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Programas, Intervenciones y Prácticas Efectivas en Prevención de Drogodependencias con Mujeres Jóvenes

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Resumen

Recientemente a nivel internacional se ha incrementado el interés en la identificación de prácticas efectivas que contemplen las necesidades particulares de las niñas o jóvenes, precisamente motivado por el abuso de sustancias tóxicas y sus "altos" contactos con Justicia juvenil y de adultos (Rosenbaum, 2002 entre otros). La literatura revisada revela que en general son muy escasos los programas específicos para chicas en materia de prevención de drogodependencias. Además son también pocos los que han publicado sus resultados desagregados por sexo. Por lo que la necesidad de estudio y de evaluación son tremendamente necesarios para poder dar una respuesta adecuada a sus necesidades. Por todo ello, este artículo revisa y analiza los distintos discursos entorno a los factores de éxito y riesgo al igual que los programas específicos en prevención de drogodependencias (y residenciales) con chicas o mujeres jóvenes.

Palabras clave: jóvenes infractoras, programas basados en evidencia, residenciales, drogodependencias.

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Programs, Interventions and Effective Practices in Drug Prevention with Young Women and Girls

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Abstract

Recently at the international level has been increased the interest in identifying effective practices that address the particular needs of young girls. This was motivated precisely by the high contact of girls who consume drugs and have contact with the juvenile Justice System. The literature review reveals that in general there are very few specific programs who address girls needs in the prevention of drug addiction. In addition are also very few who have published their results disaggregated by sex. So the need for study and evaluation are extremely necessary to provide an adequate response to their needs. Therefore, this paper reviews and analyzes the different discourses around the success and risk factors as well as the specific programs in drug prevention with girls and young women.

Keywords: young offenders, evidence based programs, drug addiction.

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Existe numeroso material documental que habla sobre chicos jóvenes, delincuencia y drogodependencias, pero casi nunca, o en contadas ocasiones mencionan a las chicas. Según apuntaba Worrall (2001), este es un grupo que hasta ahora ha sido valorado como demasiado pequeño y con "bajo riesgo" como para prestarle atención. Los primeros estudios acerca de la delincuencia juvenil femenina estuvieron (re) cargados de androcentrismo y negligencia. La mayor parte de las teorías estaban desarrolladas para comprender la etiología de la delincuencia masculina[1], por lo que las líneas de intervención al respecto estaban pensadas desde y para la óptica masculina pero no necesariamente la femenina. Según apuntaba acertadamente Worrall (2001), las jóvenes que delinquían (y consumían tóxicos) han sido definidas históricamente de distinta forma que los chicos[2]. En general, mientras las chicas han sido consideradas penalmente menos inclinadas al delito que sus iguales varones, el comportamiento de aquellas que violan los estereotipos de género (como consumir o delinquir) de conformidad y docilidad han dado lugar, como consecuencia, a la creencia de que éstas tienen un mayor potencial patológico (Gelsthorpe, 1989). Así mismo, Gaarder, Rodríguez y Zatz (2004) encontraron en sus investigaciones una falta de información y formación de las personas que trabajaban con las jóvenes sobre todo en el sistema de justicia juvenil en términos de estereotipos raciales y de género, lo que limitaba a que las jóvenes pudieran acceder adecuadamente a los servicios necesarios. Una pregunta ineludible que debemos hacernos es ¿qué relación tienen las drogas en el estudio de la delincuencia juvenil femenina?. En primer lugar, hay que señalar que los trabajos precedentes sobre drogas y mujeres los encontramos en el año 1979, cuando el Instituto Nacional sobre Abuso de Drogas o NIDA del Gobierno norteamericano señaló que: los estudios han demostrado que las mujeres difieren de los hombres en sus tasas y patrones de abuso de drogas, y llamó la atención el estigma particular que ocasionaba el abuso de drogas femenino (Burt, Glynn & Sowder, 1979). El mismo estudio apuntaba, igualmente, la necesidad de hacer investigaciones específicas en este sentido. Asimismo, Glynn, Leukefeld, y Ludford (1983) señalaban que a medida que la atención sobre el campo del abuso de drogas comenzó a expandirse más allá del consumo de opiáceos, los/as investigadores/as comenzaron a reportar interesantes descubrimientos que sugirieron cómo los patrones de consumo de drogas de las mujeres no

pueden establecerse simplemente generalizando de los estudios sobre los de los hombres. En su lugar, comenzaron a surgir trabajos que reconocían como muchos de los problemas de las mujeres consumidoras no eran menores, iguales o superiores a los de los hombres consumidores, sino que eran propios de las consumidoras, y era necesario explicarlo desde su propio marco de referencia Glynn, Wallenstein Pearsons y Sayers (1983). Por lo que considerar el género como algo neutral o ser ciegos ante él ha provocado que esto tenga un impacto negativo en las chicas y las mujeres. A las jóvenes se las ha ignorado y mal investigado. Han sido definidas y estudiadas por su sexo, no por su género. Esto ha provocado una distorsión en la fotografía. Además, la historia reciente demuestra que ha habido una clara desatención en el uso y abuso de sustancias tóxicas, en la delincuencia y los problemas de salud mental de las niñas y mujeres jóvenes (NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG ABUSE, 1979 y 2002). Entender el contexto de las niñas y su delincuencia/consumo requiere no sólo un conocimiento de su historia, también una revisión de su desarrollo evolutivo y adolescente. Esto es necesario tenerlo en cuenta puesto que sin este análisis difícilmente comprenderemos la situación actual de negligencia en cuanto a investigaciones y programas específicos de intervención de prevención y tratamiento y la invisibilización de las jóvenes dentro y fuera del sistema de Justicia juvenil y los programas de drogodependencias (motivado en cierta manera por su escasa o reducida presencia) ha sido una constante, y aún sigue siendo una asignatura pendiente (Sharpe & Gelsthorpe, 2009). Como bien explicaba Chesney-Lind en muchas de sus obras, una teoría de las jóvenes tiene que dar información sobre sus vidas porque esencialmente poco se sabe sobre las chicas. Este reducido número de mujeres jóvenes consumidoras y en contacto con el sistema de justicia juvenil no indica precisamente pequeños problemas, sino que, en ocasiones, se justifica o se deniega su acceso a que sea investigado, a programas o servicios específicos. Al igual que les ocurrió a las mujeres adultas en otras épocas, su número reducido ha invitado a nuevas negligencias y nuevas formas de abuso. En la actualidad, las jóvenes están en el punto de mira porque ha habido un incremento significativo en su inicio y abuso de sustancias tóxicas desde el año 1992, que coincide con el aumento de su detención y encarcelamiento Kumpfer, Smith y Summerhays (2008). Como resultado, muchos/as investigadores/as y profesionales han comenzado a prestar una especial

atención a esta cuestión. Ha costado reconocer, y aún cuesta, que muchos de los múltiples problemas que presentan las jóvenes (ver, por ejemplo, Rumgay, 1998; Chesney-Lind, 1997; Cameron & Telfer, 2004). son en parte compartidos, pero no iguales y, asimismo, diferenciales por motivos de edad, género, etnicidad y clase socioeconómica/cultural. El género es relevante a la hora de explicar cómo las jóvenes se implican en el consumo y continúan inmersas en procesos delincuenciales. La información de la que hasta la fecha se dispone permite observar que las diferencias de género en la socialización y el desarrollo, en el inicio y continuidad en el consumo realmente existen y que estas diferencias tienen un efecto en los patrones de la delincuencia. A pesar de que chicos y chicas comparten algunas de las mismas presiones y situaciones de vulnerabilidad y de desventaja social en sus vidas y a veces el mismo acceso al aprendizaje del comportamiento delincuente o de consumo[3]. Las razones por las cuales chicos y chicas se involucran en actos delincuenciales o de consumo —además de las formas de llegada o entrada a las instituciones de protección y de reforma entre otros— son diferentes (véase anexo 1).   Chicos y chicas no tienen las mismas oportunidades "reales", ya que existe en la estructura social una doble moral acerca de cómo deben comportarse hombres y mujeres, niños y niñas, los/as jóvenes, por lo que es fácil pensar que también, al igual que en sus vidas, las chicas tengan maneras diferentes de consumir y de delinquir. Los datos de los distintos estudios apuntan a una fuerte relación entre la victimización, delincuencia y traumas en las jóvenes (Belknap & Holsinger, 1998; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1992, 1997, 2004). La investigación sobre historias de abuso sexual infantil de los delincuentes juveniles y adultos sugiere que las tasas de abuso sexual son mayores para las niñas que para los niños (Dembo *et al,* 1993). En un estudio con niñas y mujeres jóvenes encarceladas en el *California Youth Authority*, Bloom, Owen, Piper Deschenes y Rosenbaum (2002) encontraron que tres cuartas partes de las mujeres jóvenes reportaron abuso físico continuado, y casi la mitad (46%) sufrieron abuso sexual. A menudo, el abuso en el hogar provoca fugas continuadas o intermitentes y las estrategias de las jóvenes, en la calle, no están exentas de una cultura patriarcal que las relega a una situación de inferioridad, de modo que muchos de los comportamientos de las jóvenes son respuestas a la victimización en situaciones de exclusión social. Esta situación se agudiza entre las clases socioeconómicas culturales más

empobrecidas, en las que existe una clara diferenciación de roles. La huida del hogar es uno de los factores de riesgo más frecuentes para las niñas de involucrarse en un consumo o con el sistema de justicia de menores y en última instancia puede conducir a su encarcelamiento. Los datos de arrestos indican que las niñas y los niños que han protagonizado fugas de sus casas es aproximadamente el mismo número pero que las niñas son detenidas con más frecuencia que los varones (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1997). Otra idea esencial para comprender este fenómeno es que los aumentos en detenciones por "delitos violentos" en jóvenes no son necesariamente debido a un aumento significativo en su comportamiento violento, pero si es una manera de redefinir su comportamiento como conflictivo o de delito violento. Un ejemplo de ello es que los estudios que usan auto-informes delincuenciales difieren significativamente de los registros oficiales (Huizinga, 1997). Habitualmente las razones por las cuales chicas chicos agreden son diferentes. Hay que recordar que ellas conviven con violencia en todos sus espacios de referencia colegios, familia, barrio, grupo de iguales etc. y suelen pelearse de forma puntual con una persona cercana dentro de las relaciones interpersonales (fundamentalmente en espacios de lo privado). Sin duda el consumo está relacionado con esas agresiones. Aunque es preciso destacar que el consumo "problemático" es un problema más que se añade a su biografía. No es necesariamente el motivo principal por el cual se encuentran en contacto con Justicia juvenil. En términos generales suelen participar menos en delitos faltas o infracciones graves o violentas y tienen más probabilidades de estar involucradas en delitos, infracciones o faltas contra la propiedad o tráfico de drogas. Además, en numerosas ocasiones los contactos con el sistema de justicia juvenil son debido a que los controles sociales informales mencionados anteriormente acuden a estas instancias informando de la situación. El aumento de arrestos se traduce sin duda a un mayor impacto en su institucionalización en el sistema de justicia de menores.

Programas de intervención con niñas y jóvenes ¿aproximación sensible o específica de género?

La literatura sobre el fenómeno nos habla de dos tipologías o corrientes diferenciales para abordar el fenómeno. En primer lugar, existe la

denominada específica de género con una perspectiva crítica feminista entorno al machismo y al paternalismo del sistema de justicia juvenil y dirige su atención a cómo mejorar la prevención de la delincuencia femenina y su compleja diversidad[4] (Brown, 2003; Belknap, 2001; Howell, 2003), o "sensibles de género" basadas en revisiones cuantitativas de los estudios sobre programas específicos en términos de reincidencia (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Gendreau, 1996 y otros)[5]. Además es necesario referenciar que la prevención universal hace referencia a las estrategias dirigidas a toda la población, escolar o de cualquier otro grupo, con objeto de prevenir o retrasar el consumo de drogas. En cambio la prevención selectiva hace referencia a las estrategias dirigidas a grupos específicos que tienen un riesgo mayor que otros de tener problemas relacionados con las drogas. La mayor parte de los programas que recogemos se basan en este modelo tratando de prevenir el consumo de drogas mediante el fortalecimiento de los factores protectores, como, por ejemplo, la autoestima y desarrollo de habilidades sociales o resolución de conflictos entre otros. Las autoras Belknap, (2001) y Chesney-Lind, (2000) señalan que los programas no pueden ni deben centrarse únicamente en los varones ni pueden demostrar su utilidad en términos de programación para las niñas a partir de modelos basados empíricamente en varones. Tanto las niñas que ingresan en el sistema de justicia de menores como aquellas que reciben programas de prevención en drogodependencias, a menudo se encuentran con que los programas en los cuales participan se han creado y son para o mantienen una racionalidad masculina destinado principalmente a los niños/as delincuentes, potenciales o consumidores de tóxicos. Si hacemos un esfuerzo de recuerdo en un pasado reciente, tanto el mundo de la drogodependencia como el delincuencial son espacios tradicionalmente vinculados al espacio de lo público y por lo tanto masculinizado. Existen numerosos programas preventivos en drogodependencias y delincuenciales con resultados positivos para los chicos sobre todo los basados en la prevención en la comunidad. Aunque escasos, algunos estudios como por ejemplo *CSAP Community Partnership Cross-Site Study The 48-Community Partnerships Cross-Site Study* (Yin & Ware, 2000), señalan que encontraron efectos positivos en varones pero no necesariamente en chicas y en algunos casos incluso resultados negativos para ellas. Una serie de programas han demostrado éxito en la reducción y la iniciación del consumo del tabaquismo de las

niñas[6] (Blake et al, 2001) (y además son los que concentran sus esfuerzos en aspectos como las relaciones familiares, la supervisión parental, la comunicación y tienen en cuenta el estrés, la depresión, la seguridad, y la imagen del cuerpo entre otros), sin embargo, sólo un par de programas han demostrado el éxito en sustancias como el alcohol y la marihuana. En los factores de protección para las niñas y jóvenes (ver anexo1), cuando la supervisión de los padres y madres es alta, las adolescentes tenían menos probabilidades para desarrollar un consumo de sustancias que los chicos. Además, las actitudes de los padres y madres hacia el consumo y la vinculación a la escuela tuvo un impacto mayor en las niñas. Por lo que los programas de prevención basados en competencias familiares de cuidado y de supervisión parecen, a priori, tener una influencia ligeramente mayor en las niñas que en los varones[7], mientras que los programas de tipo comunitario o de auto-control tenían una mayor influencia en los varones (Kumpfer & Alvarado, 2003). A lo largo de estos años se han desarrollado un buen número de programas preventivos considerados como efectivos en distintos sitios web y agencias estatales de prevención. Sin embargo muchos de ellos aun siendo replicados escasean estudios rigurosos publicados sobre sus efectos en términos de validez interna o externa (Kumpfer, Smith & Summerhays, 2008 entre otros). A continuación presentamos una tabla con los programas adaptados o específicos para chicas:

Tabla 1

Programas efectivos en prevención de drogodependencias y otras conductas problemáticas en niñas jóvenes.

PREVENCIÓN GENERAL

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
CAMH (www.camh.net/Publicat Resources_for_Professio Validity/validity_ reframing.html)	Novedoso "para y por la juventud" que considera las voces de niñas y las mujeres jóvenes. El proyecto va más allá del discurso sanitario y trata de generar pautas comprensivas de qué es la depresión[8], y anima a compartir conocimientos y percepciones sobre los factores de riesgo y de protección. El objetivo es prevenir la depresión incidiendo en las actividades físicas e intelectuales. Interrelaciona la depresión, autoestima, imagen corporal positiva, reducción de stress e incidiendo en los medios de comunicación para el empoderamiento de las mismas.	No aportan datos precisos sobre la evaluación. Uno de los puntos fuertes que desarrolla es el apoyo y la escucha entre el grupo de iguales.
Girls Inc (1992) www.girlsinc-online.org	Tiene un fuerte componente virtual y desarrolla ejercicios mentales de concentración, conocer su propio cuerpo y la planificación para el futuro entre otros. Desarrolla habilidades sociales mediante recursos educativos y de auto-defensa. Para que las chicas asuman riesgos, refuerzo escolar, prevención de embarazos, violencia y abuso de drogas mediante el desarrollo mental y físico.	No aportan datos precisos sobre la evaluación. Punto fuerte, alude a que esta iniciativa está basada en una investigación

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
Family connection Computer-delivered substance use prevention program for adolescent girls and their mothers. Schinke et al (2010)	Programa de prevención del consumo de sustancias dirigido a mujeres adolescentes y a sus madres que busca identificar aquellos factores de riesgo y de protección que contribuyan al inicio y abuso de sustancias tóxicas mediante el fortalecimiento de las interacciones madre-hija. En una semana madres e hijas trabajan juntas para completar una sesión de 45 minutos en el ordenador consistentes en ejercicios interactivos para centrarse en temas como el desarrollo de habilidades de comunicación, imagen personal, y el uso de sustancias tóxicas.	Los beneficios se observaron en el segundo año de seguimiento, tanto para las hijas como para sus madres. La intervención reportó menores factores de riesgo y más altos factores de protección, y sus madres reportaron menor consumo de alcohol.

PREVENCIÓN SELECTIVA

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
Community connection Communities That Care (www.ctcsquamish.com)	Programa de prevención basado en la evidencia científica que involucra a todos los sectores de la comunidad en la promoción del desarrollo positivo de la juventud. El objetivo es reducir riesgos y aumentar los factores de protección para los niños y los jóvenes, y fortalecer vínculos en el hogar, la escuela, entre el grupo de iguales y la comunidad.	Las jóvenes desarrollan un papel activo en la comunidad (de liderazgo entre las mujeres jóvenes).

Gender-specific treatmen Youth Solvent Addiction Committee ([www.ccsa.ca/eng/part nerships/ysac/Pages/de fault.aspx](http://www.ccsa.ca/eng/partnerships/ysac/Pages/default.aspx))	Identifica cinco áreas de prevención: el abuso de sustancias, delincuencia, embarazos no deseados de adolescentes, dificultades académicas, la violencia y la depresión. El objetivo es el fortalecimiento de familias (padres y sus hijos).	Resultados positivos en alcanzar los objetivos que se propone. Punto fuerte; desarrolla un enfoque de género en todos los niveles de tratamiento de la juventud de origen aborigen.

GRUPOS CONTROL

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
Lei-'Ilima-Health (Kameoke, 1996). Conexiones para mujeres jóvenes adolesce	El Strengthening Hawaiian Families Program fue implementado en los colegios y evaluado por investigadores de la Universidad de Hawaii. La intervención se basó en: -Escuela primaria -Clases de educación preventiva.	Disminución del conflicto familiar, descenso de los ratios de depresión, incremento de satisfacción en la apariencia física, incremento de habilidades de comunicación en el uso de tabaco y de drogas.
Nuevo Dia.	Es una adaptación del SFP desde la Universidad de Utah y el Centro de Familia para la mujer latina y sus hijos. La intervención durante dos años se componía de: Un programa específico de apoyo después del colegio basado en actividades de ocio y tiempo libre. Se creó también un programa de alfabetización para las madres y apoyo en educación para el desarrollo evolutivo de las hijas.	Incremento de la autoestima, de las estrategias para la toma de decisiones, habilidades sociales, relaciones de confianza positiva entre madre e hija. También aportó un descenso de consumo de sustancias en 30 días y en los ratios de inicio.

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
PEERsuasion	Desarrollo del liderazgo y empoderamiento de las niñas y chicas pertenecientes a minorías étnicas.	En comparación con el grupo de control, las chicas que participaban en el programa específico de género reportaban índices más bajos de inicio y abuso en el consumo de alcohol.
ATHENA Elliot et al. (2002)	Desarrollaron un programa específico de género de la versión ATLAS. Esta versión adaptada se centraba en mejorar la nutrición el ejercicio físico para prevenir el consumo y los trastorno alimenticios.	Los hallazgos fueron que comparado con un grupo que no ha tenido un tratamiento las chicas aumentaron sus conocimientos sobre las drogas y reducción de su consumo.
RYSE	Programa específico de género sensible culturalmente con el colectivo afroamericano. El objetivo general es no reincidir y volver a los centros de internamiento del sistema de Justicia Juvenil. Para ello tiene en cuenta múltiples factores (familia, colegio, grupo de iguales) y ambos incorporan planes de tratamiento individualizados.	Parece que funciona mejor para las afroamericanas y las hispanas. Los resultados muestran menos arrestos y cuando estos se producían eran menos graves. Además de mejoras educativas (Atención).

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
The WINGS	Para evaluar su efectividad se hizo una investigación con grupos control y se midió la reincidencia y el producto educativo (éxito escolar, fracasos y expulsiones. Autocontrol, y actitudes prosociales), relaciones con adultos, manejo de la presión social entre el grupo de iguales, entre otros.	Aunque a priori se detectaron mejoras en reducción de amistades delincuentes, hábitos de stress, presión entre grupo de iguales, soledad social, consumo de drogas etc. A largo plazo se detectó que no reducían los ratios de actividades delincuentes.

DISEÑOS (SIN GRUPO DE CONTROL (PRE TEST Y POST TEST)

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
AMICUS Girls' Restorative Program (RADIUS)	Es un programa de Justicia restaurativa que proporciona a las chicas éxito, en la transición completa a la comunidad.	Mayores índices de auto-conciencia, de defensa, optimismo, madurez y motivación, una mejor comprensión de los impactos de sus acciones, mayores índices de compasión y cuidados hacia los demás, mejora de las relaciones personales y familiares, personal de libertad vigilada y mejores relaciones entre los grupos de iguales. Así como la disminución de comportamientos auto-destructivos.

Programas	Descripción	Observaciones
Girls and Boys Town SS Center for Girls.	Es un programa residencial de corto plazo basado e el modelo de enseñanza-aprendizaje familiar y u tratamiento individualizado.	Se disminuyeron los factores de riesgo desde el momento en que entró en el programa. Los mejores predictores de la reincidencia fueron las evaluaciones realizadas por el personal del programa y el número de una chica de arrestos anteriores.
Girls Circle	Orientado a mejorar el bienestar físico y psicológico, conectándolos con otros.	Mejoras significativas en la imagen del cuerpo, la autoeficacia y el apoyo social percibido, sin diferencias por raza, edad o ubicación.
El programa GEMS	Es un programa de tutoría para niñas involucradas de Justicia juvenil.	Aluden cambios deseados en el comportamiento antisocial y en competencias sociales.
PACE	Es un programa de tratamiento individualizado con visitas al hogar para ellas y sus familias.	Disminución en el consumo de drogas y alcohol después de salir del programa a largo plazo, sin embargo no disponía de grupo de control.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de Kumpfer et al (2008).

Los resultados de las evaluaciones de los programas específicos de género se deben en parte a las medidas, métodos, estrategias de investigación, variables y su desarrollo relativamente reciente. Zahn *et al* (2008) encontraron en su revisión de programas basados en evidencias científicas que realmente existen pocos hallazgos basados en metodologías rigurosas. De los 62 programas que identificaron sólo 18 tenían una evaluación considerada como validada. Tan sólo 9 estaban destinados para las chicas, concluyendo que estas evaluaciones ofrecían evidencias mixta sobre la efectividad de este tipo de programación, pero no mostraban evidencias a largo plazo. Tal y como hemos visto anteriormente, la poca información sobre los enfoques y programas sensibles al género y adecuados para la prevención, es consecuencia o viene motivado por la escasa investigación en factores etiológicos según el género[9]. De hecho, Chesney-Lind, Morash, y Stevens (2008) concluyen después de una evaluación de 8 programas específicos para chicas que el conocimiento que se dispone de lo que funciona para las niñas ha tenido pocos avances significativos desde que Lipsey (1992) revisara la literatura disponible y demostrara la escasa evaluación de impacto basada en evidencias científicas. De hecho, las evaluaciones realizadas de los distintos programas preventivos señalan que el 35% de los programas sólo sirvió a varones (42% niños atendidos). Sólo el 2% de los programas sirvió a niñas, (del 6% destinado a niñas). Una revisión de programas de experiencias exitosas referenciada por la *Oficina de Justicia Juvenil y Prevención de la Delincuencia*, describen que son 24 los programas que se refieren de forma específica a niños y sólo 2 a niñas (Howell, 2003). De los 62 programas descritos en un estudio efectuado por Bloom et al (2002), el programa más común era un programa de prevención de la delincuencia, seguida por el grupo de tratamiento e institucional. Casi todos fueron mixtos en un (77%) y sus usuarios/as eran mayormente varones hispanos, caucásicos/as y afroamericanos. De los programas analizados 7 fueron residenciales, mientras que 39 eran no residenciales o programas ambulatorios, 16 eran mixtos (residenciales y no residencial). Además casi la mitad de los programas indicaron que su duración fue variable en el tiempo. La mayoría tenían incorporados evaluaciones psicosociales de sus usuarios/as; aunque pocos tenían servicios de cuidado de niños/as u ofrecían tratamiento residencial para madres y dependientes, pero casi todos aceptaron a mujeres embarazadas, y casi la mitad ofreció clases para padres.

La mayoría de los programas informaron que proporcionaron asesoramiento y habilidades de formación, así como otros servicios generales, pero menos de dos tercios de los programas declararon ofrecer tratamiento específico para el abuso de sustancias en las jóvenes. La mayoría de los programas informaron que proporcionaban atención individualizada, familiar y con grupos de iguales, y más de tres cuartas partes de los programas ofrecían asesoramiento grupal atendiendo al género. Dos tercios de los programas tenían apoyo educativo o tutorial basado en el desarrollo de habilidades sociales o comunicativas.

Apuntes y recomendaciones finales

A pesar de este reciente interés por incorporar a las chicas en la investigación y la evaluación de programas preventivos, inclusivos y sensibles al género, muy poco se sabe acerca de las intervenciones específicas en el trabajo con las chicas. La literatura revela que son escasos los que han desarrollado programas con enfoque de género y menos aún los programas preventivos que han publicado sus resultados teniendo en cuenta el género. Existen por lo tanto pocos programas para las niñas y poca literatura sobre la eficacia de los diversos enfoques (Greene, Peters, y asociados, 1998). Además, son muy reducidas las evaluaciones de los programas que se centren exclusivamente en las jóvenes. La literatura y la investigación han concentrado sus esfuerzos principalmente en los varones jóvenes, y poco se sabe acerca de la aplicabilidad de estas intervenciones para ellas. Muchas de las evaluaciones de los programas publicados describen la proporción de niñas incluidas en su muestra pero no realizan un análisis de las diferencias y las similitudes en sus resultados basados en el género. Para ello es imprescindible conocer en primer lugar, que los caminos hacia el consumo de sustancias son diferentes en niñas/os y jóvenes, y cómo las niñas se enfrentan a situaciones vitales diferenciales. Es urgente investigar y realizar el seguimiento en el consumo de drogas y de los factores de vulnerabilidad entre aquellas jóvenes que puedan correr un riesgo significativamente mayor de desarrollar problemas crónicos con las drogas e incorporar estrategias selectivas de intervención dirigidas a responder las necesidades de los grupos más vulnerables. Según la literatura hemos visto que muchos de los servicios existentes no cumplen con las necesidades

reales de las potenciales consumidoras o delincuentes juveniles. Los distintos servicios de investigación e intervención primaria secundaria y terciaria y sus distintos/as profesionales no están preparados/as para responder a las necesidades específicas de las niñas o jóvenes que participan o están en riesgo de convertirse o involucrarse tanto en el sistema de justicia juvenil como en el consumo de tóxicos (Rosenbaum, 2002). Existen numerosas limitaciones para el tratamiento, siendo el más importante el de la necesidad de financiación, seguido por la falta de formación[10] e información específica. Las mujeres jóvenes y niñas requieren de personal y de formación especializada, en términos de relación y habilidades de comunicación, diferencias de género en el inicio, abuso y consumo continuado de sustancias tóxicas, abusos sexuales y polivictimización itinerarios delincuenciales, educativos, etapas de desarrollo y procesos vitales de la adolescencia femenina, programas disponibles, referentes de buenas prácticas, ubicaciones adecuadas y limitaciones. Requiere personal especializado formado[9] en el abuso de sustancias, especialmente en términos de relación y de comunicación a lo largo de las etapas de desarrollo de la adolescencia femenina, y de los distintos programas basados en evidencias científicas disponibles y apropiados además de considerar sus respectivas limitaciones. La *American Bar Association* así como la *National Bar Association* (2001) entre otros añadieron la necesidad de desarrollar programas y servicios para atender a sus necesidades particularidades y específicas para mujeres jóvenes. Estos programas deben de ser respetuosos/as y valorar la perspectiva y la experiencia o desarrollo femenino apostando por lo cognitivo-conductual. Además de potenciar la autonomía para alcanzar su máximo potencial. La programación eficaz orientada a las niñas y las mujeres debe ser moldeada y adaptada a sus situaciones y problemas reales. Sin embargo, Bloom et al (2002), señalaron que la dirección específica sobre cómo lograr estos objetivos no es fácilmente evidente a partir de la literatura existente. Los escasos programas eficaces para las niñas y las mujeres deben ser adaptados a su situación problemática y su realidad contextual. Es necesario el desarrollo de una aproximación teórica al tratamiento que sea sensible al género y aborde las realidades de la vida de las niñas. Un enfoque integral debe establecer vínculos y referencias a los programas comunitarios. Estos programas no deben de ser muy ambiciosos y sus servicios deben de contemplar la edad y

reconocer las diferentes necesidades dentro de las etapas de desarrollo de la niñez, la adolescencia, y la adultez temprana. Las expertas recomiendan más investigaciones y programas teniendo en cuenta el género y la cultura, y que respondan a sus realidades vitales, su identidad étnica y de género, y al desarrollo evolutivo de las mujeres jóvenes o niñas (Chesney-Lind & Freitas 1999). Y todo ello debe de ser considerado y desarrollado. Por lo tanto la atención debe centrarse en la edad o proceso madurativo del individuo, sus necesidades y fortalezas. Algunas de las propuestas en prevención primaria como secundaria son; La normalización social del alcohol y drogas del colectivo femenino, hace que se requiera de una mayor atención tanto a la publicidad dirigida a estas, y los patrones de consumo de alcohol en niños y niñas/jóvenes. Para ello es necesario revisar los anuncios de tabaco y alcohol que se dirigen a los/las jóvenes a través de las preocupaciones acerca de la apariencia y el deseo de popularidad y éxito. Es por ello que debería de haber un replanteamiento sobre cómo podría trabajarse estas cuestiones en las campañas y los mensajes publicitarios considerando el género. En segundo lugar se debería de reconsiderar ¿Cómo se podría llegar a las niñas y mujeres jóvenes en diferentes niveles de desarrollo, o de riesgo entre otros?. Las tendencias descritas en el inicio de consumo de sustancias especialmente en las jóvenes indican que la transición de educación secundaria a bachillerato es una etapa fundamental para el desarrollo de los programas de prevención en el consumo. En cualquier caso las estrategias para la intervención generales con niñas o mujeres jóvenes deben de considerar las características personales (Sharpe & Gelsthorpe, 2009), actitudes y experiencias de la infancia incluyendo los traumas, el grupo de iguales y la escuela; influencias de la familia, la cultura y la comunidad, y las influencias sociales, como la publicidad en los medios de comunicación. Por otra parte las conexiones positivas con adultos y grupo de iguales, parejas sanas y personas de referencia o apoyo son los factores de protección para niñas y mujeres jóvenes. Anteriormente hemos visto las interrelaciones entre salud mental, consumo de sustancias y experiencias de violencia y trauma están estrechamente relacionados con las niñas y las mujeres jóvenes. Es preciso indagar más en cómo fortalecer ambientes seguros y positivos en el hogar, la escuela, entre los compañeros/as y la comunidad. Según autores/as como Hubbard (2008), identificaron de la literatura distintos elementos que podrían ser utilizados para desarrollar programas efectivos

para las niñas y jóvenes; como la evaluación procesual por objetivos, la retroalimentación, la medición regular del cambio, el riesgo/necesidades y la reincidencia. Son urgentes, entre los/as que intervienen y los/as que investigan o teorizan, y entre los distintos países, el intercambio continuado de experiencias exitosas o de buenas prácticas en intervenciones efectivas. Es necesario incorporar la evaluación de los resultados al diseño del proyecto. Así como las estrategias selectivas de prevención del consumo de drogas. Se hace imprescindible establecer una relación de ayuda-colaboración desde una perspectiva de género cognitivo-conductual y promover pautas de vida saludables. Las terapias y tratamientos de modificación de conducta deben de incluir competencias para la formación, la defensa propia, la recaída, la asertividad, mejora de la autoestima, estrategias de prevención, empoderamiento y actividades físicas. Además, de la resiliencia personal, crecimiento o desarrollo positivo, la construcción de relaciones interpersonales positivas, arte-terapia, actividades recreativas, terapéuticas (individuales, familiares, la comunidad, el modelado, refuerzo positivo y los procesos o dinámicas grupales. Resulta necesario el seguir reconociendo las diferencias de género y desarrollar programas de mantenimiento o de continuidad; considerando sus necesidades específicas y de desarrollo evolutivo, factores de riesgo y resiliencia, sensible a las diferencias culturales y con evaluaciones periódicas, personal cualificado y especializado y además debe proporcionar recursos, cuidados y apoyos posteriores en la comunidad. Es preciso prestar especial atención a la cultura organizacional de gestión de recursos humanos y a la comunicación interinstitucional basado fundamentalmente en técnicas de resolución de conflictos, procedimientos estructurados de aprendizaje permanente y específica en habilidades sociales y terapéuticas además del uso efectivo de la autoridad y lo motivacional. Por último apuntar que se necesitan sin duda intervenciones o estrategias a distinto nivel: informativas, educativas, de protección y de control alternativas, reducción de daños en diversos ámbitos tales como el escolar, familiar, comunitario, etc[12]. Por lo que los diferentes autores/as citados recomiendan realizar más estudios basados en evidencias empíricas y efectividad considerando el discurso y las voces especialmente de las jóvenes. Se necesita mucha más información con respecto al proceso y desarrollo evolutivo y de desarrollo de las jóvenes y sus factores de riesgo/protección (Schinke, Fang & Cole, 2008), así como a la eficacia y

eficiencia de los programas de intervención y prevención para que el sistema de protección, Justicia juvenil, servicios sociales, responsables políticos y los distintos profesionales de intervención e investigación puedan ofrecer servicios apropiados sensibles al género y a la cultura. Sin duda todas las instituciones y organismos tanto de investigación como de intervención (primaria, secundaria o terciaria) se enfrentan a un gran desafío con el número creciente de mujeres jóvenes consumidoras que aparecen en el sistema de justicia juvenil y el adulto.

Notas

[1] Baskin y Sommers (1993) apoyaron la idea de cómo las chicas han sido "*largamente excluidas de la delincuencia*", además de seguir considerando los viejos roles de la mujer criminal contemporánea, donde el crimen estaba muy masculinizado (como por ejemplo los delitos violentos) o feminizado (la (s) fuga (s) y prostitución).

[2] Para más información puede consultarse "*Girls, delinquency and juvenile justice*" de Chesney-Lind y Shelden (2004).

[3] Sobre estas cuestiones ya incidiremos más adelante.

[4] Reconocer los diferentes perfiles ayudaría a identificar subgrupos de mujeres para quienes los programas particulares son eficaces (Zahn y otros 2009).

[5] Es preciso señalar que algunos de los autores/as se encuentran a caballo entre estos posicionamientos.

[6] Así mismo destacar que estos programas de prevención del tabaquismo están destinadas a la población general y que las chicas con problemas de consumo importantes e inmersas en procesos delincuenciales comparten "otros problemas" que los de la población de mujeres jóvenes y chicas en la comunidad. Por lo tanto el abordaje preventivo de drogodependencias debe de ser holístico y contemplar una serie de elementos significativos para este colectivo particular de jóvenes.

[7] Es preciso señalar que muchas de las chicas implicadas en contactos reiterados con el sistema de justicia juvenil tienen familias muy disruptivas (según los estudios que han comparado chicas y chicos, las familias de ellas son más problemáticas o no tienen). Por lo que esta aproximación tendría sus limitaciones.

[8] Debido a que la depresión temprana en la adolescencia se vuelve más frecuente entre las niñas que entre los muchachos, y esta discrepancia es aún más pronunciada en la adolescencia.

[9] Los existentes han tomado fundamentalmente como referencia a jóvenes que han cometido infracciones, faltas o delitos.

[10] Es muy escasa la investigación sobre las actitudes y experiencias de profesionales que trabajan con las chicas. Entre la investigación que existe, se observa que muchas personas que trabajan en el sistema de justicia juvenil sostienen que las niñas son más difíciles de trabajar con respecto a los varones (Belknap, Holsinger, & Dunn, 1997).

[11] La investigación también indica que los profesionales tienen una falta de experiencia y de conocimientos sobre el abuso sexual pese a que muchas chicas delincuentes experimentar este

tipo de abuso. El trabajo con las mujeres requiere una formación especializada Bloom, Owen, Piper Deschenes y Rosenbaum (2002).

[12] Todos ellos deben de garantizar el acceso a los servicios específicos de violencia contra las mujeres, y a los de salud sexual y reproductiva).

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Anexo 1:

Factores de riesgo y de protección relevantes en niñas y chicas jóvenes

Factores de riesgo	Factores de protección
- Estresores graves (ej pobreza, muerte, violencia, y un patrón multigeneracional de encarcelamiento).	- Controles escolares o la familiares.
- Familias monoparentales (habitualmente una figura femenina asume la responsabilidad de los cuidados y crianzas),	- Control o supervisión de los horarios de llegadas y de salidas (sobre todo despúes de la escuela).
- Antecedentes familiares (drogodependencias y contacto con el sistema de justicia).	- Apoyo, estímulos o influencia "positiva" (para abstenerse de consumir).
- (Poli)Victimización: -Fracaso escolar generalizado -Depresión y la ansiedad (desarrollo de trastornos derivados).	- Comunicación fluida y en términos de cuidados de un adulto.
- El barrio(s) (con altos niveles de pobreza, criminalidad, desempleo, violencia, drogodependencia, institucionalización de sus miembros entre otros).	- Confianza.
	- Función y actitud protectora.
- Nivel de acceso inferior (de las chicas) a los programas comunitarios.	- Temor a las consecuencias de un posible consumo.
- Pubertad temprana	- "Madre" informada del paradero de su hija(s)(así como la de sus compañeros/as).
- Itinerario(s) de vulnerabilidad a edades más tempranas con fracasos escolares embarazos, entre las edades de 12 y 15 años.	- La posibilidad de que sus hijas se puedan poner en contacto con su madre.
- Embarazo o la maternidad adolescente. Actividad sexual temprana.	- Estímulos familiares positivos para abstenerse de consumir.
- Actividad de consumo temprana.	

Factores de riesgo	Factores de protección
- La asociación con muchachos "desviados". - Trastornos alimentarios depresión en las jóvenes baja autoestima acompañado de un aumento en la depresión e intentos de suicidio para las adolescentes - Estrechas relaciones entre el consumo de alcohol de mujeres jóvenes y el desarrollo de depresión, la obesidad, y trastornos (salud mental). - Distorsión en su autopercepción y quieren ser aceptadas, respetadas y sentirse atractivas. - Válvula de escape eficaz al dolor de las relaciones familiares disfuncionales, maltrato familiar, el aislamiento, enajenaciones, baja autoestima, y la falta de apoyo social. - Trastorno de estrés postraumático y depresivo. - Hechos frustrantes de su vida, la victimización temprana, la pérdida de sus hijos, para escapar del dolor y la propia realidad, comienzan a consumir. - Depresión y ansiedad, bajo nivel de autoestima, dificultades de comportamiento emocional, tendencias suicidas, trastornos alimenticios, dieta entre otros.	- Disponer de reglas familiares claras y concisas sobre el uso nocivo de sustancias tóxicas. - Actitud protectora (y el miedo o temor a iniciar un posible consumo). - Fortalecer el vínculo de las familias con las escuelas para promocionar el éxito (escolar). - Percepción positiva del entorno escolar.

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Peace in Colombia Is also a Women's Issue

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Peace in Colombia Is also a Women's Issue

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Abstract

In this article, we show the ambiguous relationship between the Colombian state and civil organizations in an analysis that examines the motives, methods, and form in which women's organizations that have mobilized for peace in Colombia have benefited from the structure of political opportunities during the two-term government terms of democratic security (2002-2010). For this purpose, it was very important to follow the press and the means of information diffusion on the Web by the women's organizations, interviews with leaders, and what accompanied their actions over more than 10 years. The main conclusion drawn from this work is the identification of new methods of leadership that have structured activism around peace and human rights, thus contributing to the emergence of a new political actor and the transformation of the political culture of Colombia.

Keywords: collective actions, mobilization, peace, women, Colombia

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La Paz en Colombia también Es un Asunto de Mujeres

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Resumen

En este artículo se muestra la relación ambigua entre las organizaciones estatales y civiles colombianas en un análisis que examina los motivos, los métodos y la forma en que las organizaciones de mujeres que se han movilizado por la paz en Colombia han beneficiado las oportunidades políticas durante los dos períodos de gobierno de seguridad democrática (2002-2010). Para este propósito, era muy importante seguir la prensa y los medios de difusión de información en las Webs de las organizaciones de mujeres, las entrevistas con los líderes, y lo que acompañó sus acciones durante más de 10 años. La principal conclusión de este trabajo es la identificación de nuevos métodos de dirección que han estructurado el activismo en torno a la paz y los derechos humanos, lo que contribuye a la aparición de un nuevo actor político y la transformación de la cultura política de Colombia.

Palabras clave: acciones colectivas, movilización, paz, mujeres, Colombia

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The rights of citizenship are not acquired without tensions between those who claim them and the state. They are not simply conceded to "the helpless", nor is it a basic struggle taken up by organizations without resorting to other mediations. Dispute is inevitable, and it allows citizens to progress as the tension between the pursuit of the private interests of individuals and the common good is reconciled. Individuals form new social ties and establish progressive political institutions that attempt to counteract the accumulated deficiencies in their relationship with citizens and, above all, with the victims of the armed conflict in Colombia.

Women's organizations gained a valid position in the political imaginary in the two-term terms of democratic security, that is, during the two administrations of President Alvaro Uribe Vélez (2002-2010). The broad spectrum of organizational forms and collective action that were promoted gained visibility, although the scope of this visibility varied and was often fragile. According to Pearce, "One can assert that what has helped to maintain the vitality of these new forms of action and their most radical potential has been the emergence of networking, which has grown in a manner parallel to neo-liberal globalization itself" (Pearce, 2006, p 24). In this activism, women understand that the State has ceased being the only focus of social action and that political parties are only one means for this type of action.

For this reason, women who know the power imposed by armed actors upon their territories and bodies reclaim authority from the hands of the state and mobilize in nearly all corners of the country, demanding the rights of citizenship. In the terminology of Fraser (2008), their demands have incorporated calls for redistribution and recognition, including requests for more and better representation, uniting their struggles against local patriarchal practices with campaigns for the reform of international laws.

The leadership modes that emerge are distinct, but here, we highlight two. In the first, the women who display leadership belong to social organizations, and through their efforts, they connect to institutions as representatives of victims, thus creating an intermediary zone between society and the state, that is, a fusion/tension between institutions and those whom they represent. Government officials accuse them of being too critical of the establishment; those whom they represent accuse them of having been

coopted by the government (opportunists), even though these women do not relinquish their social responsibilities.

In the second type, we locate those leaders who stand out nationally and internationally through their work with victims in regions of intense armed conflict and whose paths are presented in the mass media through articles and stories or their public appearances in the company of important functionaries and diplomats at events promoted by the government or international bodies. We refer to this female prototype when we speak of the representatives of women.

With respect to the relationship between victims and the state, we intend to show the differences in the interactions between the victims and each of the three branches of government during the period under study. The relationship with the executive branch is ambiguous, given that it did not reach an appropriate definition of the victims as subjects of intervention. Despite delivering economic benefits to them, it ignored women's demands, using the women's appeals to gain electoral support or create opposition to the government. By contrast, the judiciary gave evidence of a full understanding of the women's vulnerability and, through its jurisprudence, resolved failures in justice and issued numerous orders favoring their claims.

In the same manner, the office of the Attorney General and that of the national Ombudsman initiated disciplinary control measures against the arbitrary actions of some officials, in the first case, and for the protection of victims, in the other two. Today, citizens have fast-moving mechanisms for the legal protection of their fundamental rights and have established institutions to promote and protect human rights at both local and national levels. The jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court was definitive in the protection of the rights of excluded sectors, and it oriented the design and execution of public policies with several areas of focus, especially women, children, the elderly and the disabled, afro-descendants, and indigenous groups. Accordingly, it follows that state commitment to the victims was not uniform and that it depended more on the officials than on the institutions created to serve them. This study intends to show that the state-society relationship has shown enormous complexity in its attention to victims. The victims are clear that the problem is not the absence of the state but instead precarious and unequal management.

Research Strategy

As a study of what occurred while a national government was in power for two presidential terms, we concentrate on the variation in some contextual dimensions that seem to be the most relevant for peace activism: the vacillations in political violence, the changes in alignment between economic elites and political circles, the availability of domestic and international allies, and access to the mass media on the part of those who were mobilized against the war or its effects and mobilized for peace. In this manner, we observe the following ranges for the dimensions shown in Table 1.

Table 1.
Range of variation in political opportunity structures

Variable	Dimension	Ranges of variation	
Political opportunity structures	Political violence	High	Low
	Alliances among elites	Stable	Unstable
	Availability of allies	Scarce	Abundant
	Access to media	Difficult	Easy

Monitoring the press (two Colombian dailies – El Tiempo and El País) provided the basic information of the project. The monitoring was accomplished through annual inventories of facts (and events) for each dimension of the political opportunity structure. The frequency distributions or scales of attributes were generated for each dimension over an observation period of 10 years. Paradigmatic cases, moments, or situations in each dimension were isolated and analyzed in depth, with complementary information extracted from daily newspapers and materials compiled during the researcher's more than 10 years of following the organizations' actions through interviews, informal conversations, and attendance at their events. All the written and visual documentation archived by these organizations

and networks on their websites, such as the Iniciativa de Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz- IMP, Ruta Pacífica, Organización Femenina Popular, Red Nacional de Mujeres, Mesa de Mujer y Conflicto Armado, and Liga de Mujeres Desplazadas, were also important.

The text is structured in four sections. In the first, we present a brief review of the main facts that may have inspired the mobilization of women interested in defending their rights. In the second, we present the modalities of collective action that the women's organizations employed to express their grievances. In the third, we analyze the political opportunity structure in which the collective actions of these groups are supported, and lastly, in a section on final reflections, we show the primary conclusions that can be drawn from this research exercise.

Motives for mobilization

When the number of violent incidents that occurred during these years (2000- 2010) are compared with that for the prior decade (1990-2000), the former shows a significant decrease in attacks on electricity and oil infrastructure in the country, kidnappings, massacres, attacks on public security force buildings, and clashes between this force and irregular armed actors. However, this trend does not indicate that respect for or the guarantee of human rights and international humanitarian law (IHL) has increased or that attention to the victims has been adequate. On the contrary, complaints grew, above all because organizations learned to utilize institutional channels to demand their rights. Thus, they achieved a response from the state through the sheer force of records, which, in many cases, are published by their own offices, aid agencies, international organizations, and consultancies, with investigations conducted by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, among others. According to the review of the press and other documentary sources and the testimony of some women's organization leaders and whistleblowers, the major violations of human rights that mobilized women are, in order, the following:

a) Forced displacement, in three forms: individual, family, and collective. b) Physical, psychological, and sexual torture. Most tell of cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment, such as death threats, witnessing acts of torture, harassment, and molestation. c) Material losses, as direct destruction

of their goods and property, sometimes by raids on their homes or simply through the brutality of armed groups conducting interventions on their property. d) Arbitrary detentions, hostage-taking, and the forced recruitment of children and family members. e) Cross-fire and being used as human shields. f) Attacks on their organizations and their leaders. g) Crimes of extrajudicial executions using fictitious mechanisms to cover up the illegality of the acts. These "false positives" using young rural people and people from poor urban areas have led to numerous demonstrations led by their mothers, wives, and relatives. One outstanding case is the mothers of Soacha, who received the support of human rights defenders in their claims and calls for justice. h) Forced disappearances. i) Sexual violence, including rape, forced prostitution, and abortion, is one of the most frequently denounced crimes in public demonstrations. j) Kidnappings.

As can be deduced from the above, Colombian women have had more than enough reasons to mobilize. In general, activists have organized to denounce the violence produced by the armed conflict and, above all, the consequences that it produces in the social fabric and in their families, naturally leading them to keep alive the memory of what happened and mourn for the departed. Therefore, their demands were best framed in the slogan *truth, justice, reparation, and no repetition of the violent acts*. It is noteworthy that a good proportion of the victims represent more than the crimes against and allegations of rural women, with those from the inner-city also experiencing the "impacts of the rural armed conflict" as violence moves into the urban world.

As recently proposed in the *Basta ya* report by the Historical Memory Group (Grupo de Memoria Histórica - GHM, 2013), the impacts of this violence "are complex, of diverse kinds, magnitudes and natures", with several features affecting its structure. First, there is variation in the characteristics of the violent events suffered. Whereas in some, there is evidence of a high degree of cruelty and an intent to produce fear in individuals and the community, in others, the events occur in an untimely manner. Second, the perpetrator is not always the same, nor is the modality with which damage is inflicted or the profile of the victims (their age, gender, ethnicity, disability status, organizational experience, or political and religious affiliation). Third, the type of support received during and after the events occurred (from family, community, and institutions) is also uneven,

as are social responses to the events and the victims (demonstrations of solidarity or rejection) and the actions or omissions of the state, especially the armed forces and the police and judiciary as the bodies responsible for providing protection to citizens.

This situation allows us to conclude that the effects are unquantifiable and even intangible. These damages have changed the life plans of thousands of individuals and families, curtailed future possibilities for one part of society, and disrupted democratic development. Victims experience situations of extreme horror in conditions of great helplessness and humiliation because their perpetrators were arbitrary and knew no bounds (GMH, 2013).

Regarding the actors who inflicted harm, the information provided by victims is unclear. These women speak of the violence but are inhibited in referring to the perpetrators. With testimony from nearly 1000 women consulted by Ruta Pacífica (2013) for the book *The truth of the women victims of armed conflict in Colombia,* the authors note the material and intellectual difficulties experienced in clarifying the acts perpetrated in their community. However, other research on the reconfiguring of local realities has determined that armed organizations, despite their reduction, maintain certain distinctive behavioral peculiarities and that it is therefore important to differentiate them (Guzman & Rodriguez, 2014).

Undoubtedly, however, the major adversary whom they face is the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia- AUC and the groups that their members formed after demobilization. The methods that they used to impose local order and the brutality of the violent acts that they perpetrated as they passed through communities partly explain the intense activism that occurred in the regions in which their fronts operated. The guerrillas and the army also provoke protests and acts of civil resistance. Allegations against these agents have included the disproportionate use of force, the intimidation of residents, and, in recent years, extrajudicial executions.

Despite the fear, the intensity of circumstances has led a significant group of women to act on behalf of their family or their community. Various examples have been illustrated in the books by the Historical Memory Group (GHM, 2010, 2011a and 2011b), in similar reports published in the media, in testimonial literature, in some academic research (Ibarra, 2011a and 2011b), and in both the print publications and virtual documents of the women's

organizations. Newspaper records also demonstrate that there are thousands of anonymous women who face pain and go out in public to demand their rights.

Although most of the victims suffer in silence, a few women challenge their own communities to defy the armed actors and demand that the state let them live in peace. Perhaps, what most motivates them to escape their captivity is their concern over safely returning to the routine of their lives and traditional gender roles, but on the way, they meet with other women who insist on politicizing that transgression. This act has allowed them some small measure of freedom and the time to take care of themselves. These anonymous individuals proceed to transform their own lives, and without feminist pretenses of eliminating gender inequality or changing the patriarchal culture, they become public subjects and leaders in different arenas. Their activism has them assume new roles and obliges them to develop new strategies with their families for maintaining their public presence without neglecting their domestic responsibilities.

In studies on collective action, there is always the idea concerning how many actions are produced and what number of people is mobilized. The reasons always seem obvious, but what we have found in this case is that, despite the existence of sufficient motives, a large proportion of victims are not mobilized. Therefore, for these women, forming organizations or joining existing organizations might not necessarily imply a consciously formulated plan, given that they only have a very limited range of available strategies. On the contrary, as Ann Swidler proposes (1986), the decision references a general manner of organizing their action. It is an action that includes prior habits and representations that constitute their repertoire or toolboxes and in which "conflicting symbols" are contained, given that, in working for the community, they may be postponing dreams, desires, and personal projects. Nevertheless, from this subjective perspective, they give meaning and coherence to their lives and justify their actions due to the violence suffered.

The most interesting thing about these activities is that the initial motive has been reconfigured much in the same way as their lives. Their actions are oriented, as we shall now see, by a plurality of ideas and values, and they often have a pragmatic orientation and pursue institutional reforms that broaden systems of participation in decisions that have a wide impact (Offe, 1985). These actions have a broad political significance: "they imply a

dynamic of democratization" of everyday life and the expansion of the civil dimensions of society, as opposed to the expansion of those linked to the state. It is clear that not all the initiatives emerge in the heat of conflict and that many of the women had previous experience in other organizations, whether political, productive, or cultural. It is because of that experience that several become targets of armed groups.

Modes of Collective Action

The solidarity of women's organizations and feminists with victims of the armed conflict has mobilized a broad contingent of activists whose social origin is rooted in a broad range of social statuses by age, origin, ethnicity, religion, and membership in a professional sector, among others. However, one group of leaders stands out from the others: They support the voiceless and join with the clamor of those who hold to the hope of finding truth, justice, and reparation. These are consummate activists, with extensive experience in social organizations and movements of feminists, workers, peasant farmers (*campesinos*), and ethnic groups (black and indigenous). As we have stated in other writings, this type of personal trajectory is an element that favors participation in activism for peace. For some of women, a personal adherence to leftist ideology or religious beliefs, in addition to their social class, ethnicity, or sexual orientation, is fundamental to their connection to forms of resistance that strengthen these attachments. Thus, the methods that small collectives use are enriched by cultural and symbolic elements that fit necessities and contexts.

The range in which they use conventional repertoires is evident, but even more so is the use of some novel and original components, to which are added the female imprint of collective actions designed and oriented to reach objectives or simply to call for attention and energize the citizenry. As Melucci states (1989), the claims of the women and their factors for mobilization tend to concentrate on cultural and symbolic matters related to problems of identity rather than economic grievances. Their actions are produced in association with the beliefs, symbols, values, and collective meanings linked to the sentiments that are relevant to a distinct group, with the image that their members have of themselves and with new meanings

that they contribute and construct collectively to give meaning to their everyday lives.

Through their actions, the relationship between individual and group blurs, precisely as is expressed in the slogan *the personal is political,* which emerged as a consequence of the interpenetration of these two spheres. Their actions become the source of particular definitions that members ascribe to themselves, (black, indigenous, young, victim, displaced, feminist, *campesina*), and their activities consist of a complex combination of self-affirmations and identities, both individual and collective. They also involve intimate aspects of human life.

The women employ guidelines for mobilization that are characterized by non-violence and civil disobedience that often represent a challenge to prevailing behavioral norms through dramatic representation. Their repertoires are not confrontational. On the contrary, they avoid violence and promote the creation of a culture of peace, using sit-ins, occupations, boycotts, vigils, and other methods of garnering attention.

The proliferation of these organizations is related to the credibility crisis of conventional channels for participation in public life in a democracy such as that in Colombia. They distrust traditional parties and despise politicians. Their organizing tends to be diffuse and decentralized. There is a considerable degree of autonomy among local organizations and, in many cases, a range of efforts that sacrifices the creation of more forceful actions that generate larger impact. However, the leaders promote their own mobilizations and also the repetition of institutionalized actions on a local level.

More than a recounting of collective peace actions undertaken by women during this period, in this article, we show how some of these have become institutionalized. Infographic 1 shows a synthesis of the primary actions and repertoires that these organizations use. Among these actions, marches, sit-ins, rallies, and the lobbying for oversight stand out; however, that is not to say that these were the only types of actions drawn upon. The women also do the difficult work of organizing and coordinating with other collectives that strive for peace, while advancing the internal work of training members and political discussion, which makes significant demands of time on them, especially because this work will be replicated in other regions.

Infographic 1
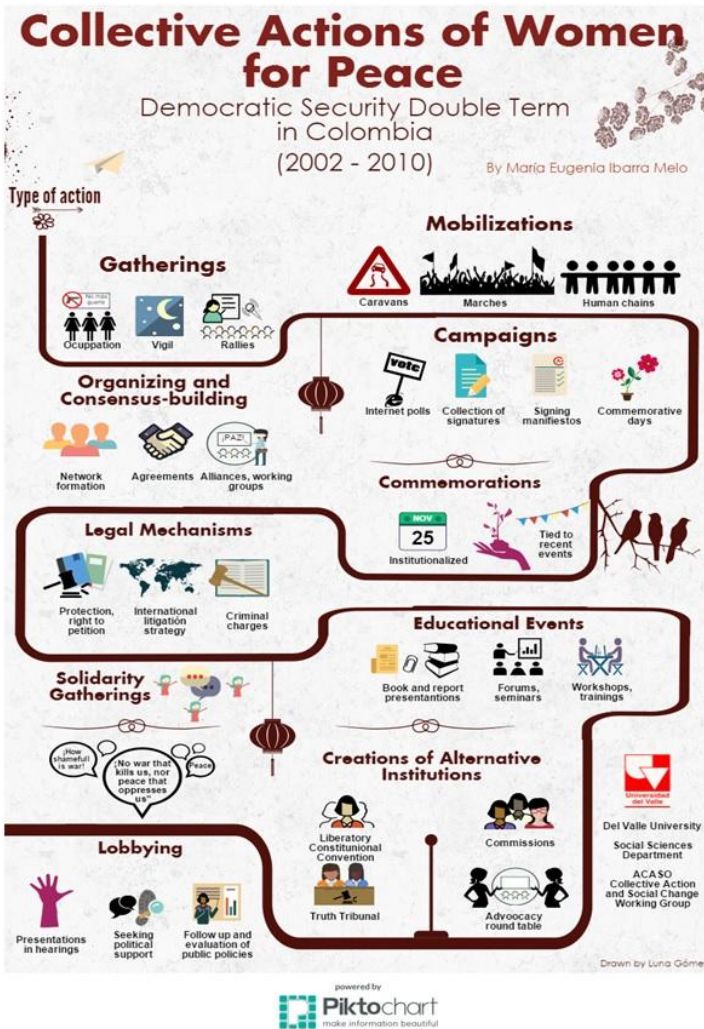
In addition to these forms of activism, the leaders are dedicated to complementary tasks that include case research: searching for testimony, facts, and figures to support the interpretation of violence. Naturally, this

research also includes writing various types of reports: some for contributors, others designed to dispute the information that the government gives to international human rights organizations, and others for sharing through their campaigns. Other activities that demand time are the preparation of legal arguments, the comparative study of cases, and the search for academic partnerships, institutional support, and solidarity links with other organizations and movements.

The Political Opportunity Structure that Allows the Mobilization of Women

The legislative, judicial, and political outcome favorable to the women during the two terms of democratic security helps recognize the major progress made in attracting attention to their concerns, in terms of not only the number but also the quality of the laws, verdicts, and public policies to be implemented. However, for the regulations to take shape, certain events needed to occur, and certain practices and actors had to come together at certain times. For this reason, it is important to realize the political opportunity structures that make it possible for the women's organizations to claim rights and induce institutional actors to respond.

At some opportunities, the government responds to legal provisions and, in others, to the need to comply with signed treaties and international accords that lead to gender equality, the prevention and eradication of violence against women[1], and the protection of the rights of female victims[2]. It expanded spaces of participation, formulated social and public policies, or provided simple recognitions that made requests advance toward becoming new claims. In this process, women's organizations gained strength as political actors, valid interlocutors, and legitimate actors listened to in a range of scenarios.

As an actor recognized by the state, the women's movement undertakes strong collective actions, issuing complaints and claims. Presently, there already exists an organizational framework that is solid and articulated via various modes of expression, demanding the guarantee of human rights, humanitarian accords, and a political negotiation of armed conflict with the ultimate goal of peace. These organizations are led by professionals with extensive experience and now have a large social base that increases with the

waves of political violence produced by irregular armed actors in their confrontation with the state. They have established simple hierarchical structures that permit them to maintain cadres dedicated to their operation, obtain resources, and keep their membership informed. In that sense, these forms of social interaction are shaped to the social environment as they modify their relationships with the state, which they continually confront.

Regarding the *availability of allies* needed by this actor to pursue its objectives, it is important to note that, until 2002, the national government was still negotiating with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia- FARC. That process had gained a broad backing and international participation, nurtured by constant visits from diplomatic delegations, functionaries, and international consultants, among other public personalities interested in contributing to a solution to the armed conflict in Colombia. This situation helped women's organizations to more strongly issue complaints and position their discourse as coming from victims of the armed groups and state neglect.

Observing their actions during the eight years of the Álvaro Uribe government, it is clear that women's organizations sponsored all types of academic and diplomatic meetings that were attended by the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights, refugees and women, delegates of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), members of the European Parliament and the U.S. Congress, ambassadors from the Netherlands, and numerous representatives of various governments, including prime ministers, presidents, and ambassadors. Before these officials, they explained the situation of women in communities affected by the armed conflict and delivered reports confirming human rights violations in Colombia. They also allied themselves with various national and foreign organizations from different countries that supported their claims on the platforms to which they had access.

All these actions provided more visibility to the women's struggles and increased the leaders' access to areas that had hitherto been restricted to the diplomatic staff of the state. With this visibility, their organizations positioned themselves as an actor that could demand to be heard in settings where policies were debated, and in general, they succeeded. This success can be seen by the presence of two main representatives of victims in the National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation (Comisión

Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación - CNRR). Other examples include their presence in public hearings and the permission they gained to meet with demobilized groups.

This development would not have been possible without the growing worldwide awareness of the issues confronting women in Colombia and the comprehensive monitoring by the international community to ensure the fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goals and the provisions emanating from global settings for the reduction of gender inequality and the increased participation of women in broader arenas of society and the state. In this manner, international agencies favor actions that defend human rights and incorporate a differentiated gender lens, which becomes an opportunity to position the women's movement as a political actor. Their proximity to these agents allows them access to resources of cooperation for development and for advancing projects in training and entrepreneurship. Meanwhile, this experience in interlocution has trained them in lobbying, advocacy, and the ability to make authorities listen.

In these interactions, both local activism and its methods for claiming rights were nurtured by criticism from experts, international agencies, diplomats, and members of other organizations. This criticism, in turn, led to demands for the application of international standards of justice, such as United Nations Resolution 1325/2000. This reflection, coupled with diagnoses of similar situations in other countries that had successfully negotiated a demobilization of irregular armed forces, constituted two powerful reasons to more emphatically claim positions on peace negotiation teams.

Peace activism was very dynamic in the first years of the decade of 2000. Day by day, activist groups created websites, held events, worked to advance accords and agreements, designed strategies, formed action fronts, and made appeals for the continuation of the peace process through media announcements and posters referencing the need for reconciliation, among others. Thus, different sectors of society became linked with victims' claims. During the peace process in the Caguán, the use of female human resources yielded significant results in learning the situation of those kidnapped by the FARC. From 2002 to 2010, those human resources would become more refined to improve their approaches to these forces and to the state.

One question that remains in the background for these organizations, in their analysis of context, is that of the achievements in justice, reconciliation, and peaceful coexistence obtained by Colombians in the 10 years of the Political Constitution that was supposedly the primary Colombian peace accord. The conclusion was clear-cut: these matters were pending. Thus, collective actions should focus on Article 22 of the Charter, which reads as follows: "Peace is a duty and a right that must be enforced". Thus, their actions were to render visible the humanitarian disaster the country was living through and to demand a negotiated solution to the armed conflict. Appeals for truth, justice, reparation, and no repetition of the violent acts would be added later. In this regard, they would be diligent, creating unofficial memory initiatives.

We do not discount the capacities acquired by the women's organizations in adapting themselves to the social structure, a factor that is fundamental for understanding contentious collective action; however, we also highlight that those who mobilized did so within the conditions of that context. Those who became the most versatile in designing actions to achieve their objectives did so through the use of varied cultural repertoires.

During this period, support grew significantly from dissident parties, some that were more identified with the left, in addition to the nation's labor unions. In Congress, their most notable allies were the senator Piedad Córdoba and the representative Iván Cepeda, two opponents of the national government. These two politicians, from their participation in Colombian Men and Women for Peace and the Movement of Victims of Crimes by the State (Colombianos y Colombianas por la paz y el Movimiento de víctimas de crímenes de Estado - MOVICE), successfully grouped some of these organizations into joint collective actions during 2007 and 2009. Furthermore, one cannot discount the support obtained from the two ex-presidents Ernesto Samper and Alfonso López, both promoters of humanitarian exchanges. Their appeals were echoed by the mass media and the Liberal party. The lobbying with senators Rafael Pardo and Gina Parodi was also important, allowing the incorporation of five articles related to gender status in the justice and peace project.

The most important ally throughout this entire period, however, was the judiciary, especially the High Courts. The magistrates gave substantial judicial support to the victims' cries, especially those of indigenous peoples,

afro-descendants, the displaced, and women. The Constitutional Court defended the rights of those collectives through different rulings and judgments that became precedents, thus offering victims improved legal arguments for claiming their rights.

Another significant component in this political opportunity structure, *instability in the alignment of the elites*, is reflected in the breaking off of negotiations with the FARC and the launch of the presidential campaign, in which the discourse on peace and the end of armed conflict in Colombia became polarized. Calls for democratic security triumphed, and this fact would become a trigger for social organizations to demonstrate against Álvaro Uribe. The organizations questioned his political orientation and the actions of the armed conflict and exposed themselves to his stigmatization of human rights activists. They also protested against irregular armed groups (guerrilla and paramilitary) through small acts of civil resistance and by denouncing their violent actions to authorities.

As we have noted in a previous study, (Ibarra, 2011a and 2011b), the activism that resulted from two large joint women's efforts (IMP and la Ruta) during the processes of transitional justice and the implementation of the Law of Justice and Peace (975 in 2005) was one of the most important occurrences in the movement during the years of the two-term government of democratic security. This activism occurred during a brief period (2003-2006), but it kept national politics and the press in suspense with the events that it triggered: There was an unexpected increase in the number of demobilized fighters from both the AUC and the guerrillas and in the number of victims demanding reparations. The number of people contacting the state overwhelmed the state capacity, in terms of financial and human resources. Provisions enacted for reintegrating former members of armed groups operating outside the law so that they could effectively contribute to achieving national peace and foster the conditions for fulfilling humanitarian accords were possible because the government gave the heads of the AUC privileged extradition to the United States. With this decision, sentencing for domestic crimes committed was postponed. Furthermore, with the increase in criminal groups formed from the ranks of the demobilized, the possibilities for reducing violence against civilians began to shrink. These groups reclaimed drug trafficking routes and created cartels against the

reclamation of land, sowing terror in the different areas to which *campesinos* had returned.

Access to the media by women's organizations was restricted. However, despite their precarious position in the press that covered their collective actions, the women devised increasingly novel repertoires to capture the curiosity of journalists, opinion makers, and, above all, ordinary citizens. In many cases, their persistent creativity made citizens and authorities attend to their demands. The closed doors of the "official" media to government detractors and, above all, the obsequious indulgence toward President Uribe in the mainstream press and television, as Lopez has noted (2014), led to the display of a bipolar and Manichean view of national problems.

The organizations countered this journalistic trivialization through an intensive use of the Internet to spread information on their events, campaigns, and actions, both within Colombia and without. Online, they constantly offered denunciations and actions, with social networks such as blogs and Twitter becoming their primary channels of communication; they circulated photographic material, videos, interviews, reports, and communiques. Political analysts may suggest that, in light of the unanimous congressional support of the presidential figure of Álvaro Uribe, his favorable ratings in the polls, and the support of trade unions, social organizations were being excluded from all the stages from which they could push for their demands to become laws and public policy. Nevertheless, a review of the press has shown that they took advantage of spaces beyond the legislative arena to render visible their disagreement with the executive branch.

Final Reflections

One of the primary conclusions drawn from the study of the peace activism undertaken by the women is that it constantly integrated a broader variety of individuals with a range of social origins. Feminists, unionized workers, *campesinas*, grassroots groups, black and indigenous peoples, lesbians, students, and artists converged in this movement, at times, in claiming one of these identities or simply as victims of the armed conflict. These labels become strategic for collective action in moments when the group warrants attention from the state, especially given the pressures exerted by

international organizations to prevent the violation of their rights and to ensure their protection as civilians. A huge majority is composed of those who continue affirming themselves only as women, thus aligning themselves with the established feminist networks.

The protagonists are recognized leaders who stand out in the political settings in which efforts are undertaken for the defense of human rights and the pursuit of peace. In their daily movement through institutions, the public eye, and auditoriums, they have become celebrities who draw the attention of their adversaries, some sectors of opinion, and, naturally, new audiences, to use the terms of Hunt, Benford, and Snow (2001). This attention has been achieved through their capacity to understand the needs of victims and organize individual demands as collective demands. They use their theoretical and disciplinary knowledge to understand their claims; they know the structure of the state and its functioning; they know how to process and file a legal appeal, present projects, and solicit resources. They study legislation and are attentive to national and international debates concerning peace, human rights, or the rights of women. They have learned to interact with international networks, traveling continually in the country and throughout the world to inform themselves of new experiences and learn to renew the forms of mobilization and management. These actions, in addition to their constant writing of technical reports and communications, have allowed them to develop skills to both denounce and call for a wider audience.

Naturally, the points made above refer to professional activists. Others, such as direct victims, despite years of connection with these groups and with their constancy and commitment, manage to climb only slightly from their positions as militants, although it is sometimes entrusted to them to represent their group. For these individuals, small organizations are structured more similarly to a permanent school in which they secure knowledge to share it with less specialized audiences. However, some victims have become emblematic figures who are highlighted in the mass media.

Nevertheless, if the desire to stop the conflict unites them, the ways in which they believe peace should be achieved, and what that means, distance them. Thus, not all their collective actions succeed in being massive; in very few cases have minimal agreements been reached for the mobilization of

organizations. As in other social movements, this movement's identity is under construction. The alleged gender solidarity is brewing amid the contradictions generated among some of them in fighting against a sexist culture rooted in their minds and bodies.

For these women who operate on the margins of politics and who attempt to transgress the established social order through small transformations, their efforts have not been made to convince their fellow women who serve in traditional political parties or who hold seats in Congress, high government positions, or positions in the judicial branch to be more attentive to their claims and to reach the gender equity they so desire. In Colombia, the presence of women in these spaces has not been a genuine guarantee of the advancement of the transformations required by society to avoid gender discrimination, overcome female subordination, and eliminate patriarchal domination.

The women's struggles for peace can generally be framed as the claim for a guarantee of human rights and the truth, justice, reparation, and negotiation of the armed conflict that would bring a lasting peace. Most of their claims can be classified into these three large categories. What distinguishes them from other victims and activists is that these women adhere to a differential focus on sexual and reproductive rights, abortion, and the eradication of violence against women.

Another preliminary conclusion that this study provides is the sense of growing qualifications within political culture that are being achieved by individuals who hitherto had no interest in participating in the public arena. Although further investigation regarding the type of citizenship being created is required, it is currently possible to observe *campesinas*, the wives and mothers of persons disappeared and kidnapped, women of indigenous or black ancestries who have witnessed armed groups recruiting their children, the family members of those murdered in massacres, and women who have been raped now becoming leaders of organizations and being able to confront seasoned political party leaders, public functionaries, diplomats, and famous academics. In their activism, they appropriate the language of human rights while supporting their claims with the dignity conferred upon them as mothers, using the Marianist tradition of female ethical superiority. This type of mobilization has been interpreted as an alternative to the masculine model of citizenship and may be creating a collective citizenry

that recuperates feminist values and deconstructs the rigid limits between the public and private spheres. The danger is that this argument could reduce the political to a moral position.

Another aspect that emerges from knowledge of their personal paths is the influence exerted by their itinerant presence between the third sector, the state, and the academy in achieving their objectives, which, in this case, are linked to the resolution of armed conflict through the attainment of peace. Their connection to the state in executing programs and projects cannot be interpreted simply as the cooptation of the movement by the political elite. A deeper analysis may allow the recognition that their movement between civil society and the state has been productive for the attainment of both short-term and long-term goals partly because they succeed in permeating the institutions and functionaries through the use of inclusive language, making them more likely to understand the demands of women, despite their resistance to accepting the large changes required. Simultaneously, this migration between executive agencies and their own organizations helps the militant among them better comprehend the obstacles in negotiating with the state and recognize the landscape to propose stronger arguments for deliberations.

However, based on empirical observation, our perspective is that the intrusion of international agencies in defining the objectives of the women's organizations has not been helpful in advancing what the feminist movement considers to be its strategic objectives. These bodies impose their agendas and force them to change priorities. The same applies to state action in local areas. This intrusion further divides the relationships between the women's movements and feminist movements, which had reunited to undertake joint actions for peace at the beginning of the period under study.

Finally, one of the most significant contributions of the women's presence in the organizations for peace and against the war in Colombia is the value it has given to the lives of anonymous people. They find meaning through a public mourning that might well have remained an intimate act of weeping for the dead, kidnapped, and disappeared had the women not decided to carry it into the public sphere. Initially, they do it to value these lives, allowing a type of heightened awareness of the precariousness of those lives and the need to protect them, to understand them beyond their country's borders. They are clear that they cannot escape death, but the fact of

accepting this precariousness, this finitude of the human condition, is perhaps the main political alternative they offer (Butler, 2004). For this reason, for these women activists, making the loudest noise, calling attention, leaving a trace, making noise, and exploding authority are of the utmost importance. Their noise is folkloric, full of symbols and slogans that emphasize the feminine condition.

In this exercise, similar to Touraine (1986), we attempt to examine the conduct of the women who belong to social organizations and who question the social situation and forms of domination and, thus, the mechanisms of the production of social and cultural practices, normative orientations, and core conflicts. To the extent possible, we intend to extract and elaborate the meaning of the practices, not to separate the meaning of an act from the consciousness of the actor but to analyze the self-analysis that the protagonists produce. We hope that we have succeeded.

Notes

[1] In the article *"Violence against women: a public matter",* Ibarra and García (2012) historically and sociologically reconstruct the process of state intervention in the prevention, attention to, and eradication of violence suffered by women in Columbia from the 1995 signing of the Inter-American Convention for the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence Against Women, Belem do Para, to 2010, when the National Defense Ministry enacted the public policy that includes, as its guiding axis, gender violence. This document reviews legal regulations, national public policies, reports from women's organizations, and the conventions and reports of international bodies to determine the manner in which what is considered a private matter acquires a public character and is incorporated into the political agenda – something that emanates from the state, as opposed to from the individual sphere. This process is delimited through various levels of context, one being global, which permits the comprehension of the historical trend of feminist efforts to render the problem visible, in addition to how international organizations allow us to understand the historical trend of feminist vindication by rendering visible the problem and how international bodies attend to the situation. At local or national levels, it covers the particular dynamics of both collective and institutional action.

[2] In this aspect, government reports demonstrate that women comprise a slight majority of the beneficiaries of programs created for humanitarian assistance and the restitution of their rights.

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Bangladeshi Women Trafficking Survivors Situation in Family and Society: NGO Response towards their Reintegration

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Bangladeshi Women Trafficking Survivors Situation in Family and Society: NGO Response towards their Reintegration

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Abstract

Trafficking is a wide spread business that not only violates women and children's human rights but also push them towards a vulnerable state with no protection of life. This paper aims to focus on the perception behind the reintegration process of trafficking survivors, who has returned from India to their families and communities in Bangladesh. In doing so, this research helps to understand the perception of survivors in their reintegration along with the perceptions of community people and family members. This study also brings forth in discussion how their life has been changed and their acceptance in society has been denied. This research was carried out with the help of BNWLA and it intends to find out what BNWLA is doing to reduce those challenges. The study findings show that reintegration of survivors is challenging. Different NGOs and government are working to change people's mind about the reintegration of survivors and provide facilities to the survivors to get empowered. This study recommends increasing the awareness among people about survivors' reintegration.

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La Situación de las Mujeres Bangladesíes Víctimas de Trata en la Familia y la Sociedad: Respuestas de las ONG a su Reintegración

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Resumen

La trata es un gran negocio que no sólo viola los derechos humanos de mujeres y niñas, sino que también las empuja hacia la vulnerabilidad social. Este artículo analiza la percepción existente tras la reintegración de mujeres supervivientes de trata a sus familias y comunidades de Bangladesh tras su regreso de India. Esta investigación ayuda a comprender la propia percepción de las supervivientes en su proceso de reintegración así como las de los miembros de su familia y de la comunidad. También analiza cómo cambian sus vidas y cómo se les deniega su aceptación en la sociedad. Esta investigación se llevó a cabo con la ayuda de BNWLA y muestra el papel que BNWLA lleva a cabo para reducir estos problemas. Los resultados del estudio muestran que la reintegración de los supervivientes es todo un reto. Diferentes ONG así como el gobierno están trabajando para cambiar la opinión de la gente sobre la reintegración de las supervivientes, destinando medios para lograr su empoderamiento. Finalmente se concluye con la necesidad de incrementar la conciencia social sobre la reintegración de las víctimas de trata.

Palabras clave: trata, superviviente, percepción, reintegración, respuesta

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T rafficking is a wide spread business that not only violates women and children's human rights but also push them towards a vulnerable state with no protection of life. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that there are 2.4 billion people in the world at any given time are engaged in forced labor and are subjected to exploitation as a result of trafficking (ILO, 2008). Globalization introduces slavery with human trafficking which is not only the result of economic migration but also the process in which people are commercialized and exploited for a variety of reasons (Bales, 2007). Bangladesh is one of the most vulnerable countries for trafficking today due to a host of factors such as its large population, chronic poverty, ongoing natural disaster and rural-urban migration due to unemployment or natural disaster, increased insecurity of the girls, lack of shelter in disaster period, gender inequality and so on (Sarker & Panday, 2006).

Bangladesh is largely a source country as far as trafficking is concerned, from which women, men and children are trafficked into different sites of employment in the destination countries. Trafficking causes multiple violations of human rights for those who are trafficked. In Bangladesh although many factors cause the initiation of the process of trafficking, poverty and unemployment can be said to the main causes. Women who are trafficked go through severe physical and psychological violence's which destroy their self-esteem, confidence level and potentiality. Reintegration into mainstream society is a problematic issue for trafficked women, particularly those who had been trafficked into prostitution, because of the stigma and taboo associated with their former work. If these women return with sexually transmitted diseases (STD) or become HIV positive, it becomes even more challenging for the family and community to accept them. Reintegration of these women is thus a difficult process that requires a pragmatic and sensitive program of action to ensure the resumption of a normal life for the trafficked survivors. However, the prevailing norms and value systems of our society do not easily accept the survivors in family and community life. This will incorporate the notion of social acceptance and the reclaiming of dignity for women when it is often found that societies become judgmental when it comes to reintegrate the survivors into the society (Gazi, Chowdhury, Nurul Alam, Chowdhury, Ahmed, Begum, 2001).

So far in Bangladesh, trafficking is an important issue which highlights the interconnected issues such as poverty, lack of education, poor governance, weak border security and women's growing need to work and earn money to be economically independent. But when the trafficked women are rescued and return back to Bangladesh, it is difficult to reintegrate them in the society as mostly they face discrimination and violence in the society. Rather, their acceptance is questioned in the name of honor and purity and somehow they are abandoned in the society. This study seeks to understand the perception of family and community members to outline the challenges of acceptance. It also focuses on BNWLA's contribution to process the reintegration and NGO and government response towards survivors.

Justification

United States Trafficking in Persons Report (2007) states that human trafficking is now the second largest illicit money making venture in the world after trafficking of weapons and drugs whereas in 2006, it was ranked as the third largest business of illicit money making (United States Department of State, 2008). In Bangladesh, the intensity of trafficking is increasing day by day and "existing social structure, economic system, cultural condition and geographical setting of Bangladesh affects the trafficking of women in children and compelled them to involve in sex-trade, domestic work, harmful industrial work, forced marriage, forced begging, camel jockeying, adoption trade and organ harvesting"(Sarker & Panday, 2006, p. 1). The issue of trafficking is gaining a lot of attention in Bangladesh with studies which have been published on this issue. Bangladesh country report (2007) (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2008) showed that 50,000 Bangladeshi girls are trafficked to or through India every year as we have border with India. Huda (2006) gives an idea that more than 14,000 Bangladeshi women are working as maids in the Gulf States and NGOs estimate the number as more than 40,000. BNWLA repatriated 378 survivors from different states of South Asian countries and among them 144 were female and 234 were male survivors (Ali, 2007). In 2011, BNWLA rescued 119 survivors and reintegrated 102 survivors. 25 survivors got the job or livelihood support from BNWLA in 2011 (Ministry

of Home Affairs, 2011). Moreover, they have organized many workshops to create a platform for the collaboration between government and NGOs to improve prosecution system. The Government of Bangladesh Country Report (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2008) claimed that efficient policing and implementation of measures showed a remarkable improvement in rescuing the trafficked women and children.

Table 1

The status of Law Enforcement Agencies against Trafficking in Women and Children (Survivors Rescued)

Law enforcement agencies	16 March '05 to 15 March `06	15 March'06 to 15 March `07	January '07 to December `07	January '08 to December `08
Police	87	94	57	140
BDR	02	63	26	48
RAB	17	-	04	39
Ministry of Home Affairs	49	30	30	28
Total	155	187	117	255

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs (2008). Bangladesh Country Report on Combating Trafficking in Women and Children.

However, from the number of survivors rescued between March 2005 to December 2008, only a fraction of the victims are rehabilitated. During 2012, RAB arrested 276 persons and rescued 182 victims from 1 January-10 December, 2012. Border guards rescued 255 women and 86 children and had arrested 10 traffickers (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2012). A UNICEF report says that each month approximately 400 women and children in Bangladesh become victims of trafficking (Report in the Daily Star on 22-03-2010 in Jahan, 2011). Data on trafficking compiled from newspaper reports do not provide authentic and comprehensive information and data compiled by NGOs can give a confusing picture since it does not cover the whole country. Generally, the documentation about trafficking in Bangladesh is poor and data are collected by individual organizations. The numbers of trafficked people documented in government reports do not also

provide the information of whole country. Nevertheless, we get an understanding of the magnitude of the trafficking problem in Bangladesh from reading these sources.

Generally the development programs all over the country stress more on either prevention or reduction in numbers of trafficking and rescuing trafficked women. Research is carried out to measure the impact of trafficking on prostitution and HIV/AIDS infection. Importance of giving emphasis on the rescued women is not highly visible though they need more care and attention to be reintegrated in the society. Many women do not try to escape or come back as families do not welcome back girls worked as sex workers (Derks, 1997; Human Rights Watch, 1995). In a patriarchal society like Bangladesh, women merely go through humiliation and disgrace because of their previous work while trafficked. Surprisingly less importance is given to make these women self-sufficient or prepare them to go back in a normal life. Although the police rescue many women and children, what happens to them after they have been rescued is largely unknown. Most are unable to go back to their home because of a whole series of problems, and when they are released, they are again at risk of being picked up by the traffickers. Of particular interest to me is to find out the status of survivors in their family and society through the perception of family and community members and to understand what BNWLA has done for them.

Theory

Empowerment theory of Kabeer (1999) is outlined to understand the possible meaning of empowerment and how it can be achieved by survivors. Sadan's (2004) ideas of empowerment also shed a broader light on the idea of powerlessness or disempowerment that made women survivors vulnerable to the traffickers, abused and marginalized in society. Saleebey (2006) explain empowerment in a way that describes how to get back the strength, cope with the situation and regain the power from a powerless state. To complement this perspective the study of Gutierrez, DeLois & GlenMaye (1995) talks about the intervention programs that work as mechanisms to initiate the empowerment process of survivors. This research also uses stigma theory based on Goffman (1963), which is

intended to show how stigma get attached to people and the consequences they face due to the stigma. Stigma can result from particular characteristics like physical deformity or can be generated from negative attitudes towards the behaviors of a group like prostitutes or homosexuals and these groups may be linked to 'undesirable characteristics' (p. 17).

Methodology

This research is a part of my M. Phil thesis and I have followed qualitative research methodology. I have focused on the survivors' status through the perception of family and community members and the NGO response for their acceptance. I worked with BNWLA (Bangladesh National Women's Lawyers Association) to access the survivors, the parents of survivors and community members. I interviewed six survivors and five family members of survivors. With the help of BNWLA staff, I had conducted two focus group discussions in two villages. I interviewed men and women separately and each group was consisted of six persons. I have also interviewed two BNWLA staffs and one expert to know the information about NGO and government response. I have maintained the ethical code of conduct and used pseudo name of the survivors.

This study uses thematic analysis and interpretation that help to define the theme of raw data, breaking them into small units and analyze those categorized themes with the help of theories. The early stage of analysis is called as *open coding*. Open coding helps the researcher to compare data and ask questions about what is and what is not understood (Kolb, 2012). This coding has played an important role to sort out the data from huge pool of information in the transcripts, field notes and documents and also to deal with the information that fits in specific categories.

I interviewed the survivors' to get primary information and I also conducted focus group discussion among the community people. Conducting interviews among the BNWLA staffs gave me idea about their intervention programs. Survivors were the main informants to understand the experience of trafficking and rest of the people helped to discover the reintegration process of survivors. Secondary sources for this study were collected in the form of books, reports, research studies, newspaper articles,

document available in the internet, government country reports, and NGOs newsletters.

Findings

Perception of Family and Community Members and Role of BNWLA

BNWLA and other NGOs have taken the initiative to unify survivors with family and society after their psychological recovery in shelter home. As I have worked with BNWLA, I will describe their role in processing the social acceptance of survivors. The endeavor to reintegrate survivors in society can affect the survivors, their family or bring some changes in their social lives in terms of acceptance, prestige and power. The social norms and cultural values often make the reintegration process difficult and survivors are prone to face discrimination, violence or disrespect.

Role of the Family for Adaptation of Survivors and Dilemma of Hiding the Truth

Family is an important institution in people's life and in Bangladeshi communities people are normally very close to their home and their families. The family is the institution that maintains the social customs and helps to transfer the traditional norms of society. For the trafficked survivors, going back to family was little challenging as they knew well about those norms and family values that was absolutely against of their involvement in prostitution. Even if they were forced to do sex work after trafficking, it was considered as a work that was against not only religion but also socio-cultural norms. Family members were supporting the reintegration of survivors strongly though they had to face social stigma. Parents were embarrassed, upset but at the same time accepted their daughters. Survivors were also ashamed of their previous life and did not want to live with family due to social discrimination. It was really difficult for the family members to accept the girl as they had to fight with social norms, their beliefs, religion. However, they were emotional about survivors, though were bothered also about their social life. I talked to an expert who was working with trafficking issues for the last ten years and she told me that the response of family had changed. She told me

> When I started working in 1990s, it was really difficult to reintegrate women in family. Parents' were not ready at all to accept the daughters like before in family. I feel that extreme level of stigmatization has changed a little now, though it is going on still in many levels. Still people are concerned with societal norms and values, but they now also consider the emotional connection. It does not mean that they do not face the stigmatization, they do but still they accept the situation and support the survivors.

It seemed that due to the emotional attachment of family and awareness rising, it became little easy to reintegrate them in family for few cases. But still parents did not talk about their daughters' involvement in prostitution and hid the information from community people. They were always going through the dilemma to hide the truth from the people and protect the girl with a lie. The most important thing was that people did not believe them blindly, however, understood that they were lying. It was difficult for them to be deceitful and at the same time losing social respect. However, they continued lying as they wanted to save their daughters and selves from community people's attack.

Community People's Perception to Survivors' Acceptance and their Status in the Society

Along with the family acceptance, community people's acceptance was also important for the survivors. It was also my interest to discover the perception of community people regarding the acceptance of survivors. The literature also demonstrated that stigma is associated with the survivors of trafficking (Crawford & Kaufman, 2008; Gazi, et. al., 2001). Community People had little knowledge about trafficking and the knowledge ended up with the belief that the purpose of trafficking was prostitution. Some of them could realize that women were the victim of deception but also believed that some greedy women went willingly. They were concerned about the deception process but expected the women could have been more careful. Community people had a negative perception about survivors who were lured and considered them as 'greedy women'. They also blamed survivors for trusting someone blindly and leave the country with that person. They believed that whoever was trafficked in India or anywhere in this world was doing bad work. The understanding of 'bad work' links with

the prostitution that is highly stigmatized and is an indirect way to describe the feeling about survivors' stay at brothels. The women, who were trafficked by husbands, received sympathy from community people as they were considered innocent. Most of them agreed strongly that those innocent girls should be accepted in society with respect as they were bound to do the 'bad work' because of husbands' mistake. According to some community peoples' point of view, it was little difficult to forget the past of survivors and for this their acceptance was in question. Some people hold the opinion that the survivors got trafficked because of their own mistake and they deserved suffering.

Social Discrimination and Continuation to Violence against Survivors
Families' acceptance of these girls' would become more successful if the social discrimination would be less in society. Reintegration or reunification of survivors in family seemed difficult due to the social discrimination. The statements of family members and survivors pointed out the social discrimination they faced so far. Chen & Marcovici (2003) mention that the trafficked survivors are continued to be stigmatized even after their reintegration in the society. Survivors were considered as characterless women who could manipulate other girls of the society. It was the preconception of patriarchal society to exclude the trafficked survivors from the mainstream society in the name of purity.

   Moriom, who was trafficked by neighbour with the false promise of job, said

> When I was rescued, I thought that I came out from the hell but actually I went back to another hell. I went back to village and started living with my family. As one guy from my village saw me in the brothel, he spread the news in the whole village. I was so ashamed that time in front of all. Everybody talked about me; they tried to abuse me sexually. They treated me as a public property and wanted to use me. They had the perception that as I worked as prostitute, I would continue to do the same in my village also. People knocked at my door or window at night. I couldn't sleep nearby the window even as if it was open, people tried to touch my body. It was so difficult for me. Even my family members were humiliated everywhere. When I understood that it would be

> impossible to live in the village, I came back to Dhaka city and
> unfortunately got trafficked again.

From her interview, I got the idea of social discrimination against the survivors and their family. When people were sure about the girls' involvement in prostitution, they could disgrace them more easily. The possibility of violence was increased for Moriom and same happened for rest of others. It was difficult to escape from the social exclusion due to the previous life after trafficking, thus, survivors excluded selves from the society. In the village generally people love to visit each other frequently. But most of them had chosen a life to live in solitude to get relief from the awkward situation that could hurt psychologically. They did not want to live in village just because of the peoples' behavior, attitude towards them and also the possibility to get violated or raped. They had the feeling that because of them their parents also lost the social acceptance and respect. Reunification in family and community always does not bring happiness or usual success in survivors' life rather it initiates new possibilities of violence also. Moreover, social stigma destroys their positive will and power to live like other people. The segregation is imposed on survivors as she has done grave sin that cannot be forgiven or forgotten. The status of survivors in family and society is mostly questionable.

NGO Response – Role of BNWLA

Bangladeshi NGOs play an important role to combat trafficking and perform responsible anti-trafficking activities all over the country. There are many NGOs in Bangladesh working against trafficking and among them BNWLA (Bangladesh National Women Lawyers Association), DAM (Dhaka Ahsania Mission), CWCS (Center for Women and Children Studies), RJ (Rights Jessore), UDDIPAN, SAVIOUR are the leading NGOs (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2011). BNWLA is an organization which has been working since 1991 to combat trafficking and reduce violence against women. Reintegration of survivors is the continuous process of anti-trafficking program that starts from the shelter home. BNWLA follows different strategies to facilitate the reintegration process. The concern of BNWLA is to provide services to survivors to recover from the past miseries and at the same time it works to change peoples' minds. It has initiated approaches to help women to adjust with new life and also to

empower them economically. BNWLA is one of the important NGO's working with anti-trafficking projects for rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration in society.

BNWLA follows the following strategies for the reintegration of survivors that have brought some changes in survivors' life:

Shelter home facilities. BNWLA provides survivors with shelter home facilities to make them prepared for further integration process. They arrange psychological counseling to the survivors, so that they can recover from psychological distress, broken confidence, distrust, and anxiety. They also ensure physical treatment that helps to identify about Sexually Transmitted Disease (STD) and HIV/AIDS. Survivors get full attention and care to adapt a normal life and get ready to be reintegrated.

Maintaining confidentiality about survivors in local area. BNWLA as an organization is running the activities to ensure a good life to survivors and also to help them socialized in community. Gaining respect in society for the survivors' is a difficult task if the information about their former experiences are revealed and for this BNWLA maintains the confidentiality in the reintegration process. They communicate with the parents first after the girls come to BNWLA shelter home from Indian brothel. The staff contacts the parents. By that time, the survivors are given physical and psychological health services. If the parents come, survivors go back with their parents. NGO staff while visiting survivors house inform community people that they have given the survivors family a loan from the NGO. NGO staff never reveals the girls past profession to the community people for the safety of survivors and their families.

Follow up. BNWLA does the follow up after reintegration of survivors in family and society. The staff informed me that they communicate with the survivors to know their condition. If the survivors need security, they provide them with security. Moreover, cash, a cow or a sewing machine may be given to the survivors to start a new business. If anyone wants to study they provide them with books, dress and other study materials. They also arrange jobs in garment factories or other factories for these survivors. Moreover, while these survivors stay in the city to work in garments factories, BNWLA rent a house for them. BNWLA provides free medicine to all the HIV positive patients.

Legal support. BNWLA provides legal support to the survivors if they want to file case against traffickers. There are many cases hanging in court for years. The advocate of BNWLA told me that they are very keen to provide legal support to the survivors without any cost of filing a case. BNWLA runs the case for years. Though sometimes survivors' families get lured by the traffickers and in exchange of good money they settle the case outside the court. BNWLA has achieved success in the prosecution of traffickers and many traffickers were punished with death sentence (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2011).

Community meeting. BNWLA works to make people aware of the problem of trafficking. It arranges many community sessions to change people's attitude towards survivors. In every week they arrange session in the most high risk areas. They try to reduce the level of stigma attached to survivors through this intervention. To do so, some NGOs form volunteer groups to raise awareness among people about trafficking.

Ensures economic well-being of survivors and preventing the survivors risk of re-trafficking. BNWLA helps the survivors with skill development training and help them to get independent economically. Moreover, they work to ensure safe accommodation for the survivors living in city or working in factories. They also provide education and awareness to the survivors so that they can prevent their re-trafficking. The training is in most of the cases given to the survivors for small scale income generating activities and BNWLA believes these activities will lead the survivors to their first step of empowerment. They cannot provide proper technical training due to the illiteracy or lack of education of survivors. The training seemed appropriate according to the survivors but they want more help for their economic advancement.

Strength to Fight

The struggle continues for survivors when get back home from shelter home. The discrimination they face everywhere does not let them forget and create difficulties for their families also. They lack a chance to lead a good life due to people's criticism and discriminating behavior. However, they try to cope with the situation by developing own strength of accepting the social exclusion. Due to the NGO and government interventions most of the survivors now are determined about their future and have adopted

strategies to deal with the situation. It might be by accepting the isolation and readjusting with new situation. They want to start a new life, get jobs, earn money, get married and have kids. Most of them have gathered strength to accept the past and not to stop in life. BNWLA's support increased the sense of confidence among the survivors to some extent and made them dream for the future and be determined to get independent. The social stigma is prevalent in society but some survivors have learnt to live with the stigma. The dream goes on for them with a new hope of moving to city and regaining status in society.

Analysis

BNWLA as an organization plays an important role in survivors' life. They follow many strategies to make community people aware of trafficking. It actually helps to increase the acceptance level of survivors in community. The perception of community people towards survivor is not really positive, however, they understand the survivors have done 'bad work' and believe that those survivors can pollute other girls. The concepts of purity and virginity are very strong among people that they can hardly accept girls' involvement in prostitution. BNWLA tries to reduce the stigma in community level but it needs long time to remove the stigma completely.

Following Kabeer's (1999) empowerment theory, we can say that BNWLA works as the medium to develop the agency of survivors. Survivors get the facilities to recover from the previous memories of brothel and participate in the process of reintegration. Through increased the agency survivors can develop their capacity to make choices. Their interest to resettle in life can be considered as a way of expressing agency. Sadan (2000) mentions the three approaches named individual empowerment, community empowerment and professional practice. Survivor's individual empowerment can be achieved by changing community people's mind and professional practice can work as a medium in this regard. BNWLA tries to empower the women by giving the survivors priority and help to increase their sense of power to change own situation. BNWLA works to sensitize community people through awareness raising session to think positive about trafficked survivors' reintegration. BNWLA's intervention programs provide assistance to survivor to increase

their self-esteem or motivate them to become psychologically strong to live in community again.

Gutierrez, DeLois, & GlenMaye (1995) said that empowerment can be understood as the capacity to fight against inequality. According to them empowerment consists of some sub processes that can be used to understand and change the community people's consciousness about trafficking, reduce the tendency of survivors to self-blame, and understand survivors self-competency and confidence. Intervention methods also help to develop the strength of survivors and help to grow their personal power. BNWLA has designed its program to increase the community people's positive understanding about trafficking. At the same time, they have provided the survivors with counseling to reduce the guilt and develop the sense of power to face the community people. Moreover, skill development training can work as a means to start economic activities. The five components described by Gutierrez, DeLois, & GlenMaye (1995) i.e. control, confidence, power, choice and autonomy also help to analyze the level of empowerment of survivors. Control is the ability to have control, confidence is perceiving oneself as confident not a victim, whereas power is the ability to influence own situation. Choice is the awareness about increased option and being able to exercise that, and autonomy is the sense of independence. If we want to use these five components to analyze survivor's level of empowerment, the empowerment state of survivors is not impressive. The intervention programs could not develop all these five components among survivors as some of them were controlled by family members or NGOs.

Women who are trafficked are perceived as the bad women and they are excluded from the community. Survivors face different forms of challenges while they are reintegrated within their families. Social stigma was the main obstacle for the reintegration of survivors in family and community. Goffman (1963) in his book explains about how stigma is attributed to people. It was perceived by the community people that survivors have gone beyond the traditional norms and became 'imperfect' members of society. Moreover, they possessed a distorted character due to their profession that was not accepted by the community people. Community people treated them with hatred and disgust. Due to the behavior and perception of community people, some survivor's did not want to stay with family or

reunite in community. Due to attachment with survivors, their family members also lost the social prestige and faced humiliation. It contaminated from survivors to their families. My participants from FGD were not really positive about the reintegration as they believed that these returnees might pollute other girls. However, some people were thinking positively about survivor's reintegration. Professional intervention programs are working to change people's mind but it needs long time to accept the survivors in family and community with respect and honor. This paper stresses on the 'enacted stigma' that is imposed by the community people to the survivors. Survivors faced hatred and humiliation that separated them from other people. This research discusses how stigma is imposed on survivors by the community people, with the focus on BNWLA's role to facilitate the reintegration.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to underscore the experience of Bangladeshi women trafficked survivors and their reintegration process in community. The study has discussed the causes of trafficking explaining direct and indirect causes. Survivors were physically and psychologically damaged due to the sexual violence in brothel. Survivors were rescued by police and sent to Indian shelter home where they primarily got psychological counseling and skill development training. However, this study reveals that stigma is attached to these survivors from the time of their rescue. They started to develop a sense of fear and shame due to their involvement in prostitution.

When the survivors came back home, they were sent to BNWLA shelter home. BNWLA facilitated their reintegration in family and also helped them to experience normal life. The survivors who were living with parents were accepted by their families but the perception of community people was not really positive about the survivors' reintegration in community. Parents were hiding the information that their daughters' were involved in prostitution and they supported the survivors to start a new life. Community people abused them sometimes and all of them experienced shame while meeting others. People talk about survivor's changed identity and it creates the sense of self stigma among them. The survivors' had stopped joining

public occasions and four survivors have moved to city again to work and stay away from the humiliation.

This study also focuses on the internal strength of survivors to develop the agency to deal with the stigma. They have adopted coping mechanisms to live with the stigma. They have the feeling of guilt and shame that resulted in self stigma among them. They understand their identity and have decided to develop self economically to lead a normal life. However, things never get normal for the survivors due to stigma attached to them. The trafficked survivors mostly get involved in prostitution, something which is well known in community. Religious and social norms do not allow a sex worker or prostitute to be a part of community. They are treated as 'bad women' and a threat to society. This perception creates the sense of shame among the survivors that distorts their self-identity. Reintegration of survivors seems difficult in community as they are highly stigmatized in Bangladesh. BNWLA and other NGOs along with government are providing services to make these women strong to overcome the bad experiences. It is difficult to forget the memories but survivors dream to get married, have children, have good job continues. The beautiful part of this research was the fact that dreams never die and survivors are living only because they have dreams.

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Women's Studies as Virus: Institutional Feminism and the Projection of Danger

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Abstract

Because women's studies radically challenges social hierarchies and lacks a unified identity and canon of thought, it often negotiates a precarious position within the modern corporatized university. At the same time, women's studies offers—by virtue of its interdisciplinary, critical, and "infectious" structure—cutting-edge perspectives and goals that set it apart from more traditional fields. This paper theorizes that one future pedagogical priority of women's studies is to train students not only to master a body of knowledge but also to serve as symbolic "viruses" that infect, unsettle, and disrupt traditional and entrenched fields. In this essay, we first posit how the metaphor of the virus in part exemplifies an ideal feminist pedagogy, and we then investigate how both women's studies and the spread of actual viruses (e.g., Ebola, HIV) produce similar kinds of emotional responses in others. By looking at triviality, mockery, panic, and anger that women's studies as a field elicits, we conclude by outlining the stakes of framing women's studies as an infectious, insurrectional, and potentially dangerous, field of study. In doing so, we frame two new priorities for women's studies—training male students as viruses and embracing "negative" stereotypes of feminist professors—as important future directions for the potentially liberatory aspects of the field.

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Estudios de género como virus: el feminismo institucional y la proyección del peligro

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Resumen

Dado que los estudios de género desafían radicalmente las jerarquías sociales y carece de una identidad y canon de pensamiento unificado, a menudo ocupa una posición precaria dentro de la universidad corporatizada moderna. Al mismo tiempo, y debido a su estructura interdisciplinaria, crítica e "infecciosa", los estudios de género ofrecen perspectivas y objetivos innovadores que lo distinguen de los campos más tradicionales. En este trabajo se teoriza sobre una futura prioridad pedagógica de los estudios de género consistente en formar a los estudiantes en tal conjunto de conocimientos que les sirva como "virus" simbólicos para infectar, perturbar, e interrumpir en los campos de estudio tradicionales. Así, en primer lugar establecemos una pedagogía feminista ideal utilizando la metáfora del virus, para luego investigar cómo los estudios de género y la propagación de los virus reales (por ejemplo, Ébola, VIH) producen el mismo tipo de respuesta emocional en los demás. Analizando la trivialidad, burla, pánico e ira que los estudios de género pueden llegar a provocar llegamos a la conclusión que éstos pueden convertirse en un ámbito de estudio potencialmente peligroso e insurrecto. Finalizamos enmarcando dos nuevas prioridades para los estudios de género.

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T he question of what women's studies is, and what women's studies does, continues to haunt the field in numerous ways. Because women's studies originated from radical and frankly activist origins that threatened conventional power imbalances, it exists permanently on the margins of academia and struggles to maintain a coherent identity and a consistent and agreed upon canon of thought. Program and department chairs, along with women's studies faculty members, consistently negotiate numerous aspects of women's studies and its relationship to the university. This includes everything from the creation of new programs, faculty lines, content of courses, the name of the programs (e.g., "women and gender studies"; "women, gender, and sexuality studies"; "gender studies," and so on), practices of assessment, curricular priorities, and the specific sorts of knowledge women's studies students should learn during their tenure as undergraduate and graduate students (Allen & Kitch, 1998). Consequently, the field of women's studies often negotiates in precarious ways its relationship to the highly corporatized and patriarchal university. It struggles, in short, with a permanent identity crisis, engendered not only by its relationship to other disciplines and fields, but also by its continued questioning of its own priorities and existence (Scott, 2008).

At the same time, women's studies offers—by virtue of its interdisciplinary, critical, and "infectious" structure—cutting-edge perspectives and goals that differentiate itself from more traditional academic fields. Women's studies has wholly embraced both its humanism and its social science leanings; it occupies a place across fields, within fields, and has thoroughly (and somewhat chaotically) attached itself to numerous partnerships, cross-listings and interdisciplinary projects across the university (Romero, 2000). Women's studies programs traverse disciplinary boundaries and often exist permanently on the margins of academia (Hooks, 2000b), taking on topics as diverse as feminist science studies, critical intersectionality, embodiment, trans studies, and new materialisms. With its ever-changing names and alliances, women's studies has become even more difficult to locate and place within the corporatized university (Briggs, 2013), particularly as it prioritizes emotional course content, critical stances toward sexism, intense classroom dynamics, and the fusion between theory and practice (Fisher, 1987).

This paper argues that one future pedagogical priority of women's studies is to train students not only to master a body of knowledge but also to serve as symbolic "viruses" that infect, unsettle, and disrupt traditional and entrenched fields. We explore how the metaphor of the virus—its structure and its potential for unsettling and disrupting the everyday processes of its "host"—exemplifies a compelling model for feminist pedagogy (minus, of course, the killing of the host). We then turn to the affective experiences of viruses and the sorts of emotional responses they typically produce both in individuals and in the public at large. We specifically investigate how both women's studies and the spread of actual viruses (e.g., Ebola, HIV) produce similar kinds of emotional responses. By looking at triviality (or the trivialization of women's experiences), mockery, panic, and anger that women's studies as a field produces and elicits, we explore the stakes of framing women's studies as an infectious, and potentially dangerous, field of study. In doing so, we conclude by framing two new priorities for women's studies—training male students as viruses and embracing "negative" stereotypes of feminist professors—as important future directions for the field.

The Birth of Women's Studies

At its inception in the early, 1970s, women's studies was designed as a bridge between feminist activism, consciousness-raising, and university scholarship, practice, and pedagogy (Boxer, 2001a; Shircliffe, 2000). Cornell University held the first women's studies class in, 1969, followed one year later by the founding of the first women's studies programs at San Diego State University and SUNY-Buffalo (Salper, 2011). Catharine Stimpson (1971) noted that, prior to the existence of women's studies programs, omissions, distortions, and trivialization of women's issues dominated the academy. Early women's studies programs sought to inject feminism into the university, to inhabit spaces where women were previously excluded, and to showcase not only the rigorous academic scholarship of women, but also train younger generations of women in feminist theory and political activism (Boxer, 2001a; Crowley, 1999). Linda Gordon (1975) called women's studies "the academic wing of the women's liberation movement" (p. 565); in line with this, Susan Sheridan

(2012) claimed that women's studies drew from the women's liberation movement for inspiration, just as it influenced feminist activism in return. Aiming to establish itself as a discipline in its own right, women's studies spawned its own academic journals, the National Women's Studies Association and other feminist professional organizations (e.g., Association for Women in Psychology), and advocated for university resources devoted to this new and emerging field (Gerber, 2002; Howe, 1979). These efforts were quite successful, as women's studies grew from a small handful of programs in 1970 to over 600 programs by the mid-1990s (Boxer, 2001a). In, 1990, Emory University established the first Ph.D. in women's studies; currently, there are at least a dozen stand-alone women's studies Ph.D. programs across the country, revealing again that women's studies has become increasingly robust within the university system (Artemis Guide, 2014; Guy-Sheftall, 2009).

At the same time, establishing women's studies as a discipline has created challenges for feminist scholars in the academy, particularly as the boundaries and practices of the field are negotiated over time (Boxer, 2001a; Crowley, 1999). Some scholarship has noted that the attempt to merge the highly political and clearly left-leaning agenda of feminism into the more conservative and corporate university has resulted in numerous tensions and difficulties (Scott, 2008). By decentering the professor within the classroom and emphasizing more egalitarian dynamics, women's studies challenges the very hierarchies that underlie higher education (Shrewsbury, 1987).

Still, this radical upheaval of traditional priorities of the university has sometimes resulted in problematic consequences. The professionalization of women's studies has resulted in a strange pairing of second wave activists who resisted assimilation into the university system combined with younger women's studies scholars who have studied gender relations without necessarily being politically active (Patai & Koertge, 1994; Stake & Hoffmann, 2001). Further, the prioritization of white women's concerns over the concerns of women of color has continued to haunt the implementation and practices of women's studies within and outside the university (Duncan, 2002). Even more recent efforts to move toward intersectionality have led to an overemphasis on black women's experiences as quintessentially intersectional and a general lack of

empirical validation for the processes and consequences of intersectionality (Nash, 2008). When attempting to rectify these problems, many women's studies programs have turned to the question of how to meaningfully integrate themselves with other critical disciplines like ethnic studies, black studies, indigenous studies, and American studies (Franklin, 2002; Romero, 2000), though this often raises questions about allegiances and the difficulty of existing within and between multiple fields particularly if universities do not throw enough financial and political support behind those programs (Fahs, 2013). Some even fear that women's studies may become an "impossibility" due to the difficulty of locating its disciplinary boundaries within the university (Brown, 2006).

Locating Contemporary Women's Studies

Wendy Brown (2006) noted recently that women's studies may be facing "dusk on its epoch" (p. 17) due to the constant renegotiation of the pedagogical and scholarly goals of the field. She asks: "Is it rigorous? Scholarly? Quasi-religious? Doctrinaire? Is it anti-intellectual or too political? Overly theoretical and insufficiently political? Does it mass-produce victims instead of heroines, losers instead of winners? Or does it turn out jargon-speaking metaphysicians who have lost all concern with Real Women? Has it become unmoored from its founding principles? Was it captured by the radical fringe? The theoretical elite? The moon worshippers? The man-haters? The sex police?" (p. 17). In addition to these debates, women's studies faces constant negotiations surrounding the difficult links (or divisions) between ethnic studies, queer theory, American studies, and political activism (Brown, 2006; Orr & Lichtenstein, 2004). Indeed, "contemporary feminist scholarship is not a single conversation but is instead engaged with respective domains of knowledge, or bodies of theory, that are themselves infrequently engaged with each other" (Brown, 2006, p. 20). In short, women's studies students are typically interested in topics that span psychology, sociology, theory, activism, literature, history, and sexuality studies (Boxer, 2000b). Students in women' s studies might dabble in a wide range of theories and research methodologies, including ethnography, oral history, qualitative psychological analysis, Lacanian and Freudian psychoanalysis, quantitative sociological analysis, memoir or self-

reflection, object relations theory, historical theory, literary theory, postcolonial criticism, second and third wave feminist tactics of activism, Marxist theories of labor and political economy, social history, critical science studies, and beyond (Fahs, 2013; Brown, 2006; Scott, 2008).

In attempting to decide what women's studies currently is, Wendy Brown (2003) noted, "it is proposed that the subject and object of the field might be left behind even as the field persists. It is a place where the 'what' and the 'we' of feminist scholarly work is so undecided or so disseminated that it can no longer bound such work, where the identity that bore women's studies into being has dissolved without dissolving the field itself" (p. 3). Existing women's studies programs are, for these reasons, becoming increasingly difficult to find, evaluate, and sustain (Romero, 2000). Conflicts over naming, for example, have erupted across the country, with competing demands for women's studies to merge their names with gender studies, queer studies, sexuality studies, or, more radically, to eliminate the word "women" altogether and to instead champion critical studies, cultural studies, or social and cultural analysis (Fahs, 2013; Bell & Rosenhan, 1981; Orr & Lichtenstein, 2004). Feminist scholars have also struggled to validate their work in terms of tenure, promotion, and publication, as talk of journal "impact factor" (typically valued more in the natural sciences) have appeared more prominently in recent years as a pressure placed upon women's studies faculty when they seek tenure and promotion (Burghardt & Colbeck, 2005; Walby, 2005).

Women's studies also faces challenges in establishing (or even wanting) a core canon of thought, as faculty and administrators disagree about what constitutes a women's studies education and about how much connection should exist to other traditional disciplines (Stacey, 2000; Thorne, 2000). Some key questions that arise include: Should women's studies courses prioritize activism, and if so, how does that work in the largely patriarchal and conservative academy (Crosby, Todd, & Worell, 1996)? Should postmodern and deconstructionist lines of thinking dominate the women's studies classroom or should scholars work to also train students in empirical and positivistic methodologies, and how can feminist science studies inform this thinking? What theories should have a prominent place in the women's studies classroom and how do other modes of difference factor into feminist knowledges? While faculty and administrators have lobbed around these

questions for many years, consensus on how to answer these questions rarely occurs.

Feminist Pedagogies

In the broadest sense, feminist pedagogies have as their primary goal the teaching of feminist thought and the establishment of its clear relevance to student lives. Taking the motto "The personal is political" seriously, feminist professors often prioritize issues and subjects that deeply and immediately impact students' personal lives (Luke & Gore, 2014; Stake, 2006). These issues can include things like domestic violence, sexuality, body image, eating disorders, social justice work, parenting, family life, educational disparities, wage and economic inequalities, labor, and global inequalities (Luke & Gore, 2014). As one consequence of teaching such "up close and personal" subject matter, students in feminist classrooms often experience more intense emotions and affect than students in other classrooms (Morley, 1998; Smith, 1999). In a positive sense, students in classrooms with feminist pedagogies reported more willingness to validate and give feedback on other students' work (Duncan & Stasio, 2001) and students become more politically engaged after taking women's studies classes (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1999). Further, the relationship between professors and students in women's studies has become less hierarchical, thus creating greater opportunities for parental projection and strong emotion between students and professors (Morley, 1998; Wallace, 1999). In a more negative sense, students perceived feminist course content as less "rational" than other courses, rated women professors lower than male professors, and expressed dismissal and disavowal of feminist material (Abel & Maltzer, 2007; Basow, Phelan, & Capotosto, 2006; Webber, 2005).

Female professors also face a plethora of challenges regardless of whether they promote feminist ideologies in the classroom. Teaching evaluations, for example, are often more harsh toward female professors, just as female professors report a greater incidence of students challenging their authority, asking their age, commenting on their appearance, or requesting grade changes (Duncan & Stasio, 2001). For professors with explicitly feminist viewpoints, they are then positioned as "hopelessly

biased" and as having a clear agenda that students often want to challenge (Elliott, 1995). Also, unlike other disciplines and fields, students in women's studies classrooms are essentially studying themselves as the subject matter, leading to a lack of distance between course content and their material lives (Hooks, 2000b). Students in feminist classrooms express particular resistance to critiquing men, acknowledging structural forces of inequalities, and understanding the problems of "blaming the victim" (Moore, 1997). Davis (1992), however, argued that student resistance may positively reflect on the professor's ability to push students to become upset or agitated and to take the classroom content personally. Students' greatest educational growth typically occurred alongside emotional states of confusion, anxiety, excitement, and anticipation (Dirkx, 2001; Hollingsworth, 1992).

Women's Studies as Virus?

Given the tremendous potential to produce emotional responses in others, to directly impact student lives, and to elicit emotion in the course content, what, then, are the pedagogical priorities of women's studies? We posit that one future pedagogical goal of women's studies is the creation of students as symbolic "viruses," capable of infecting and unsettling the academic spaces around them. While this metaphor works imperfectly—we do not advocate the killing of the host, for example—it situates women's studies as an insurrectionary field and extends its already "dangerous" status in compelling ways.

In order to understand the metaphorical significance of such a framework, the specific nature of viruses must first be addressed. Scientists typically conceptualize the virus as a particularly small infectious agent that interacts with biological cells in order to replicate (Villarreal, 2005). While viruses can be structurally elaborate, they all possess a simple set of important features—nucleic acids DNA or RNA, protected by an outer protein shell, that contain information necessary to make future copies in host cells. Viruses replicate, in essence, by attaching to and exploiting the DNA synthesis process of host cells, entangling themselves within and corrupting the host cell's own DNA (Nathanson, 2007). This viral cellular damage contributes to the physiological symptoms of infections, while the

immune system then produces various other effects such as inflammation, fever, and its own cell destruction. In some cases, the immune system can overreact and produce positive feedback effects that have the potential to be much more dangerous than the viral infections themselves (Brandes, Klauschen, Kuchen, & Germain, 2013; Nathanson, 2007). For example, the, 1918 influenza pandemic disproportionately killed young adults because the viral infection caused their healthy immune systems to overreact (Tumpey, 2005).

One could argue that both capitalism and academia already function with the virus as one of their guiding metaphors. This notion of a virus seeking to replicate itself in the host cell can metaphorically work on numerous levels to explain the interests of both capitalism and academia (and any of the typical agents of socialization). For example, the project of capitalism essentially functions to produce more capital rather than to produce material goods (Jameson, 1991). Capitalism invades and infects nearly all aspects of American life—work, home, sexuality, relationships, family, education—and works to supplant the priorities of connection, leisure, community, and even personal laziness with the goal of ever-more-efficient production (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). Work in a capitalist society often extracts labor from workers and leaves their bodies tired, injured, and demoralized. Academia, too, embraces certain aspects of viral infection in its incessant desire to replicate the powerful aspects of the academy in its students. Reproduction theories of education view schools and universities as institutions that keep parents and children in similar class positions (Bettie, 2003). Graduate faculty, for example, overwhelmingly train students to become like them, often imposing their own research interests onto students and expecting students to adopt the methodologies, practices, and ideologies of their own small subfields (Gardner, 2008). These forms of replication exist not to disrupt or unsettle the existing order, but to fanatically enforce and maintain the existing order and to refuse actual change (Bargar & Mayo-Chamberlain, 1983).

That being said, the virus is capable of more than merely replication in relation to the host; it also acts as a dangerous mutagen that can radically alter the design and operation of cells. Viral interaction with host cells is also not merely transient. After replication, portions of the viral DNA are left behind permanently within the cell DNA strands, leading to genetic

expressions that have been proposed to cause cancer, autoimmune disorders, and neurological disease (Bertozzi, 2009; Griffiths, 2001). In this sense, the virus may work as a powerful metaphor for women's studies pedagogical practices. Rather than simply inducing harm among its victims, viruses can also represent transformative change. Though viruses technically lack "intention" in the most classic sense, they nevertheless can have a powerful impact merely by unworking and unsettling the existing blueprint of the host cells.

Inherently opportunistic, viruses exploit the vulnerabilities and weaknesses of the systems they attack (Nathanson, 2007). Similarly, women's studies programs are allowed to settle into corporate universities and regenerate themselves through the education of students and by manipulating portions of the academy under their control. Using interdisciplinary women's studies coursework as a springboard, women's studies students are then "set loose," much in the same way that lytic replication (wherein cells reproduce viral components until the cell walls rupture) causes a burst of new viruses into the system that then infect other cells (Nathanson, 2007). Note that this model also assumes that students do not merely receive information as in the more traditional disciplines but instead that they utilize information and knowledge systems to develop particular skills, intentions, and insurrectionary priorities; further, students do form coalitions with professors and other students to promote progressive fields and to enact institutional and social change (Arthur, 2012; Rojas, 2007).

Women's studies should prioritize the development of students who can move through, within, and between disciplines, who can, in essence, change form. As Patricia Clough and Jasbir Puar (2012) wrote, "The virus is transformative; it has an open-ended relation to form itself. In this sense, the virus takes on characteristics, albeit selectively, which usually are attributed to the virus. At play is the virus's ability to change itself as it replicates and disseminates" (p. 14). These infectious students, carrying the blueprints of feminist pedagogies, step into other programs and reconstitute themselves through the work they submit and through interaction with instructors and student peers. This infects the formerly isolated and protected, traditional disciplines (e.g., history, mathematics, physics, psychology, and so on) with principles of critical feminist analysis.

Unwittingly, then, the corporate university begins to integrate, bit-by-bit, portions of feminist pedagogies into its own ideology. As the perpetual expansion of the corporate university builds upon itself, it carries these alien blueprints into new domains.

This then raises the question of how women's studies benefits from its permanently marginal position, always on the outskirts and in the shadows of the behemoth corporate university (Hooks, 2000b). While mindless production and consumption, heavily influenced by capitalism, drives the mainstream of the corporate university, women's studies and its allies (e.g., ethnic studies, American studies, religious studies) can prioritize the project of "infection" as its core principle or mission. Critically aware of its relationship to the surrounding ideologies and the canons of thought used in traditional disciplines, women's studies as a virus can unwork, unsettle, and dismantle commonly-held assumptions about "truth" within the university. While this reflects its power, it also opens up complex possibilities for panic, anxiety, and hostility directed toward women's studies as a field and toward women's studies professors as individuals. This can have material consequences like the firing of feminist faculty, closure of programs, or continued erosion of institutionalized support, just as it can infuse feminist classrooms and feminist research with intense emotional responses.

Viruses and Affect: Ebola, HIV, and Beyond

Like many biological occurrences seemingly devoid of political and social meanings, viruses also have notable potential to produce emotion (in individuals) and affect (in the culture at large, sometimes outside of full consciousness) both within individual people (e.g., those infected, those who care about those infected, etc.) and the culture at large (Price-Smith, 2009). The process of getting sick in masse, of witnessing or experiencing the destruction that viruses cause, of being infected, has powerful emotional consequences (Sikkema, 2000; W.H.O., 2014). For example, the HIV epidemic, formed from a disease perceived as "ingenious, unpredictable, novel" (Sontag, 2001, p. 158), led to inexorable feelings of dread and shame within the medical community and the general population; eventually this led to the inevitable moralization of the disease and those infected with HIV (Smith, 1996; Sontag, 2001). The disease is now

infamous for its associations to gay male sexuality and the "gay plague", intravenous drug abuse, and the loss of a racialized nationalist identity through the invasion of the Third World (Sontag, 2001). In many cases, HIV is synonymous with fear, anxiety, and moral panics (Eldridge, Mack and Swank, 2006; McNamara, 2011; Palmer, 1997; Price-Smith, 2009).

The amplification of people's emotional reactions to HIV has emphasized the "primordial fear" of HIV/AIDS as sign of an imminent cultural apocalypse. Media coverage similarly feeds into this frenzy of fear by comparing HIV to biblical plagues, the Black Death, moral scourges, and even to Hell (Palmer, 1997). Increasingly, the rhetoric reinforces its fury of anxiety when the media links HIV to a "fight against an exponential enemy" and "a race against time" (Gould, 1987), waxing nostalgic on the sunset of humanity and the utter hopelessness of the new social and global order (Palmer, 1997). HIV and AIDS have clearly captured the emotional tenor of our time, infusing sexuality and politics with a clear emphasis on the virus as dangerous (Epstein, 1996).

More recently, the Ebola virus has illuminated the ways that social anxieties about infectious diseases are informed by, and distorted through, the mainstream media (Adeyanju, 2010; Blackman & Walkerdine, 2001). In, 2001, a Canadian Ebola scare involving a critically ill Congolese woman caused a public and media panic; despite the unlikely odds that Ebola had breached Canadian borders, the ensuing discursive explosion of panic expanded conceptions of Africa and Africans as threatening, invasive, and as an "enemy" to the Western world (Adeyanju, 2010). Ebola became a proxy for the gendered and racialized Other, with headlines associating "the female body with fear, nationality, and anxiety" (Adeyanju, 2010, p. 48). After test results came back negative for Ebola, the media (now with less material to manipulate) continued on by investigating the criminal background of the non-infected woman. Through this process, the anxiety and moral panics about an invasive, infectious disease, combined with the criminalization of a woman of color (and, by default, women of color more broadly), fused together the fear of Ebola and the fear of the "diseased" black woman (Adeyanju, 2010).

Even historically, multiple examples of mass hysterias, moral panics, and outright cultural anxieties have occurred in relation to viruses or other infectious biological agents. The Black Death (a European and Middle

Eastern plague pandemic during the Middle Ages) threw organized society into existential chaos and produced mass violence against beggars, Jews and Romas (Cohn, 2012; Price-Smith, 2009). Cholera epidemics throughout modern history have catalyzed waves of social violence and political upheavals (Cohn, 2012). Other historical epidemics have generated fervor around the persecution of politicians and police officers, doctors, gravediggers, prostitutes, gypsies, and racial and religious minorities (Cohn, 2012; Voigtländer & Voth, 2012). For example, despite the lack of widespread violence seen in epidemics of early modernity, the Spanish Flu of, 1918-1919 was considered by many to be a "nefarious and demonic weapon" (Price-Smith, 2009, p. 78) developed by Germans during the First World War.

Fear and anxiety toward contagion can sometimes even outpace the spread of the diseases themselves; in some cases, the fear of a disease looms larger than the actual infectious disease, as in the case of the H5N1 virus commonly known as the "bird flu" (Greger, 2006) or in the case of the, 2002-2003 SARS outbreak. Despite the relative seriousness of the SARS disease in impacted regions, the detrimental economic consequences, induced by the psychological effects of the resulting social global panic, were more recalcitrant than the disease itself (Price-Smith, 2009).

Mass hysteria has also historically produced social, psychological, and physiological impacts without any requirement of an "organic" cause. Dancing plagues throughout the Middle Ages caused large groups to spastically dance to the point of exhaustion or death. These bouts of dance, triggered by cultural conditions, became a means of catharsis set against a bleak social backdrop (Donaldson, Cavanaugh, & Rankin, 1997). Further, fears of industrial accidents and terrorist attacks have generated various outbreaks of hysteria throughout the, 20th and 21st centuries, including clusters of "hysterical" episodes following the, 1995 Japanese subway gas attacks (Bartholomew & Wessely, 2002). In short, nearly anything has the potential to create a fear of disease contagion, as the hypervigilance over "terrorist threats" has thrown the U.S. into a permanent state of anxiety.

In tandem with the destructive potential of viruses—to harm, to kill, to wreak havoc on the culture at large—viruses can also generate productive or even creative outcomes. For example, viruses can help to reinforce nationalism in some cases—while promoting global collectivization in

others (Price-Smith, 2009)—and channel funding in the direction of research, treatment, and prevention efforts about viruses (National Research Council, 1993). Further, funding for Ebola research has increased manifold since the, 2014 outbreak began (Schnirring, 2014), though larger issues of addressing the racist and xenophobic undertones of the Ebola outbreak remain effectively untouched (Seay & Dionne, 2014). Viruses also have the ability to command attention in immediate and visceral ways, prompting people to radically alter deeply ingrained behaviors; for example, following the initial spread of information about HIV, people reported much more positive views of condoms (Pinkerton & Abramson, 1997; Sacco, Levine, Reed, & Thompson,1991) and awareness of the need to communicate about sexuality—and to fund efforts to promote sexual health—grew exponentially in the United States (National Research Council, 1993). The spread of HIV also inspired the creation of the activist group ACT UP that influenced and laid the groundwork for other social movements for LGBT rights and gender equality (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Van Dyke, 2003).

Women's Studies and Affect

When compared to the emotional impact of viruses—particularly the sorts of panics viruses create—women's studies and feminism also tend to produce similar emotional responses both within and outside of the corporate university (Zucker, 2004). Despite its successes and accomplishments as a field—and the way it fits with university priorities of social engagement, community involvement, and interdisciplinarity—women's studies has always had to struggle to maintain its existence. Panics surrounding women's studies continue to threaten and undermine its ability to thrive, even while these panics demonstrate the clear "nerve" that women's studies hits on a broader level. For example, feminist and left-wing professors have endured accusations of communism, terrorism, and destroying the university alongside sustained backlash against women's studies and its allies (Faludi, 2009; Prakash, 2006; Superson & Cudd, 2002).

The production of panic, in essence, demonstrates the threat and damage to the existing order and to people's feelings of comfort and security (Fahs, Dudy, & Stage, 2013). Women's studies department chairs and professors

have routinely discussed the consequences of living with the possibility of shutting down their programs, cutting funding, or otherwise redirecting resources away from women's studies, even while they acknowledge the normal occurrences of fully enrolled classes and clear impact on campuses and beyond (Fahs, 2013; Scott, 2008). Further, reactions to women's studies in the public also resonate with fear, hostility, and panic, whether via harassing celebrities like Lena Dunham who "out" themselves as feminists (Keane, 2014), or by accusing women's studies professors of corrupting students (Aguilar, 2012).

The fusion of panic and trivialization also appears in reactions to women's studies scholarship, journal publications, and tenure committee decisions (Taylor & Raeburn, 1995). As a field permanently critical of traditional modes of knowing, assessing, and understanding—for example, feminist literature scholars work to upend typical readings of classic texts, while feminist social scientists prioritize the experiences, narratives, and data of those typically forgotten or obscured by the fields—women's studies often struggles to assess its own excellence (Wiegman, 2008). Some questions that arise include: Who should and can assess and judge the quality of women's studies scholarship, particularly if women's studies is permanently interdisciplinary and most senior scholars were trained within a specific traditional discipline? How can tenure committees assess the value of women's studies publications if all women's studies publications are typically devalued as "trivial"? How do the official channels of universities work with the critical material women's studies professors teach, and how do they account for the complicated emotional reactions produced in students (and evident on teaching evaluations of feminist professors) (Fisher, 1987)?

At times, women's studies produces outright anger and hostility as well (Gross, 2013). For decades, "men's rights" groups have accused the academy (and women' studies programs in particular) of oppressing men and boys and of "hating men" (Bawer, 2012; Rollmann, 2013). From charges leveled against family courts for the supposed favoritism toward mothers, to attacks on women's studies programs as "anti-male," these groups have as their primary mission the goal to counter the supposed sociocultural misandry that permeates U.S. culture (Rollmann, 2013). Fusing the rhetoric of equality with clear tenets of hegemonic masculinity,

antifeminism has gained ground within the general public consciousness and even within certain academic circles. Feminism has been, in some cases, demonized and degraded, a move that clearly goes beyond merely "not calling oneself a feminist" (Dottolo, 2011). One recent Far Right media article even proclaimed that "patriarchy is a gal's best friend" (Stolba, 2002).

The notion of "post-feminism" or "modern sexism" has also made similar claims about the irrelevance of feminist movements, arguing that gender equality has already been accomplished or cannot exist through commonly understood feminist labels or ideals. As such, postfeminism has argued for a highly individualistic understanding of inequalities and embraces sexual differences as "natural" (Gill, 2007). The conservative group, Accuracy in Academia, which seeks to attack feminist/liberal professors, has recently produced its own lecture series entitled, "Sex, Lies, and Women's Studies," claiming to deconstruct women's studies pedagogies in order to illuminate the supposed failure of feminism (Accuracy in Academia, 2014). These movements seek to essentially reaffirm the need for the patriarchal status quo, devalue the critical capacities of women's studies programs, and re-appropriate the rhetoric of "liberation" for the conservative Far Right (Clark, Garner, Higonnet, & Katrak, 2014). Collectively, these institutional and popular responses represent the corporate university's immune responses to the imposition of the feminist virus. Anti-feminist, postfeminist, and men's rights organizations represent, metaphorically, the protective t-cells and cytokines that seek out and dismantle threatening critical/pedagogical invaders.

The mass media further enforces the trivialization and mockery of academic feminism—combined with outright hostilities and anger—by framing women's studies as having dangerous intentions (Becky, 1998; Lind & Salo, 2002). Hate mail, hostile commentaries, and even verbalized intent to harm those doing feminist work have confirmed the status of feminism as a clear threat to the existing order both within and outside of the mass media. For example, Cambridge classics professor Mary Beard has endured harassment and defamation on a nearly constant basis: A New Yorker article by Rebecca Mead (2014) stated that "Such online interjections—'Shut up you bitch' is a fairly common refrain—often contain threats of violence, a 'predictable menu of rape, bombing, murder,

and so forth.' She mildly reported one tweet that had been directed at her: 'I'm going to cut off your head and rape it'" (Mead, 2014). Many other women's studies professors in the public eye have also endured such public abuse for their work and ideas. Feminist blogs endure nearly constant harassment and angry, vitriolic diatribes on their online comment section (what one scholar calls "e-bile") (Jane, 2014). Taken individually, these could be seen as anomalies; seen together, this represents a more serious, troubling trend that reflects the powerful affect feminism and women's studies often produce in the more conservative and Far Right public sphere (Scott, 2008). Conversely, however, when feminism is framed more positively in the media, men and women express more solidarity with feminists and feminist aims (Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, Shilink, 2013).

Women's Studies as Dangerous

One must ask, then, whether women's studies is actually a dangerous field to some entities, and what might be at stake in claiming women's studies as purposefully infectious and intentionally dangerous. Is there any truth to the accusation that women's studies professors are "ruining" America? Are women's studies programs "destroying the way things have always been"? Is that perhaps a good thing? (We were recently asked to comment on a trend of women in Phoenix embracing a "retro housewife lifestyle" where they submit to their husbands and remain at home out of duty.) The notion of women's studies as dangerous and infectious implies, much like the metaphor of the virus, that it has permanently altered its host's DNA and has radically upset its environment. This process reveals the danger of dismantling the status quo by introducing feminist pedagogies into the corporate university. Perhaps women's studies could, now and in the future, embrace as a true accomplishment the infection of traditional spaces both within and outside the academy. It has, in part, already done so, but we argue that women's studies could push this political position even further. For example, resituating women's studies as an exuberant contagion, one that disregards a pre-determined canon of thought and instead prioritizes a fusion of activism and scholarship, could transform its self-understanding and political priorities. Accepting these possibilities rather than trying to be

safe, respectable, and accommodating represents important territory in the future of feminism.

A brief look at some of the accomplishments of women's studies might also confirm that women's studies already poses a real danger to the corporate, patriarchal (white, middle-class, able-bodied, etc.) status quo. Women's studies programs have successfully lobbied history departments to more seriously address the lives of women, just as they have outlined theoretical and empirical ways to understand intersecting and interlocking identities and oppressions (Hooks, 2000a; Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982). Feminists have demanded more serious analyses of sexual assault and domestic violence on campus (Armstrong, Hamilton & Sweeney, 2006; Smith, 2014) and have invaded traditionally "male" fields like philosophy and English. In some cases, like the field of psychology, feminists have made it possible for women to not only invade the (traditionally male and pathologizing) field, but to radically take it over; psychology is now dominated by female students who make up 72% of Ph.D. and Psy.D. recipients entering the field in, 2007 compared to just, 20% in, 1970 (Cynkar, 2007). More importantly, women's studies pedagogies have equipped students with the necessary tools to see any field, any course, and any future career through a critical lens (Luke & Gore, 2014). With these tools, students may go on to consume less, demand better working conditions, produce feminist art, evolve their expectations about satisfying careers and work lives, pass feminist legislation, and change their romantic, family, and kinship relationships (Harris, Melaas, & Rodacker, 1999; Stake & Rose, 1994). These collectively represent a danger, in particular, to the priorities of the corporate university.

Women's studies as an infectious discipline—one that serves not only as a virus that attaches to the "host" bodies of other disciplines and disrupts and infects them, but one that fundamentally alters the cell's blueprint and directs it to a new purpose—might accurately describe the kinds of work that the field could prioritize and embrace (or, in any case, should prioritize and should embrace). Women's studies students and the fields they infect and disrupt both gain from such an arrangement. As Clough & Puar (2012) noted, "In its replications, the virus does not remain the same, nor does that which it confronts and transits through" (p. 14). Just as women's studies has gained much from its institutional status, it has also

lost some of its "bite" (a problem this essay takes up). Further, if women's studies also works to train students to become their own kinds of viruses, capable of infecting, disrupting, unsettling, and altering their own spaces (at work, home, in relationships, and in their communities), perhaps framing women's studies as dangerous may actually prove useful and interesting. Dangerous things, after all, transform not only through destruction, but also through imagining and redirecting toward something new (Leonardo, 2004).

Feminist Futures

Male Feminist Viruses

When envisioning the future priorities for women's studies—ones that take advantage of women's studies as a dangerous, infectious, potentially radical force of change—we posit two new directions for the field to embrace. First, training both female and male students as viruses could prove especially useful in articulating the mission and goals of the field. There are clearly different stakes in the feminist pedagogical work directed toward female students versus male students. While female students must work to understand their own experiences as women and to deconstruct, critically analyze, and understand the ways that their identities as women map onto other privileges and oppressions, they often at least sense the impact of oppression and privilege in their lives.

Male students, on the other hand, may have had little or no exposure to thinking about their own male privileges at all, particularly for white men who may perceive themselves to be victimized by feminist critiques and classroom discussions (George, 1992). While men of color and gay men may differently understand concepts of privilege and oppression, white heterosexual men may arrive at the examination of privilege with little to no experience examining such personal aspects of their lives and identities. The danger of challenging white men, for example, to recognize and critique their own (and other men's) privileges may be different than teaching women to recognize and critique their privileges and oppressions. Precisely because whiteness, heterosexuality, and maleness are not oppressed classes (George, 1992), and thus are not subjected to the consciousness of oppressed classes, the methods used to discover their own

privilege may prove critical to the virulent capacity of women's studies programs seeking to infect male-dominated institutions. Men may more readily listen to, mimic, and follow their male feminist peers than they would their female feminist peers (Fox, 2004).

The potentially dangerous impact of men as feminist viruses exists for multiple reasons. First, people rarely expect men to hold or propagate feminist viewpoints, particularly in spaces where they interact with other men (Digby, 2013). Second, corporate universities often assume that the fusion between patriarchy and capitalism will receive the least challenge from its most privileged students (e.g., white, heterosexual, upper-class men). Third, men can gain access to spaces that exclude women (and especially feminist women), and can thereby disrupt the notion of "in groups," dominance, and hierarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). And, finally, men with feminist politics are often assumed to be relatively innocuous; jokes about men in women's studies classes "wanting to get laid," or men "already knowing about women" help to contribute to this illusion (Strimpel, 2012). Thus, when men become feminist viruses, infecting and unsettling spaces where their privilege and dominance is assumed, the potential danger and impact is keenly felt.

Embracing "Negative" Stereotypes

As a second goal for feminist futures, working to embrace so-called "negative" stereotypes of feminist professors may also give women's studies a distinct advantage as it evolves and changes over time. If the field of women's studies produces a variety of emotions and affective experiences in others—panic, anger, trivialization, mockery, fear—this suggests that distancing women's studies from its stereotypes does little to alleviate or address these emotional reaction from others. Rather, by directly embracing the stereotypes of feminist professors as "scary" (or "man-hating," "lesbian," "hairy" and so on), it allows the field to both utilize and expose these emotional experiences as material for learning and growth. In short, by engaging in a public relations campaign to promote the idea that feminism is for everybody (Hooks, 2000a) or that feminism is not actually dangerous or scary (McDonald, 2003), women's studies loses some of its potential pedagogical impact. Unsettling previously held assumptions, challenging previously held worldviews, and equipping students to

critically engage with traditional gender roles (and beyond) require that women's studies professors focus less attention on the stereotypes they confirm or disconfirm. Anything that radically upsets and challenges power will be met with intense (and often negative) emotions. Choosing to embrace this fact and not seek distance from such stereotypes will ultimately lead to a more powerful and coherent feminist presence both within and outside of the academy.

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Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequalities

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Review

Armstrong, E. A., & Hamilton, L. T. (2015). *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequalities*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press

Although being considered places with high academic reputation, in recent times, North American universities are also in vogue due to protests and students mobilizations claiming their rights. These demands not only include equality and social justice, but also, the university commitment for preventing and acting for instance against gender violence, as well as for the usually notorious atmosphere on what is called the "college parties" or the "Greek life". Indeed, this debate is being spread all over the country, as most universities' policies and debates are focused on prevention and response in front of incidents occurring at university parties, as these are playing an important piece of college life. In this context, *Paying for the party* shows up at the very moment, and it can perfectly be illustrated as an American higher education social class analysis "from inside". The authors, Elizabeth Armstrong and Laura Hamilton, both renowned Professors of Sociology at prestigious universities (University of Michigan and University of California-Merced, respectively), spent one year living and discussing with fifty-three women occupants of the residence hall of a large public North American university, the Midwest University (MU).

This book is the culmination of an ethnographic and longitudinal approach used on analyzing these women's trajectories during five years; collecting more than two hundred interviews and almost two-thousand pages of fieldwork notes. Considering the professional, party and marital options, Armstrong and Hamilton describe the different paths which most women tend to follow once in college, mainly according to their socioeconomic status. Thus, the "party culture" seems impossible to avoid; but at the same

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time, suitable for certain women. Following the paths chosen by the interviewed women to achieve university's expectations, the authors distinguish two different student profiles: the ones coming from a very favorable economic context; and on the other hand, those women whose families cannot afford their college tuition. According to this dichotomy, the university system do not prepares all students equally, it even makes difficult the inclusion of everybody in all social activities. These intrinsic mechanisms are maintaining the "systematically disadvantages" for the already less privileged students.

In the first chapter, the relationship between Hannah and Alyssa shows how the women's class background as well as their individual orientations in college are setting differently their college experience. Being a low-income student, Alyssa does not share the same activities as Hannah, as going out and spending money. The case of Amy, exemplifies some of the consequences of this cultural and economic difference: "Amy was very lonely and nearly broke down in tears". On the other hand, and broadly discussed on the second chapter, the "party dorms" and the "Greek Life" are shaping the college experience for those women and men known as belonging to a social orientation in which having "party reputation" is considered to fulfill the best life's time. American colleges tend to have an entire organizational infrastructure around the "party pathway"; fraternity and sorority houses concentrate the social resources on campus: "even the academic requirements at MU were arranged according to the Greek social calendar".

The next focus of the book is aiming to deeper understand the context around this infrastructure. Chapter three and four are pointing out the peer cultures, emphasizing how these are hierarchically constituted. Competing for status in a party scene ("affluent parties dominate the floor") may create a conflict between the so-called "socially oriented students" and the "resource rich party pathway". Thus, being recruited in a sorority may depend on ties, friendship and physical aspect. At the same time, this reality involves social isolation consequences. For example, Emma, from a middle-class background is being an "outlier".

In the next chapters, Hamilton and Armstrong discussed experiences on socialites, wannabes and fit within the party pathway, showing for instance how some women have to fight hard for a mobility pathway (for example to

accomplish a "social and erotic status"). The author's reasoning also explains the case of the downward mobility. Finally, last chapters discuss empirical evidences on how universities do not close the gap between the more and less privileged women. So, it should be reengineered bringing attention to all students, overcoming all obstacles. The dismantling the party pathway domination and eliminating the "Greek life" are some of the solutions provided by the authors.

   Paying for the party pretends to spread social awareness about college life shedding light on the social role of universities and how they are focused on reproducing socioeconomic situations rather than overcoming them. With this book, Armstrong and Hamilton add a key contribution in line with their well-known scientific research in areas as gender, sexuality and higher education.

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