, they will be working in small groups organized around the three theme areas: Bodily Integrity and Sexuality, Immigration and Migration, and War, and Conflict and Genocide to develop strategies. Group members should be encouraged to go into the group where they have the most interest, although it is hoped that a core of members of earlier discussions would be present in each group. The group should construct three groups that are most relevant to their own interests even if they do not strictly follow the themes.

- Briefly describe the tasks of the small groups:
 1. Review information from previous session in order to decide which intersectional problem they wish to work on. Groups are encouraged to choose a discreet enough problem.
 2. Describe the intersectional nature of the problem including naming the human rights that are to be upheld or the human rights violations to be ended.
 3. Briefly envision what the situation would look like without that intersectional oppression.
 4. Brainstorm ways of working: policies to be changed or created, advocacy programs to be initiated, coalitions to be built, education campaigns to be launched, etc.
- Hand out *Creating Alternatives that Benefit Women at the Crossroads of Gender and Race Oppression* and ask the group to read it. The group then discusses questions or clarification they have regarding the sheet.
- Ask each group to be prepared to report back to the larger group:
 1. A newspaper headline that would tell the success of their efforts in terms of changes in the lives of women affected.
 2. List of Key Strategies they would be implementing.

Creating Alternatives that Benefit Women at the Crossroads of Gender and Race Oppressions

Women who experience the reality of gender and race (ethnicity, caste, national origin) oppressions need a variety of policy alternatives in order to restore their rights. These need to happen at the global, national and local level, as well as within oppressed communities themselves. For example, guaranteeing the right to education may require many different kinds of action. Let's take the example of education:

An indigenous girl cannot claim her right to education:

- Because years of civil war have destroyed many of the schools in her area.
- Because her family is too poor to allow her to go to school and needs her to work.
- Because schools for the indigenous population are a low priority for the government.
- Because the few schools close by do not teach in her native language.
- Because she is a girl, and to many in her community, it does not seem "necessary."

An alternative strategy that will adequately address her right to education needs to work on many levels.

At the Local Level, Policy might include

- New schools, teachers and resources to indigenous communities.
- Resources to women's groups in indigenous communities to challenge traditions that keep girls out of school.
- Curricula that respects indigenous tradition and language.

At the National Level, Policy might include

- Government negotiations with indigenous political leaders to address years of destruction and neglect because of war.
- Budgets that shift from debt payments and military spending to education.
- Reversal of policies that privatize schools.
- Resources directed at education for indigenous communities including support for indigenous language instruction and training of indigenous teachers.
- Economic empowerment policies for rural indigenous communities that specifically include needs of indigenous women and girls (including land reform, access to credit, access to markets, extension services, not to the community in general, but also to women specifically).
- Public campaigns to encourage families to send their girls to school.

At the Global Level, Policy might include

- Challenges to World Bank/IMF structural adjustment policies that advocate cuts in social services and privatization of education and other social programs as well as land.
- Calls for cancellation of unjust foreign debt.
- Challenges to trade agreements that undermine local agriculture.
- Challenges to global "terms of trade" by valuing raw materials at a better price.

Such global policies would free resources for national needs, and would free the national government to set its own economic and social policies without the constraints of international institutions and make it possible for governments to honor to its human rights treaty obligations.

Adapted from: Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice (<http://www.wicej.org>)

Activity Two: Considering the Possibilities - Small Group Work

- Objectives:** To review the information learned in previous sessions from the video, book and other materials in order to determine a course of action, the kind of organizing needed
- Time:** 1 hour
- Materials:** *Understanding the Intersections Grids* from the previous sessions on the video testimonies and from the Back-Home discussions, *Women Organizing Information Sheet*, *Creating Alternatives that Benefit Women at the Crossroads of Gender and Race Oppressions*, Group Task List, chart paper and markers

Visioning

- Post the sheets from previous discussions and ask the group to take a few minutes to review them.
- The group then makes a list of the possible situations that they might wish to focus their attention on drawing on both the hearing testimonies and the Back-Home situations. Group members are encouraged to explain why they make their choices.
- Once the list is complete, the group may want to consider if certain actions can be grouped together as part of one action strategy.
- The group chooses one situation to work on and lists that situation on a large sheet of paper. Below the situation, the group facilitator may wish to make two columns: "Women Affected" and "Human Rights Involved." Record the group's views on these two topics.
- In order to think about the vision of the future, the group may wish to break further into groups of two for five minutes to share their individual visions and think about a collective one.
- When the group comes back together, the group facilitator lists all the visions that the smaller groups have thought of. The group should take time to question each other on whether the vision really represents a solution to the problem of intersectional oppression.

Read/Discuss

- Before proceeding, the group may wish to take five minutes to look again at the *Women Organizing Information Sheet* and *Creating Alternatives that Benefit Women at the Crossroads of Gender and Race Oppressions* as a way of preparing for the final task.
- Write Organizing/Action Strategies at the top of a large sheet and ask the group to make a list of strategies they think will remedy the problem they have chosen.
- The group discussion continues refining the strategies, developing specific tactics. Some of this work may require sub-groups to concentrate on specific issues.
- Ten minutes before the small group session are scheduled to end, remind each group to review its work and come up with the newspaper headline that will describe their success. The group should also give final approval to a list of key strategies and tactics.
- Ask each group to post its headline and strategies on the wall.

Women's Organizing Strategies: Excerpts from Hearing Testimonies

Make a Personal Commitment

Nahar Alain, United States

Several times I tried to kill myself in my country because of this situation. Right now I am never going to try to kill myself again. This is my life - I have every right to save myself. I will tell the world, I will tell my colleagues, workers, everyone not to kill yourself because you are human. You have a right to live.

Nobantu Prudence Mabele, South Africa

I left the campus sobbing, but set out to the unknown to fight for my rights and other minority groups. I became active as a founder of an HIV movement and a Gay and Lesbian movement. As advocates and community leaders, we encourage people including women to come out with their HIV status.

Maria Toj, Guatemala

Even after all that has happened, I still have hope. And when people ask me how it is possible to have hope, I answer that I don't feel alone. There are women who have helped me very much through their example.

Doris Mpoumou, Republic of Congo

After the incident, I thought of changing my name, but after a long internal struggle I decided to keep it. Changing my name, and therefore my identity, would strengthen the view that only some ethnic groups were legitimate and not others. Changing my name was not the solution, particularly because it means "good news."

Vera Kurtic, Serbia

According to Dilbera Kombarowska, a Romani woman leader from Macedonia, *The most important problem of Romani women all over the world is lack of education.* Education enables the women to carry out their role as mediators between Roma and the institutions of the majority community.¹ On a personal level, Vera has used her education as a means of addressing the problem of intersectional discrimination.

Organize

Commentator: Ruth Manorama, India

Women are organizing to empower ourselves to defend our social/cultural rights. Through our organization we become the healers. Setting up crisis centers instead of hearing the gun and the tank sounds. Our women are able to build up documentation centers to communicate to the whole world.

Commentator: Betty Murungi, Kenya

Women have been organizing in their own communities, and they will continue to organize on the community, on the national, on the regional and international levels to do, amongst other things, to educate ourselves in our family.

Respond to a Crisis

Ita F. Nadia, Indonesia

Day after day the number rose...brutal sexual violation...that targeted especially women of Indonesian-Chinese descent. In response, the Voluntary Team of Humanity set up a special division called The Division on Violence Against Women, which immediately set up crisis centers, a counseling team and a fact finding mission.

Establish/Work for an Organization/Center

Manar Faraj, Palestine

In Deheisheh [Refugee Camp] young people are working to achieve justice and all of the children in Deheisheh camp have a new hope - the Children's Culture Center that we founded in 1994. We are developing our talents and speaking up for our rights as girls and as refugees. We learn how to use the computer and how to make our own websites. Now we can tell the whole world our story. At Ibdaa we travel abroad and dance Palestinian dances for children in other countries...this is how I give voice to my refugee camp.

Indira Ghale, Dalit-Nepal

I am working for FEDO, the Feminist Dalit Organization, the only Dalit women's organization in Nepal. FEDO has been established with a mission to uplift and empower downtrodden Dalit women economically, educationally, and socially and to advocate against caste and gender discrimination. As objectives, FEDO has started various plans and programs to deal with problems such as untouchability, trafficking, rape, and sexual exploitation. By generating awareness and unity among Dalit men and women, such problems are envisaged to be wiped out.

Vera Kurtic, Serbia

Because of the lack of support by the local and international government institutions, Vera's organization, Woman's Space, provides a safe space for Roma women where they can seek help. Women's Space is an autonomous women's organization founded by a group of enthusiasts in 1998. The organization is dedicated to provide assistance and support to women coming from different marginalized groups. Over the years Women's Space has created working groups for Roma women, single mothers, women refugees and lesbians. The activities have been implemented through various projects including: workshops, self-help groups, lectures and field activities.

Build Networks

The Network Women's Program (NWP), in collaboration with other Open Society Institute (OSI) network programs, seeks to help Romani women develop solutions to their problems and the problems of their communities. NWP's Romani Women's Initiative connects Romani women from different countries to map out the challenges they face and to resolve problems together, building a network of Romani women activists working at local, national, and international levels."

Initiate a National Dialogue

Ita F. Nadia, Indonesia

More importantly, the incidents have touched consciousness of many women in Indonesia. Following the disclosure of the May rapes, groups of women from all over Indonesia, including Papua, Aceh, Timor Lorosae, came forward to testify against violence against women that occurred in the areas of conflict and military operation. The May rapes have also turned many women, including victims of domestic violence and relatives of May riot victims, to volunteers and human rights activists.

Doris Mpoumou, Republic of Congo

After that I decided to work on the very first program on sexual violence that was sponsored by UNIFEM to raise awareness within the population. I also initiated to reform the penal code, as it was almost 50 years old. I'm just hoping that all Congolese women will come together in national dialogue to overcome discrimination based on gender and ethnicity.

Lobby for Government Initiatives

Meera Samanthar, Malaysia

Although the picture looks bleak, the Malaysian government has established the following: 1) A Cabinet committee on foreign workers, 2) A police hotline to report on foreign domestic worker's abuse, 3) Speedier police investigations and charges against the perpetrators if the case attracts media attention, 4) Minimum age requirement for foreign domestic worker set at 25 years, 5) Foreign domestic worker must consent to work with employer from another religion if she is a Muslim, and 6) Immigration Department has a blacklist of employers who have abused their domestic help.

Work at the Regional Level

Commentator: Ruth Manorama, India

Remaining in our own isolation is not going to solve problems. We need to build up regional coalitions. Sometimes we build up coalitions on the basis of issues. We are the center in the struggle or emancipation and liberation.

Commentator: Betty Murungi, Kenya

We have regional institutions such as the European and Inter American Courts of Human Rights and a new body, the African Union.

Work at the International Level

Ita F. Nadia, Indonesia

On the global level, there has been an emergence of a coordinated and organized global movement against speculative capital and IMF, demanding greater democracy within the international financial system.

Use the Existing International Legal Instruments

Behshid Najafi, Germany

Our network has also dedicated its efforts to develop women's human rights through the usage of existing international legal instruments such as Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and making the German government acceptable for these conventions. One example for these efforts is the shadow report, which we have submitted along with the Federal Report of Germany to the committee members at the UN CEDAW Committee in January 2000. Our report provided broad data and analysis of the situation of migrant women and violence against them in the migration process, especially in three fields: marriage, domestic work, and prostitution.

Commentator: Betty Murungi, Kenya

At the United Nations we have the Commission for Human Rights, we have the CEDAW committee, we also have the statute of the International Criminal Court. This is a statute in which crimes against human humanity including trafficking, forced pregnancies, rape as a war crime, sexual slavery...all these crimes against women have been codified for the first time.

¹ Schultz, Debra. "Romani Women: Between Two Cultures" in *Bending the Bow: Targeting Women's Human Rights and Opportunities*. New York: Open Society Institute, 2002.

" Paragraph excerpted from: Ibid.

Activity Three: Reporting Back and Evaluating the Session

Objectives: Share and discuss the results of the visioning exercise. Summarize and discuss the usefulness of the session for the work of the members of the group.

Time: 45 minutes

Gallery Walk and Reporting Back

- Before the group reconvenes ask the group members to take five minutes to walk around and look at the visions and strategies each group has produced.
- Once the group has reconvened, give each group ten minutes to make its report. Encourage other groups to ask questions to clarify the work of each group.

Discussion/Evaluation

- With all the results of the session posted around the room, encourage group members to give their general comments on the outcome of the session and the strategies proposed.
- A general discussion around these points should continue as long as it seems useful.
- Ask each member of the group to express their thoughts on the usefulness of the session and the Intersectional Human Rights Methodology in general for their work. Ask them to mention one way in which it might be useful and one problem they would have to work on in order to be able to use it.
- As final comments, encourage group members to make suggestions for the improvement of the methodology.

Resources for Further Action - Annotated

United Nations Systems

World Conference Against Racism

- World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance Declaration and Programme of Action, *United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights*. See: (<http://www.unhchr.ch/pdf/Durban.pdf>)

Official Outcome Document of the World Conference Against Racism that calls for States, NGOs, and governments to develop actions and implement legislation and programs that recognize the value of diversity and protect the rights of people in areas such as education, employment, health, housing and more.

- Comprehensive Implementation of and Follow-Up to the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, *General Assembly resolution 56/266, Fifty-sixth session, 27 March 2002*. See: (A/RES/56/266)

General Assembly (GA) resolution that reaffirms the importance of the WCAR and the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, and calls upon State members and officials to take steps to become involved in eradicating all forms of racism.

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

- Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and Follow-up to the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Economic and Social Council, General Assembly, Fifty-seventh Session, 25 June 2002. See: (A/57/83 E/2002/72)

Information on the activities undertaken or planned by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance concerning both the implementation of the Programme of Action as well as to facilitate the implementation of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action.

United Nations Committee Against the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

- Follow-Up to the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance: CERD General Recommendation 28 (General Comments), International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Sixty-first session, 19 March 2002, See: (<http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf>)

Recommendation to States parties to the Convention the measures to strengthen the implementation of the Convention and the functioning of the Committee.

- Discrimination Against Roma: CERD General Recommendation 27 (General Comments), Committee on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Fifty-seventh session, 16 August 2000, See: (<http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf>)

CERD recommendations to the State parties to the Convention to adopt for the benefit of members of the Roma communities certain measures, as appropriate, to address and eliminate discrimination against Roma people.

Non-Governmental Organizations

- Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD), World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR): APWLD's Follow-Up Actions. See: (<http://www.apwld.org/updates.htm>)

List of activities that APWLD have or will undertake to continue the momentum created in the WCAR in acting against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.

- Black Information Link (BLINK). For Follow-up articles and reports, See: (<http://www.blink.org.uk/subcat.asp?key=i33&grp=43>)

A communications website, based in the United Kingdom, that lists and identities general information from the United Nations, OHCHR, and other relevant resources about the WCAR.

- Bringing Durban Home: A Short Film on the UN Conference Against Racism, video, Breakthrough, Jackson Heights, NY. See: (<http://www.breakthrough.tv>)

A video introduction to the issues raised at the 2001 United Nations World Conference Against Racism

- McDougall, Gay. The World Conference Against Racism: Through a Wider Lens, *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 26:2, Summer/Fall 2002, pgs. 133 - 149.

Reflections on the World Conference Against Racism, including the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, accomplishments at the WCAR, comments on racism in the third millennium, and about current forms and issues of racism.

- Looking Forward: Post WCAR Strategies, The Migration, Refugee and Asylum Seekers Caucus (MIGREF Caucus). See: (http://www.migrantwatch.org/wcar/migr_ef__caucus.html)

A list of future actions on migrants' rights and related issues after the WCAR.

- National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights - India (NCDHR). For post-Durban activity reports and updates, See: (<http://www.dalits.org/>)

Post-WCAR reflections by NCDHR members on their campaign's contributions to the Dalit cause.

- How Women Are Using the United Nations World Conference Against Racism - Tools for Women's Advocacy #2: UN Conferences at Work, Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice (WICEJ), March 2003, See: (<http://www.wicej.org>)

Resource on how women organizations in different parts of the world are using the Outcomes of WCAR to advance women's economic and social rights.

- Voices: Special Forum on Comparative Experiences of Racism CD-ROM, International Human Rights Law Group, September 2001. For more information, (<http://www.hrlawgroup.org/initiatives/wcar/voices.asp>)

This special forum on comparative experiences of racism features 21 individuals from 18 countries who gave voice to the reality of many familiar manifestations of racism, such as hate crimes and slavery, as well as systematic discrimination on the basis of race, color, descent, national or ethnic origin that is evident throughout the world.

- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), UFORJE: Uniting for Racial Justice Campaign. See: (<http://www.wilpf.org/uf0rje/uint03.htm>)

Describes U.S. campaign to document the prevalence of racism in their cities and states. This information will be compiled as a record of the incidents of racism, which continue to occur in the United States.

Contact Information

Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development

Santitham YMCA Building 3rd floor, Room 305-308
11 Sermsuk Road, Soi Mengrairasm, Chiangmai 50300
Thailand
Phone: (66 53) 404 613, 4
Fax: (66 53) 404 615
Email: apwld@apwld.org
Website: <http://www.apwld.org>

Black Information Link

Suite 12 Winchester House
9 Cranmer Road London SW9 6EJ
United Kingdom
Phone: (44 20)75821990
Fax: (44 87) 127 7657
Email: blink1990@blink.org.uk
Website: <http://www.blink.org.uk>

Breakthrough (USA)

34-36 85 Street
Jackson Heights, NY 11372
USA
Phone: (1-718) 457-4300
Fax: (718) 457-4307
Email: contact@breakthrough.tv

Breakthrough (India)

20 A Palam Marg
Vasant Vihar
New Delhi 110057
India
Phone: (9111) 615 3696
Fax: (9111) 614 9718

Center for Women's Global Leadership

Douglass College, Rutgers University
160 Ryders Lane
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8555
USA
Phone: (1-732) 932-8782
Fax: (1-732) 932-1180
Email: cwgl@igc.org
Website: <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu>

Commission on Human Rights

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
United Nations Office at Geneva
8-14 Avenue de la Paix
1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland
Phone: (41 22) 917-9000
Fax: (41 22) 917-9011

Commission on the Status of Women

c/o Division for the Advancement of Women
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations Secretariat
2 United Nations Plaza, DC-2/i2th Floor
New York, NY 10017 USA
Fax: (1-212) 963-3463

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
United Nations Office at Geneva
1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland
Fax: (41 22) 917-9022

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

c/o Division for the Advancement of Women
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations Secretariat
2 United Nations Plaza, DC-2/i2th Floor
New York, NY 10017 USA
Fax: (1-212) 963-3463

The International Grail

PO Box 540254
Bronx, NY 10454
USA
Phone: (1-718) 665-0271
Email: grail-ipt@juno.com
Website: <http://www.grail-us.org/international.htm>

International Human Rights Law Group

1200 18th Street NW
Suite 602
Washington DC 20036 USA
Phone: (1-202) 822-4600
Fax: (1-202) 822-4606
Email: HumanRights@hrlawgroup.org

International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR)

3-5-11, Roppongi
Minato-ku, Tokyo
Japan
Phone: (81 03) 3586-7447
Fax: (81 03) 3586-7462
Website: <http://www.imadr.org>

MADRE
121 West 27th Street, Room 301
New York, NY 10001
USA
Phone: (1-212) 627-0444
Fax: (1-212) 675-3704
Email: madre@madre.org
Website: <http://www.madre.org>

National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR)

1-4-879/87/1(492)
Street No. 7, Bakaram
SBI Officers Colony, Gandhi Nagar
Hyderabad - 500 080
Andhra Pradesh, South India
Phone: (9140) 682 5830
Email: info@dalits.org

Women's International Coalition on Economic Justice

12 Dongan Place, #206
New York, NY 10040
USA
Phone: (212) 304-9106
Fax: (646) 34972195
Email: info@wicej.org

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

1213 Race Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107-1691
USA
Phone: (1-215) 563-7110
Fax: (1-215) 563-5527
Website: <http://www.wilpf.org>

Glossary

Caste: A ranked hereditary social group. Rigidly restricted occupationally and socially, members may not marry outside the caste. Castes may reflect religious practice, occupation, locale, cultural status or tribal affiliation. In India, castes are historically organized within social classes that exclude "untouchables." Untouchability was legally abolished in 1949, but remains strong in practice.

Dalit: Peoples of South Asia who are shunned by dominant groups because of their caste-ascribed status as "untouchables."

Descent: Social organization based on relationships of blood or marriage; a system of rules based on kinship, which may govern marriage, inheritance, residence and other social options. Caste structures are based on descent.

Discrimination: A systemic exclusion of a particular group, singled out for unjust abuse, separation or disfavor.

Economic Liberalization: The process of opening an economy to the market and reducing the role of government. This includes reducing government regulations and decision-making in such areas as trade, finance, currency and investment.

Gender: Refers to the socially constructed roles and relationships of men and women, as opposed to their biological differences. A "gender analysis" explores the different roles men and women play in society and the differential impacts that policies have because of these different roles.

Hierarchies of Privilege: A system that grants differential access to opportunities and fulfillment of basic needs on the basis of social class, race, ethnicity, or economic positioning, singularly and/or in combination, within society.

Human Rights: Basic necessities, opportunities and privileges of life and dignity and security of the person that people are entitled to simply as a result of their being human, irrespective of their citizenship, nationality, race, ethnicity, language, sex, sexuality, or abilities; rights become enforceable as they are codified in international legal covenants, conventions and treaties or customary law.

Identity: An essential single characteristic or combination of characteristics and/or behaviors (race, ethnicity, age, sex, nationality, etc.) that distinguishes an individual or groups of individuals from others.

Intersectionality: Class, gender, race, ethnicity, caste, national identity, sexual orientation and other factors intersect in women's lives. Intersectionality explores how these multiple identities interact with and reinforce each other and become sources of oppression.

Multiple Oppressions: Occurs when individuals or communities simultaneously experience discrimination and exclusion because of several identities (such as race, gender, and class).

Oppression: The unjust exercise of power to create privilege by domination over another person or group.

People of Color: A term used primarily in North America to refer to individuals of a number of different backgrounds, including but not limited to African-Americans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, Arab-Americans and Latinas.

Racism: The combination of prejudice and power, in the hands of a dominant group, to systematically exclude another group from equal access to economic, political, social and cultural life, due to a socially constructed definition of "race." This definition of race has changed over time and in reference to different groups.

Roma: Linguistically and religiously diverse ethnic communities that originated in India, now residing largely in Europe, and often pejoratively known as "Gypsies."

Xenophobia: The fear and hatred of foreign people and things.

(Adapted from How Women are Using the United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance to Advance Women's Human Rights, Tools for Women's Advocacy #2, WICEJ)

About the Authors

elmira Nazombe has been the Program Director for Leadership Development and Human Rights Education at the Global Center since 1998. She is responsible for the coordination of the leadership development activities in connection with the Global Center's work of support and advocacy for the international women's human rights movement. Her work includes development and oversight of the annual Women's Global Leadership Institute, a two-week intensive training experience for women's human rights leaders from around the world. She is also responsible for development of the Global Center's women's human rights education program, which seeks to develop and encourage the use of participatory women's human rights education methodologies. She has spoken and written extensively on the subject of gender impacts of globalization and is currently involved as a trainer in popular economics education, particularly on the subject of women's labor, globalization and human rights. She is the co-author with Carol Barton of *Serious Fund - Justice Methodologies*, a popular education theory and methodology resource. Prior to joining the Global Center she served as Director of the Office for International Justice and Human Rights for the National Council of the Churches. She also worked as a policy analyst in Washington, D.C. on issues regarding foreign assistance, trade and international development, domestic poverty and low-income housing. She lived in East Africa for over ten years working on squatter settlement planning and urban, rural and regional planning issues.

Bojana Blagojevic has been affiliated with the Global Center since 1999. She has worked on various projects at the Center, including work in its Resource Center, at the Women's Global Leadership Institutes, and in preparation for the Women's Human Rights Hearing at the World Conference Against Racism. Originally from Bosnia, during the war in her country, she worked for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as a receptionist, radio-operator, and interpreter. In 1996, she came to the United States to complete her education. Currently, she is a Ph.D. candidate in Global Affairs at the Center for Global Change and Governance, at Rutgers University in Newark. Her major academic interest is post-conflict development in ethnically divided societies. Last fall, she completed an internship with the United Nations Development Group Office (UNDGO), Crisis and Post-Conflict cluster, where she worked on a study of Transitional Recovery Plans for crisis and post-conflict countries. She is currently working on the "Integrating Russia into Europe" project, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and has organized four international scholarly conferences for the Russia Project, in Washington DC, Brussels, Berlin, and Moscow.

About the Center for Women's Global Leadership

The Center for Women's Global Leadership (Global Center) develops and facilitates women's leadership for women's human rights and social justice worldwide. The Global Center's programs promote the leadership of women and advance feminist perspectives in policy-making processes in local, national and international arenas. Since 1990, the Global Center has fostered women's leadership in the area of human rights through women's global leadership institutes, strategic planning activities, international mobilization campaigns, UN monitoring, global education endeavors, publications, and a resource center. The Global Center works from a human rights perspective with an emphasis on violence against women, sexual and reproductive health and socio-economic well-being. The Global Center's programs are in two broad areas of policy & advocacy and leadership development & women's human rights education.

Women at the Intersection:
Indivisible Rights, Identities,

and Oppressions

A Study Guide

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