Irene Muñoz Escandell

Scars

Integrating the gender perspective
into regulations, policies, programmes
and projects for the protection, recognition
and remembrance of victims of terrorism

Scars, Irene Muñoz Escandell

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into Regulations, Policies, Programmes
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Recognition and Remembrance
of Victims of Terrorism

"Perhaps I am
already feeling
the first symptoms:
pain where
I breathe, a feeling
of intense blood loss
from a wound
I cannot locate...".

Alejandra Pizarnik

"The private wound
is deepest'".

William
Shakespeare

"It is easy not
to listen to it:
it is a silence.

Easy to turn
one's head,
look the other way,
listen to other
voices".

Circe Maia

"There's a crack,
a crack in
everything

That's how
the light
gets in".

Leonard Cohen

To Irene Escandell Manchón,
my mother, for life, for love,
for inspiration and for ensuring that
the light got in through the wounds.

The Author

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13   Covite

Founded in the Basque Country in 1998 to combat ETA terrorism through the power of the word, the *Colectivo de Víctimas del Terrorismo* (Collective of Victims of Terrorism), is a non-governmental organisation dedicated to combatting terrorism, preventing violent radicalisation and defending human rights. It operates on a national and international stage. Its work in defence of human rights centres on three main areas: activism, dialogue and research. Covite is the only Spanish association of victims of terrorism to hold a special consultative status with the United Nations (UN/ECOSOC).

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And to all the other experts who contributed their opinions but preferred not to be named due to their positions.

Contents

01.

We see what we believe

1. We see what we believe

Max Weber once said that *'Everyone sees what is in their heart'*. If that is true, then that blind emotion-hoarding organ decisively determines the way of each of us perceives the world around us. And thus, reality is tailored to the beholding eye, employing beliefs, ideas, value judgments and attitudes which, however much we may believe them, reside not in the exterior world, but rather in what each person gradually absorbs throughout his or her life. It is this subjective experience that shapes the worldview (*Weltanschauung*) Wilhelm Dilthey spoke about, or what his contemporary Weber referred to as a belief system, specific to a social group.[1]

There is nothing more human than to mould a general idea of the world from that individual experience, to accept only the existence of what we can see with our eyes, concentrating on the image, as we have been taught to do, and denying the reality of anything that lies outside that field of vision. The most daring spirits are capable of building a norm out of their (more or less limited) vision, until at last there is a continuous loop running back and forth between the individual and his or her context. And so, in each society and each period of history, a series of differential social, psychological and cultural traits have been attributed to each of the sexes, because sex –as Celia Amorós accurately observed– is the primary human difference and 'no one is born neutral'.[2]

Ultimately, what we understand as the world is always 'our own world', the world as we perceive it, the world disclosed to us in accordance with the diverse identities we have received through socialisation – in short, the world that shapes our social and personal context. In the words of Ortega and Gasset, 'World is what I find ahead of and about me when I find myself, what for me exists and what patently acts on me.'[3] There is nothing new about this argument. It is a constant that has been repeated with stubborn insistence since we first gradually began to stand upright, bury our dead, mark bones and stones, paint figures on cave walls and explain our reality through the symbolic logic of mythical thinking.[4] At heart, what defined us from the outset was our nature as 'believing beings' –and not merely in the religious sense of the word– for we believe what we see and we see what we believe. Depending on how well-trained our gaze is, our vision of reality will be broader or narrower. We may be able to transcend some (if not all) of the barriers that prevent us from seeing beyond our immediate surroundings, to attain higher and higher levels of knowledge. We are like the prisoner in Plato's allegory of the cave, accustomed to seeing the shadows of objects projected by the fire on the opposite wall, who once freed from his chains, was able to see the reality beyond the wall. Nonetheless, it takes time. When we are unaccusto-

1. Hennis, W. (1983). El problema central de Max Weber. *Revista de Estudios Políticos (Nueva Época)*, n.º 33, 49-100. Herder (s.f.). Concepción del mundo. In *Enciclopedia Herder.* [Website]
2. Amorós, C. (2005*). La gran diferencia and sus pequeñas consecuencias... para las luchas de las mujeres.* Cátedra, 314.
3. Palacio, M. (2005). Vida and mundo. Reflexión a partir de Dilthey and Husserl. *Cuadernos de Filosofía Latinoamericana*, vol. 26, n.º 92, 139-153.
4. Lorda, J. L. (2001). *Para una idea cristiana del hombre.* Rialp, 83-107.

med to the light, it can hurt our eyes and there is always a temptation to return to what we had before: we 'will require to grow accustomed to the sight of the upper world'.[5]

Clearly, throughout history, humans have tried, with differing degrees of success, to break the chains that bind them to their immediacy and access the intelligible world through thought. To this end, they have divided human knowledge into categories that allow them more readily to apprehend the reality that surrounds them. This is what we shall try to do for the purposes of this study – to analyse our subject under the light of two categories: victim and gender.

The category of the *victim*, like that of the *victimiser*, is deeply embedded in human-rights-based public policy. However, whenever we treat victims as a collective group, we risk failing to see them as individuals, each with their own specific set of circumstances – in other words, as *objects* of care, rather than as *subjects* of rights. In order to prevent the individual from being eclipsed by the collective and thus ultimately revictimised, we need to lower our gaze from the world of general ideas (in which anything goes, even the most outlandish consensuses among social agents with opposing interests) to the world of individuals with names and specific circumstances of their own. It is essential to look at the various factors that condition the life of the victim as an individual, as a child of his or her time and history. And in this regard, as Amorós noted, sex is the primary difference that will determine whether we are assigned one set of attributes or another.

For the victims of terrorism, the course of their lives changes from the moment that violence enters into it – violence exercised by those who justify it in pure totalitarian terms as an instrument of domination for imposing whatever it is they choose to impose. And at that moment, victimhood is added to the panoply of labels or allegiances that shape each person's identity. Here, of course, we are speaking of the victims who survived, since loss of life is the ultimate deprivation for which, regrettably, no reparation can be provided. This study focuses on people who have survived or lost a loved one in an attack. It very specifically sets out to explore the importance of examining their different needs, using gender as a category of analysis and thus to detect any differences and inequalities that exist between women and men within their specific social, cultural and historical contexts and the ways in which they view themselves and their circumstances. The title, 'Scars', refers not only to the tangible wounds to the body, but also the less tangible impact left on the mind and soul. The original Spanish title, '*Heridas*', can be translated both as 'Wounds', but also as 'the Wounded' (in feminine), in allusion to the many people –particularly women– who have suffered and continue to endure these scars, and who for too long remained invisible beneath the all-embracing label of 'victims'. The individual's social and cultural circumstances are especially important in their healing process, especially when it comes to healing the scars that are not visible.

5. Platón (1986). *Diálogos. República*. Gredos, 338-340.

Bearing in mind the way in which we observe reality and what we actually apprehend from it, the purpose of this report is to cast some light on what may lie inside or outside our field of knowledge, depending on the cultural worldview of gender – in other words the shared meanings given to gender by all members of the same society or culture. This worldview will condition the way we approach and interpret this reality and it is therefore reasonable to expect that it will determine the way we act on it in designing and implementing regulations, policies, programmes and projects for the protection, recognition and remembrance of victims of terrorism, just as it does in other areas. Indeed, dominant patterns, roles and social meanings *vis-à-vis* gender, which are recognised and shared by the group at a social and cultural level, also imply the construction of a self-identity that will undoubtedly condition not only the thinking and actions of the people towards whom these processes are addressed, but also those who promote and execute them. As Amin Maalouf has written, '*Each individual's identity is made up of a number of elements, and these are clearly not restricted to the particulars set down in official records*' – i.e. the various allegiances of a human being. '*All are components of personality - we might almost call them 'genes of the soul' so long as we remember that most of them are not innate*'.[6] In effect, many of the elements of personality are constructs and there is nothing innate in

the gender roles and stereotypes that define the spaces and forms of behaviour of women and men. This cultural worldview of gender extends, therefore, not only to what each society understands by gender, but also to each person's individual elaboration (gender identity) of that shared representation of the generic order of the world, social stereotypes and their rules by the social group of reference (Lagarde, 1996:19).[7]

Before acquiring the unasked-for status of victims of terrorism, the victims are first and foremost women, men, girls and boys; nothing that happens in their lives will lie outside that specific reality or its consequences. This is why it is so important to bring about the necessary social transformation in order to address different situations from a perspective of equity. In this way, women and men can benefit from regulatory, political and sociocultural frameworks promoting the recognition of rights, with an acceptance of behaviours, practices and customs that are inclusive and respectful of differences. This is the true purpose of incorporating the gender perspective into this area. It should serve to underscore the need to open another window through which the situation can be observed, without renouncing other windows that have already been opened in the common practice of public authorities, organisations and social agents dealing with victims of terrorism. The aim is to extend the usual field of vision to areas that tend to remain hidden from sight by ignorance

6. Maalouf, A. (2004). *Identidades asesinas*. Alianza, 18-19.

7. Colás Bravo, P. and Jiménez Cortés, R. (2014 Jan 23). La cosmovisión cultural de género del profesorado de Secundaria. *Culture and Education*, n.° 16, 419-433. It is from this article that I have taken the quote from Lagarde, M. (1996). *Género and feminismo. Desarrollo humano and democracia*. Madrid, Horas and Horas.

or habit. It is to educate the gaze to allow it see beyond that statement –so common amongst victims– that life 'has never been the same again' and to detect all the secondary losses attached to the principal and most evident one. And finally, the goal is to determine in each case what that change has meant and, using an intersectional approach, to identify what actions are required in situations where other vulnerabilities come into play in addition to that of victimhood.

It goes without saying that our intention in employing this approach is not to weigh the suffering of one group against another. That would be pointless, because suffering is immeasurable and any attempt to break it down by sex would make no constructive contribution. The aim is to avoid increasing that suffering by ignoring the different circumstances of each victim in light of the socio-cultural context in which they operate, but if possible, to mitigate it. The patriarchal system not only erects a wall of discrimination that particularly affects women in aspects arising from motherhood, family obligations and marital status; it also institutes a model of hegemonic masculinity that can place a very heavy burden on many men, especially when they are left disabled by an attack or when they are forced to take on the role of caregivers, making it difficult or impossible for them to fulfil the role socially allocated to them by virtue of their sex.

The gender dimension is essential in helping to prevent this type of situation. This study therefore offers an approach to the

victims' various needs that uses as its reference point a determining element in their lives, namely the conditioning factors they will face due to their sex. Is this the only aspect that should be taken into account when designing and implementing regulations, policies, programmes and projects for the protection, recognition and remembrance of the victims of terrorism? Clearly not, as we have seen. Yet neither can it be excluded if we are really to safeguard human rights and contribute to social peace.

The purpose of this study is to create a space for reflection in which we can map a path amidst the thick pillars of the learned. Victoria Camps, in her 'Elogio de la duda', says that '*learning to doubt means distancing oneself from the given; querying cliché and prejudice, and questioning anything that is presented as unquestionable – not automatically to reject it, (...) but to examine it, analyse it, reason it out and decide what to do with it*'. As Camps says, doubt introduces nuances in human thinking, which by its nature tends to be dichotomous: '*We operate between good and evil, lawful and unlawful, beautiful and ugly, internal and external. Dichotomies without nuances are abstractions, crude overly simplifying ways of classifying reality, that are of no use in exploring the complex. (...) Doubt is disruptive; it is a spoilsport. It is like the seed I spit out when biting into an apple, it hinders me from going on biting in peace.*'[8]

This work is meant as a first step, a way of kindling the first glimmer of a doubt that

8. Camps, V. (2016). *Elogio de la duda*. Arpa, 12.

will enable us to rethink certain questions from a fresh angle and – returning to Weber– to revisit what we carry as a standard in our hearts. At best, it may provide us with an opportunity to integrate new allegiances, thus broadening our perception of the world around us and in doing so, increase our chance of transforming it.

02.

Objectives

2. Objectives

The general aim of this study is to promote inclusion of the gender dimension in regulations, policies, programmes and projects for the protection, recognition and remembrance of victims of terrorism. This means being aware of how gender relations are expressed in all spheres and how they create and perpetuate inequalities between women and men, which will therefore also have consequences throughout their lives following an attack. In short, as we noted in the previous section and will expand upon throughout this paper, adopting the gender perspective means accepting that neutrality does not exist in any area of human life. This factor must be taken into account in order to prevent violations of people's rights.

The specific aim is to develop effective regulations, models and principles of management to incorporate gender analysis into the work of the different social agents:

- · Civil servants working in the public administrations and organisations or agents that in one way or another participate in designing and running policies, programmes or projects whose direct or indirect goal is the protection, recognition and remembrance of victims of terrorism;
- · Academic, educational and institutional personnel involved in preserving and disseminating a remembrance of terrorism, raising awareness and ensuring sensitization and prevention of violent radicalisation;
- · Policy makers with the capacity to approve regulations that reflect public policies.

We also hope that this study will serve as an instrument of awareness-raising and sensitisation for the victims of terrorism themselves and for the wider population.

In this way, by viewing gender inequalities as a social problem from which the victims of terrorism are not, so to speak, 'exempt', it should not only bring visibility to the issue, but also help to determine its causes and thus to take the necessary action to tackle it and eradicate or ameliorate its consequences.

If all of these factors are taken into account, it will not only have a positive impact on the lives of the victims of terrorism by way of the different processes of attention serving them and in the effective safeguarding of their rights; it will also offer a new angle from which to build the collective memory and will bring important benefits to all social structures (including institutional elements), by taking on practices and guidelines based on a solid foundation of gender equity.

03.

Methodology

3. Methodology

Given the complex and multidimensional nature of the subject of this study, in preparing this document we have used multi-method strategies and methodological triangulation to gather reliable, corroborated information, drawn from different perspectives.

In the first phase, we drew up a work plan to establish our diagnostic approach. This established, among other aspects, the group towards which the project was aimed, for which we chose a significant sample of the target population (victims of terrorism).

We then gathered information from a range of sources: interviews, surveys and documentation published in print or online and delimited and contextualised the information-gathering activities, in order to analyse the information and describe the results obtained.

A total of 127 people were consulted, including victims of terrorism and experts in areas related to the theme of this study: gender and terrorism. Of these, ninety-two were victims (direct and indirect) and thirty-five were experts in one of the two areas. At all times we adopted an interdisciplinary approach.

Data were obtained and recorded by means of a questionnaire, a method that enabled us to conduct a random consultation of a large population in a short space of time. The questions, in open and closed form, were clearly, systematically and carefully prepared to obtain relevant information for this study that might be difficult to access in other ways. The target population was provided with effective channels for answering and returning the questionnaire form.

The data were collected over a period of two years. The interviews and questionnaires were mainly based in Spain and extended to Northern Ireland to identify possible similarities or differences in experiences there depending on the context.

04.

Some prelimi-
nary concepts

4. Some preliminary concepts

Sex

The term sex refers to the biological differences (anatomical and physiological) between women and men, which are determined by birth. This is a universal variable that does not necessarily condition behaviour and remains immutable in all times and cultures.[9]

Gender

The notion of gender is linked to the idea of 'feminine' and 'masculine', not as a natural or biological fact, but as a cultural construct which therefore varies depending on the specific society and historical moment. Through this construct, different talents, social roles and attitudes are attributed to each sex, generating a series of different expectations in society as to the behaviour expected of women and men, and legitimising the way identities and spheres (public and domestic) are shared out. Examples include expecting men to play a greater role in the workplace and reserving the domestic sphere for women (even when they also have a paid job).[10]

Gender roles

Gender roles are a set of patterns of action and behaviour that women and men learn and practise, based on simplified notions and beliefs as to what femininity and masculinity each mean. Accepting them to be true can make it easier to fit into society; by contrast, non-acceptance can provoke adverse reactions. In short, they are the expectations that a society imposes *vis-á-vis* the characteristics, attitudes and talents of women and men (being a wife, mother, employee, husband or worker, among others), albeit they are based more on prejudice than on a rigorous analysis of reality. For example, it is still generally more socially accepted for women to take charge of family care.[11]

9. Fundación Mujeres (2007). *Informes de Impacto de Género, Guía de Aplicación Práctica, para la Elaboración de Informes de Impacto de Género de las Disposiciones Normativas que Elabore el Gobierno, de acuerdo a la Ley 30/2003.* Instituto de la Mujer (Ministerio de Trabajo and Asuntos Sociales), 9-13. Fundación Mujeres (2009). *Módulo de sensibilización and formación continua en igualdad de oportunidades entre mujeres and hombres para personal de las Administraciones Públicas.* Instituto de la Mujer (Ministerio de Igualdad), 11-19. Emakunde-Instituto Vasco de la Mujer, Gobierno Vasco, and Ortiz de Lajarazu, H. (Red Kuorum) (2013). *Guía para la elaboración de informes de impacto de género.* Emakunde-Instituto Vasco de la Mujer, 17-23.

10. Puleo, A. H. (Ed.) (2020), *Ser Feministas: Pensamiento and acción.* Cátedra, 141-146. García Calvente, M.M. (Ed.), Jiménez Rodrigo, M. L. and Martínez Morante, E., Lozano, M. R. (2007). *Guía para incorporar la perspectiva de género a la investigación en salud.* Escuela Andaluza de Salud Pública, Serie Monografías EASP, 48, 25-36. Fundación Mujeres, Loc. Cit.

11. Fundación Mujeres (2007), *Loc. Cit.* – (2009), *Loc. Cit.*

Gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes constitute a set of beliefs or preconceived ideas about the characteristics assigned to women and men. They determine what is considered appropriate for each gender – i.e., the attributes of femininity for women and masculinity for men.

Such stereotypes have generally led women to be relegated to the private space (i.e. the domestic and family sphere), leaving men to focus on the public sphere, employment, politics and the economy. As a result, men and women have traditionally taken a different approach to the way they manage their presence on the labour market and with respect to personal and family life. The overall result is unequal access to resources and personal development by reason of sex and depending on the specific context.[12]

Gender socialisation

Gender socialisation is a process whereby individuals are treated differently at a social level according to their sex. Through gender socialisation, they learn and incorporate the values and behaviours (roles) associated with the predominant gender stereotypes in the society in which they are born and raised. The socialising agents (*intra alia*, the education system, family, media and the peer group)

generate a series of expectations that women and men will have to fulfil, thus perpetuating such roles and stereotypes from one generation to the next.[13]

Androcentrism

Androcentrism is a vision of the world in which the masculine is seen as prototypical, and men, their perspective and their experience are identified as the centre and measure of all things. People who are socialised in patriarchal cultures take the androcentric discourse to be universal, interpreting the world, interpersonal relationships and themselves in accordance with these parameters.[14]

Sex-gender system

A sex-gender system is a set of socioeconomic and political structures (practices, symbols, representations, norms and social values) which, based on an androcentric model, maintain and perpetuate differences based on traditional male and female roles.

In systems governed by these parameters, women have traditionally been relegated to a reproductive function and men to a productive one, leading to the prevalence of the latter in economic, political, social and cultural spheres. It is evident that in such systems, biological sex is a determining factor in the construction of a

12. Álamo, M. P. (2020). *Guía de salud mental con perspectiva de género.* Atelsam, 6-7. Fundación Mujeres. (2007). *Op. Cit.* 38.
13. Suberviola Ovejas, I. (2020). La socialización diferencial emocional de género como factor predictor del carácter. *IQUAL, Revista de Género e Igualdad*, n.° 3, 80-93.
14. Puleo, A. H. (Ed.) (2020), 17. *Op. Cit.* 38.

person's identity and, by extension, the role assigned to them and the space reserved for them in the social context in which they operate. As a result, the rights and opportunities of different people are viewed differently and relationships of power and subordination are promoted that are based on the mere fact of being a woman or a man. This results in unequal links between the two sexes, as well as different social positions[15].

Gender inequalities

In some societies, 'formal equality' between women and men has been achieved through legal recognition. However, this legal recognition is not always matched by a full materialisation ('real equality'), leading to an imbalance between women and men in access to rights, resources and opportunities, and in the way their contributions are valued within the society in which they live and function. This imbalance is due to the aforementioned roles and expectations associated with them, which hinder the development of equivalent opportunities (equal opportunity) and generate situations of inequality and social discrimination based on sex (gender inequalities.)[16]

Gender Equity

The concept of gender equity refers to equality between women and men, taking account the particularities of each one. Equal treatment should not mean identical treatment, but rather homologous or equivalent treatment in the exercise of rights and in access to and control of resources and benefits. Application of the principle of equality is therefore inextricably linked to the principle of equity. In other words, it is not a matter of giving everyone the same, regardless of their sex or any other personal or social condition or circumstance, but of giving to each one what he or she justly requires. Achieving this goal inescapably requires the intervention of the public authorities.[17]

Intersectionality

Intersectional analysis is based on an understanding that dynamics and interactions exist between two or more axes of discrimination, such as: birth, racial or ethnic origin, sex, religion, belief or opinion, age, disability, sexual orientation or identity and any other personal or social condition or circumstance. The combination of two or more of these factors increases vulnerability.[18]

15. De la Cruz, C. (1998). *Guía metodológica para integrar la perspectiva de género en proyectos and programas de desarrollo.* Emakunde-Instituto Vasco de la Mujer, 19-25. European Institute for Gender Equality. (s.f.). Sistema sexo-género. En *Glossary&Thesaur.* European Institute for Gender Equality. De Barbieri, T. (1993). Sobre la categoría de género: una introducción teórico metodológica. *Debates En Sociología*, n.° 18, 145-169.

16. Emakunde-Instituto Vasco de la Mujer (2013), *Op. Cit.* 38.

17. Emakunde-Instituto Vasco de la Mujer (2013), *Op. Cit.* 38.

18. Puleo, A. H. (Ed.) (2020). *Op. Cit.* 38. Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies.* SAGE Publications, n.° 13 (3), 193-209.

Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is a principle coined in 1995 at the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women. It entails organising decision making in such a way as to take the equality perspective into consideration in all plans, programmes and is that given by the Council of Europe's Group of Specialists (1998):

'Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making'.[19]

The European Commission states that gender mainstreaming goes beyond promoting the adoption of specific measures to favour women, instead mobilising all specific general measures and policies in order to achieve equality, actively and openly taking into account at the planning stage their possible effects on the respective situations of women and men (European Commission, 1996).[20]

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19. Consejo de Europa (1999). *Mainstreaming de género. Marco conceptual, metodología and presentación de "buenas prácticas": Informe final de las actividades del Grupo de Especialistas en Mainstreaming (EG-S-MS).* Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Trabajo and Asuntos Sociales, Serie documentos, n.° 28, 22-27.
20. García-Calvente, M. M., Marcos-Marcos, J., Bolívar Muñoz, J., et al. (2016). *Guía para incorporar el enfoque de género en la planificación de políticas sociales.* Escuela Andaluza de Salud Pública and Consejería de Igualdad and Políticas Sociales, Junta de Andalucía, 15-16. Consejo de Europa, Loc. Cit. Comisión Europea (1996). Unión Europea. Comunicación de la Comisión, de 21 de febrero de 1996, «Integrar la igualdad de oportunidades entre las mujeres y los hombres en el conjunto de las políticas and acciones comunitarias» [COM (1996) 67 final - no publicada en el Diario Oficial], 2-3.

05.

Legal fra-
mework of
gender equality

5. Legal framework of gender equality

Equality between women and men is a legal principle that has been widely recognised both in different international human rights texts and in the Spanish legal system.

5.1. Universal scope[21]

The principle of gender equality was enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by the world's leaders in 1945. It has since been included in numerous human rights treaties, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Common Art. 3).[22]

Since then, there have been a number of major universal milestones in the regulation and defence of women's rights: the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1967), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993).

Of these, the fundamental instrument for the protection of women's rights is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women or CEDAW, passed in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly. This Convention, also known as the international bill of rights for women, provides a definition of discrimination against women; establishes legal obligations for member states to take all appropriate steps to eliminate such discrimination from the public and private sphere, including the family; and seeks to achieve substantive equality between women and men, both in law and in real life.

In addition, major progress has been made through the four world conferences held to date:

· First World Conference on Women. The conference (held in Mexico between 19 June and 2 July 1975), drew up a ten-year world plan of action for the advancement of women. To implement the plan, the General Assembly proclaimed 1976-1985 as United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace.

21. The contents of this section are taken from: Instituto de las Mujeres (s.f.). La igualdad de género en el ámbito internacional. *Instituto de las Mujeres.* [Website]. Naciones Unidas (s.f.). Cronología del papel de la ONU en los derechos de la mujer. In *Día Internacional de la Mujer, 8 de marzo.* Antecedentes. Naciones Unidas. [Website]. ONU Mujeres (s.f.). Conferencias mundiales sobre la mujer. *ONU Mujeres.* [Website].

22. Naciones Unidas (1966). Pacto Internacional de Derechos Civiles y Políticos, adoptado y abierto a la firma, ratificación y adhesión por la Asamblea General en su resolución 2200 A (XXI), de 16 de diciembre de 1966. Naciones Unidas (1966). Pacto Internacional de Derechos Económicos, Sociales and Culturales, adoptado y abierto a la firma, ratificación y adhesión por la Asamblea General en su resolución 2200 A (XXI), de 16 de diciembre de 1966.

· Following this first world conference, three more were held: Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). The latter, the Fourth World Conference on Women, staged in Beijing, marked an important turning point for the global gender equality agenda. It adopted the Beijing Declaration and launched a Platform for Action,[23] which sets out a series of strategic objectives and actions for the advancement of women and the achievement of gender equality in twelve critical areas of concern for the promotion of women's rights:

- Women and poverty;
- Education and training of women;
- Women and health;
- Violence against women;
- Women and armed conflict;
- Women and the economy;
- Women in power and decision-making;
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women;
- Human rights of women;
- Women and the media;
- Women and the environment;
- The girl-child.

In the context of this study, the Beijing Declaration is particularly important because it highlights the fact that a change in the situation of women affects not only women, but society as a whole. It cannot, therefore, be treated on a sectoral basis but must be integrated into all policies. This means shifting the focus from women-centred equality policies to policies that include a gender mainstreaming perspective.

In September 2000, the Millennium Summit adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration. Its eight goals designed to reduce extreme poverty (the Millennium Development Goals) are closely linked to the promotion of women's rights – particularly Goal 5 on gender equality and Goal 3 on improvements in maternal health.

In October of the same year, the United Nations Security Council approved Resolution 1325,[24] recognising that war affects women differently and urging Member States to make women a fundamental part of the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.[25]

In July 2010, the United Nations General Assembly created the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) to accelerate progress that will lead to improved living conditions for women and to meet the needs face by women around the world, prioritising the following areas:
· Increasing women's leadership and participation;

23. Since it was first adopted, the Platform for Action has been subject to regular review and assessment.

24. Consejo de Seguridad. Resolución 1325 (2000), aprobada por el Consejo de Seguridad en su sesión 4213a, celebrada el 31 de octubre de 2000.

25. A further six resolutions have since been passed by the UN Security Council (Resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106 and 2122), addressing issues such as sexual violence as a tactic of war and the provision of measures to enable women to participate in conflict resolution and recovery.

· Ending violence against women;
· Involving women in all aspects of the peace and security processes;
· Improving the economic empowerment of women;
· Making gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting.

In 2015, as part of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, UN Member States adopted the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls considered imperative to achieving all of them. The SDGs, according to UNICEF, constitute a new roadmap in the development agenda, enabling the lessons learned from the previous process (the MDGs) to be incorporated from new parameters: sustainability, equity and universality, with a broader commitment and scope.[26] SDG 5 identifies gender equality as not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world, while SDG 3, oriented towards ensuring good health and well-being among people of all ages, makes special mention of maternal health.[27] In this regard, UN Women notes that: 'Women and men have different health-care needs, but an equal right to live healthily.

For many women and girls, however, gender discrimination systematically undermines their access to health care, for reasons that include fewer financial resources and constraints on mobility. This is compounded by additional burdens imposed by gender disparities which limit their ability to stay healthy. These include long hours spent on domestic work, unsafe work environments and gender-based violence, with mechanisms for prevention and protection often inadequate'. The organisation also notes that 'Pregnancy and childbirth pose particular risks.', for which reason it is necessary to 'advance women's well-being and health (...) to improve health services for women and girls, including survivors of violence'.[28]

5.2. European Union[29]

The European Union's commitment to the promotion of equal opportunities for women and men can be traced back to the signing of the Treaty of Rome (1957).

Article 3.3 of the Treaty on European Union (the Maastricht Treaty), in its consolidated version of 7 February 1992, states that:

26. UNICEF (s.f.). 5 diferencias entre los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio and los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible. *UNICEF*. [Website].

27. Naciones Unidas (s.f.). Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible. *Naciones Unidas*. [Website].

28. ONU Mujeres (s.f.). ODS 3: Garantizar una vida sana and promover el bienestar para todas y todos en todas las edades. *ONU Mujeres*

29. Unión Europea (2012, October 26). Tratado de la Unión Europea, versión consolidada. *Diario Oficial de la Unión Europea*, C 326/15. García Muñoz, V. (1998). *Los derechos de la mujer and el Tratado de Ámsterdam*. Parlamento Europeo, Serie Derechos de la Mujer, FEMM 104 ES, 9-43. Comisión Europea (2020). Trabajar por una Unión de la Igualdad: La Estrategia para la Igualdad de Género 2020-2025. *Comisión Europea*, 1-3.

'[The Union] shall combat social exclusion and discrimination, and shall promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child'.

However, it is the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam, amending the 1957 Treaty of Rome, that incorporates a more precise and extensive reference to equality between women and men, by establishing more solid legal bases, in line with the idea of mainstreaming (Articles 2 and 3).

The 1957 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Articles 8, 19, 153 and 157) and 2007 Treaty of Lisbon (Articles 3.3 and 21) also address the issue. In the latter case, Declaration N.° 19 (annexed to the Final Act of the Intergovernmental Conference that adopted the Treaty) added a commitment by the EU and the Member States to combat what the text refers to as domestic violence.

Also important is the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, Article 23 of which states:

'Equality between women and men must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay.

'The principle of equality shall not prevent the maintenance or adoption of measures providing for specific advantages in favour of the under-represented sex'.

Other specific legislation on the matters has also been passed, mainly in the form of directives, regulations, recommendations and regulations.

5.3. Council of Europe[30]

The work of the Council of Europe (CoE) on gender equality takes the form of a series of political and legal actions aimed at translating theoretical legal equality into actual equality; mainstreaming gender equality in the member states and in the organisation of the CoE; removing obstacles to the implementation of standards; supporting and advising Member States; and contributing to international initiatives for gender equality and women's empowerment.

The following are particularly important in this regard:

· European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950).
· European Social Charter (1961).
· Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (Warsaw Convention, 2005).
· Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention, 2011).

Other relevant texts include the Gender Equality Strategy 2018-2023 and a whole series of Recommendations of the Council of

30. Instituto de las Mujeres. (s.f.). *Op. Cit. 44*, from which we have obtained the information for this entire section.

Europe's Committee of Ministers to Member States on related issues such as equality-related standards and mechanisms, gender mainstreaming in different domains, and balanced participation of women and men in decision processes-making in political and public domains.

5.4. Other regional treaties

·   Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Belém do Pará Convention), adopted by all Latin American and Caribbean countries on 9 June 1994.

·   The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol), adopted on 11 July 2003 at the second summit of the African Union and ratified by over half of the countries on the continent.

·   Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution, signed in Kathmandu by the Member States of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) on 5 January 2002.

5.5. Other international organisations that have addressed this issue

Other international organisations –such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM)– have also addressed the promotion of equality between women and men in a range of initiatives.

In particular, the Group of 20 (G20) in 2015 created Women 20 (W20), an official engagement group of the G20 to represent the interests of women in the design of public policies that affect their economic development.

5.6. Spanish legal system[31]

The Spanish Constitution enshrines equality before the law, prohibiting any form of discrimination by reason of sex (Articles 1, 14, 23, 31, 32, 35, 39, 139 and 149) and requires public authorities to promote the conditions to ensure real and effective individual and collective freedom and equality (Article 9.2).

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31. Ministerio de Igualdad (Gobierno de España) (s.f.). Normativa en vigor, *Ministerio de Igualdad.* [Website].

Equality between women and men has mainly been developed in the following legislation:

- Royal Decree 455/2020, of 10 March 2020, developing the basic organisational structure of the Ministry of Equality;
- Act 16/1983, of 24 October 1983, creating the Autonomous Institute for Women;
- Royal Decree 774/1997, of 30 May 31997, establishing the new regulation of the Institute of Women;
- Act 39/1999, of 5 November 1999, to promote work-life balance for workers;
- Act 30/2003, of 13 October 2003, on measures to incorporate gender impact assessment in regulatory provisions drafted by the Government;
- Organic Law 1/2004, of 28 December 2004, governing measures of comprehensive protection against gender-based violence;
- Organic Law 3/2007, of 22 March 2007, for the effective equality of women and men;
- Royal Decree-Law 12/2020, of 31 March 2020, on urgent measures for the protection of and assistance to victims of gender-based violence;
- Royal Decree 902/2020, of 13 October 2020, on equal pay for men and women;
- Royal Decree 901/2020, of 13 October 2020, regulating equality plans and their registration and amending Royal Decree 713/2010, of 28 May 2010, on the registration and recording of collective bargaining agreements and collective labour agreements.

06.

Terrorist victimisation and gender

6. Terrorist victimisation and gender

6.1. The relationship between gender and terrorism

As Catherine Powell rightly says, the relationship between gender and terrorism is multifaceted.[32] Terrorism can destabilise government, undermine civil society, endanger peace and security, and threaten social and economic development. At the same time, it has a serious individual cost, since it impacts human rights, with devastating consequences for the victims' exercise of their right to life, liberty and physical wellbeing.[33] From this perspective, terrorist violence is defined not for establishing gender inequalities, but as a nexus uniting the women and men who have suffered it, within a common identity as victims of those who use terrorism as a form of domination and a means of imposing their political, religious or any other type of project. This imposition is an expression of totalitarianism, which exterminates individuals and degrades them to the point of reification, with a view to achieving an absolute domination whose purpose, as Hannah Arendt puts it, is to organise '*the infinite plurality and differentiation of human beings*' in order to manufacture people reduced to a never-changing identity of reactions, '*as if all humanity were just one individual.*'[34]

However, the purpose of the terrorist act extends beyond the specific victim, whose sex –or any other circumstance– is not a determining factor. While there is no international consensus on the legal definition of terrorism, there is general agreement as to the objectives it pursues: to seriously intimidate a population; to unduly compel a government or an international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act or to seriously destabilise or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation.[35] In short, it seeks to destroy human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy, threatening the territorial integrity and security of states and destabilising legitimately constituted governments.[36] In this regard, therefore, gender is not relevant. Even when victims have been singled out because of their gender –as in the case of the schoolgirls abducted by Boko Haram in 2014– it is important to bear in mind the instrumental nature of the action. It is but one link among many in a chain of atrocities designed to achieve the stated objectives.

32. Powell, C. (2016, March 22). *Women and Terrorism: Victims, Perpetrators, and Problem Solvers.* Council on Foreign Relations, online.

33. Oficina del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos. (2008). Los Derechos Humanos, el Terrorismo and la Lucha contra el Terrorismo. *Oficina del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos*, Folleto informativo n.° 32, 1-12.

34. Arendt, H. (2010). *Los Orígenes del Totalitarismo.* Alianza, 589-590.

35. Parlamento Europeo and Consejo de la Unión Europea (2017). Directiva 2017/541/UE, relativa a la lucha contra el terrorismo y por la que se sustituye la Decisión marco 2002/475/JAI del Consejo and se modifica la Decisión 2005/671/Jai del Consejo. DOUE, L 88/6, de 31/3/2017.

36. Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas (2006). Estrategia global de las Naciones Unidas contra el terrorismo. A/RES/60/288, 2-5. Naciones Unidas (s.f.). Portal de apoyo a las víctimas del terrorismo. *Naciones Unidas.* [Website].

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A separate issue is the role people play according to their gender in their respective contexts, be they victims or perpetrators. From a victimological perspective, as Subijana Zunzunegui notes, a distinction can be drawn between three dimensions:[37]

· The dimension of their needs: the personal sphere, which refers to the victims as human beings.
· The dimension of their interests: the social sphere, linked to the victims as citizens.
· The dimension of their rights: the legal sphere, involving the victims as the holders of enforceable entitlements.

In this regard, the victims of terrorism, in their personal, social and legal spheres, will intersect with the interrelationships addressed in gender analysis. As socialised individuals, they have learned behaviours and are exposed to the same inequalities, such as the distribution of income and resources and the social division of labour, family and affective systems. Therefore, by adopting a gender approach, it is possible to obtain information on the conditioning factors caused by the attributes imposed on victims by virtue of their sex, a previously existing and determining situation in their lives that will have its own specific weight following the impact of the attack. The event they have suffered may contribute not only to exacerbating any inequa-

lities generated by gender relations, but may also aggravate the harm caused by a confluence of other inequalities such as age, disability or membership of certain social groups. Hence the importance, as we have seen, of also adopting an intersectional approach.

In this regard, by incorporating gender as a category of analysis, we can make an accurate and comprehensive diagnosis of the real situation of direct or indirect victims following the attack, detecting the conditioning factors that affect them, determining their specific needs and evaluating the impact on their lives of any regulation, programme or project that affects them.[38] A gender approach therefore enables us to shed light on certain aspects that are commonly excluded from the account, such as the excessive burden of domestic and care work and inequalities in accessing or retaining employment. In short, it is in the area of personal development that we must act decisively to fulfil the rehabilitation needs of women or girls who are victims of terrorism – such as those kidnapped by Boko Haram and others who have suffered the effects of violence in this or other contexts. One of the experts consulted for this study was political scientist, journalist and writer Estefanía Molina. Along the lines set out in the introduction to this section, she says[39] (referring specifically to ETA terrorism) that it has operated in Spain beyond gender issues: 'Murders were committed on a mass or

37. Subijana Zunzunegui, I. J. (2014). Víctimas, Memoria and Justicia (A propósito de la victimización terrorista). *EGUZKILORE*, 28, 177-182.
38. De la Cruz, C. (1998). *Guía metodológica para integrar la perspectiva de género en proyectos and programas de desarrollo.* Emakunde, Instituto Vasco de la Mujer, 27-30.
39. Personal communication.

individual scale, but in most cases the gender of the individual was not a factor. The targets tended to be chosen in accordance with other forms of rationale, based either on political criteria –in the cases of attacks on the state security forces– or on a desire for a major social impact, in the case of indiscriminate mass attacks on the civilian population'. Nonetheless, she highlights at least two important aspects for the victims of terrorism in which the gender perspective did have an impact:

· The resignification of memory. For example, many of the victims were men who held leading political posts or were in positions of great public visibility. An unintentional bias might therefore have been caused by focusing solely or predominantly on the remembrance of these figures, sometimes resulting in the invisibilisation of female victims who occupied more junior positions in the civil service or political hierarchy.

· Reparation of families. It would be interesting to examine what impact the absence of parents has had on families, and whether there has been a bias towards a greater absence of the father figure, and the situation in which this has left the mothers: whether they have been able to receive financial aid, psychological support for their children, how they got on subsequently, etc. The loss of a family member is always a terrible blow for a family, especially when it is provoked by something like a terrorist attack. In the absence of one of the family, the other members are left without a moral and psychological support, as well as being deprived of that person's support in bringing up the children and the affective support he or she provided to the surviving spouse. This is an area of care and support that the state must help address'.

Lourdes Pérez Rebollar[40], former deputy editor of El Diario Vasco and now deputy editor of Colpìsa, agrees: 'In the case of the victims of terrorism, we are talking about an ecosystem –forced into existence by the violent event– of which those murdered, persecuted or extorted and their immediate families form part. ETA,[41] an organisation which has historically been led by men –despite notable exceptions such as 'Yoyes' and 'Anboto'– did not choose its targets according to their gender, although among the causes it claimed to champion was that of feminism'. Pérez Rebollar notes that, paradoxically, 'the terrorists claimed to kill in the name of a 'feminist' Euskal Herria,[42] in the worst possible sense of the term. Not enough attention has been paid to the clear falsehood of that justification for their crimes'. Separately, she notes, 'by identifying the "enemy" as the members of the "oppressor State", ETA's hit list was mostly comprised of men, because it was men who held most of the jobs in the security forces,

40. Personal communication.
41. Euskadi Ta Askatasuna («Basque Homeland and Liberty»).
42. The term "Euskal Herria" is currently used chiefly in Basque nationalist circles to refer to all territories to which they lay claim, namely Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya, Álava, Navarre, Soule, Labourd and Lower Navarre. In its origins, however, the term is not political, but refers to the cultural ties between the seven provinces.

the army, politics, justice and journalism. As a result, the bereaved–above all, the widowed spouses– were mostly women. Once we come to see this situation more clearly, I believe that it will be possible to implement more gender-sensitive victim compensation policies'. One might therefore, says Pérez Rebollar, 'draw a more precise and more detailed map of what violence has meant within each family affected; not only what each murder meant in affective and human terms. Behind them lie long histories that should make us consider issues such as the destruction of the professional careers of women who had to take charge of a broken home, often entirely on their own; or those who were forced to flee their homes because of the threat to their husbands or relatives'. In this light, she asks: 'How does one measure –and compensate for– that other loss?'. She concludes with a statement that points directly to the need to mainstream gender in any planned action that directly or indirectly affects victims of terrorism: 'It was the women who looked after their families, in a further projection, provoked by the terrorist act, of what happens in normal everyday life, in which it is still women who take on the greatest burden of care '.

There is broad scientific consensus on the importance of determining the reactions and after effects that many people who have suffered a terrorist attack –especially women and children– carry with them for long periods or even for the rest of their lives. In 2013 the UN's guide to 'Gender mainstreaming in the work of UNODC', noted that Men and women can be vulnerable in different ways when a terrorist attack occurs, which are related to the specific context in which women live. While a terrorist attack often impacts human communities more broadly, it notes, it is important to distinguish the different harm caused to individuals in their respective contexts, since their resilience will vary depending on the role assigned to them by virtue of their sex. For this reason, among other aspects, it urges that, when it comes to decision-making, a greater level of information on the social reality from a gender perspective should be used to design more effective support strategies for victims of terrorism and programmes that are sensitive to the different needs of men and women.[43]

Many UN resolutions warn of the inequalities caused by the role assigned to people based on their sex. Specifically, the seventh review of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, adopted on 30 June 2021 (A/RES/75/291), reaffirms the international community's duty to 'take the steps necessary to enhance cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism in a decisive, unified, coordinated, inclusive, transparent and human rights-based, gender-responsive manner, addressing the conditions conducive to terrorism'. It therefore, *inter alia*, 'urges Member States and United Nations entities to integrate a gender analysis on the drivers of radicalisation of women and

43. United Nations (2013). *Gender mainstreaming in the work of UNODC. Guidance note for UNODC staff.* United Nations, 62-72. Colectivo de Víctimas del Terrorismo (COVITE) (s.f.). Informe sobre los efectos del terrorismo en el disfrute de los Derechos Humanos. Colectivo de Víctimas del Terrorismo, 6.

men to terrorism into their relevant programmes, to consider, when appropriate, the specific impacts of counter-terrorism strategies on women and women's organisations and to seek greater consultations with them when developing strategies to prevent and counter terrorism and violent extremism conducive to terrorism'(11). This gender dimension runs through the entire text, but in respect of the victims, the following aspects are particularly noteworthy:

· The importance of assisting women who may be victims of terrorism and to do so taking into account gender and age sensitivities (52);

· The need to further enhance the integration of the rule of law, human rights and gender, as cross-cutting elements of the Strategy, in the counter-terrorism efforts of the United Nations system (86);

· The need for Member States to provide proper support and assistance to victims of terrorism and their families in accordance with their obligations under international law and applicable domestic law, deploring the suffering caused by terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Specifically, it urges them to 'ensure that their physical, medical and psychosocial needs are met, and their human rights are recognised and protected, in particular for women and children and victims of sexual and gender-based violence committed by terrorists, while taking into account, *inter alia*, when appropriate, considerations regarding recognition, acknowledgment, remembrance, dignity, respect, reparation, accountability, justice and truth' (113);

· The importance of building the resilience of victims of terrorism and their families as an integral part of their national counter-terrorism strategies, 'including by providing victims and their families with proper support and assistance immediately after an attack and in the long term and sharing on a voluntary basis best practices and lessons learned related to the support of victims of terrorism, including regarding the provision of legal, medical, psychosocial or financial support, and in this regard [it] encourages all Member States to develop comprehensive, gender- sensitive assistance plans for victims of terrorism and their families, consistent with domestic law, and national capacities and capabilities to address the immediate, short- term and long-term needs of victims of terrorism and their families, with regard to their relief and rehabilitation' (114).

· The need to consider the situation of women who transition from the role of victim to that of victimiser, addressing this reality in an intersectional manner, from a gender perspective: '[stressing] the importance of assisting women who may be victims of terrorism and to do so taking into account gender and age sensitivities' (52).

With all these measures, the United Nations calls for multidimensional support aimed at full integration of the victim into society, support that must centre on human rights and incorporate the gender perspective in all processes that affect the lives of victims of terrorism.

6.2. The gender perspective in trauma response

The victims, before acquiring this label, are women and men whose relationships have been influenced by certain socioeconomic and political factors that contribute to the configuration of cultural values, norms and practices that will in turn influence those relationships. Becoming a victim does not erase the imprint of these sociocultural constructs which, as we have seen, distinguish and shape the roles, perceptions and status of women and men in a society. Nothing that happens in the course of their lives will therefore be unconnected to these conditioning factors, and this of course extends to the traumatic experience resulting from the terrorist attack.[44]

Terrorism has a direct impact on all human rights, especially on life, personal wellbeing, liberty and security. Most commonly, when dealing with the aftermath of a terrorist attack, the focus is on physical injuries and the unquestionably most definitive loss, loss of life. However, there are also unseen wounds which, by their very nature, may go unnoticed but which can nonetheless have devastating effects on a person's life. Dr Muñoz García and Dr Navas Collado,[45] in their work 'El daño psicológico en las víctimas del terrorismo', have shown the existence of many invisible wounds of differing intensity resulting

from a terrorist attack. They argue that psychological damage includes not only 'the acute psychological injuries produced by the violent event itself (which may abate with the passing of time); it is also linked to the chronic emotional aftermath some people suffer as a result of the event which can negatively impact their daily lives'. These aftereffects, consisting of 'an irreversible alteration in normal psychological functioning or impairment of mental health', cause 'a permanent disability that does not abate with the passing of time or with proper treatment'. Their roots lie in the threat to the individual's life or psychological wellbeing, a serious physical injury, the perception of the harm as being intentional and the loss of a loved one in violent circumstances. The same study describes the most common mental disorders among victims of terrorism:

- Anxiety-depressive reactions;
- Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD);
- Depression (especially when they have lost loved ones in the terrorist attacks);
- Panic attacks (including intense feelings of fear and distress, accompanied by symptoms such as tachycardia, sweating, nausea, tremors, etc.);
- Anger and aggression;
- Substance abuse (including alcohol abuse), in an attempt to escape or mask the associated pain;
- Extreme fear/avoidance of anything related to situations of trauma, which may extend to other situations not directly asso-

44. UNESCO (s.f.). Igualdad de Género. Indicadores de Cultura para el Desarrollo. Manual Metodológico. *UNESCO.* [Website].

45. Muñoz García, J. J. and Navas Collado, E. (2007). El daño psicológico en las víctimas del terrorismo. *Psicopatología Clínica Legal y Forense*, Vol. 7, 147-160.

ciated with the traumatic situation, significantly interfering with the person's day-to-day functioning.

Muñoz García and Navas Collado note that 'in addition to the immediate reactions, such as generalised malaise, isolation, loss of appetite, insomnia, which tend to subside within a few weeks', the attack can also provoke the symptoms of anxiety and depression described, 'with a loss of self-esteem and a certain lack of confidence in their own resources to redirect their future life'. Another important aspect that needs to be considered, they say, is survivor's guilt. Such feelings may develop out of a 'distorted attribution of the event to mistakes made by the victim, failure to act in the right way or even the very fact of having survived in the midst of so much misfortune'. In the medium and long term, they conclude, these feelings can translate into certain behavioural disorders: irritability, excessive emotional dependence, victimising attitudes, passivity, tendency to introversion, affective blunting and a disconnect between the account of the attack and the emotional experience, among others.

As for the long-term repercussions of terrorist attacks, the study highlights two variables:

· Likelihood of being a psychiatric patient - A person who has suffered a terrorist attack and their immediate family members are two to three times more likely to suffer a mental disorder than the general population;

· Quality of life following the attack - This will depend on the individual's difficulties in adapting to daily life.

De Vicente Colomina, in her guide to quality care for victims of terrorism ('Guía para una atención de calidad a las víctimas del terrorismo'), notes the importance of taking into account the 'impact on people's psychological, emotional and spiritual well-being in order to minimise the occurrence of mental health issues in the medium to long term and reinforce their natural ability to overcome pain and adversity. To achieve this aim, quality care for survivors of terrorist attacks and their families is required, based on a trauma-informed approach.'[46]

But what was the nature of that life that the victims an attack now need to resume? Clearly, it was not a neutral reality. It is therefore essential to consider the different circumstances of the people who have experienced a traumatic event, since these differences will be decisive in the way the trauma develops. The subjective experience of the traumatic event is shaped by culture-specific factors (Barlow, 2002). Therefore, among other factors, the cultural patterns of a given society directly

46. De Vicente Colomina, A. (2019). *Guía para una atención de calidad a víctimas del terrorismo.* Ministerio del Interior (Gobierno de España), Consejo General de Colegios Oficiales de Psicólogos, COP Fundación Española para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Psicología Científica y Profesional PSICOFUNDACIÓN, 7.

influence the response.[47] According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Office on Women's Health, women are twice as likely as men to develop Post Traumatic Stress Disorder at some point in their lives.[48] However, in order to understand gender differences in the prevalence of PTSD, we need to explore the way in which PTSD develops and is maintained. This requires a very precise cross-sectional examination of the differences in the way men and women remember or relive the traumatic event.[49] A survey of victims of the 911 attacks in New York showed that women had a higher risk of developing PTSD after the traumatic event. The authors of the study explored the factors that might explain this greater prevalence. Broadly, they concluded that their results highlight the influence of certain specific biographical and behavioural factors (including, among others, previous traumatic experiences and psychological disorders, as well as social responsibilities). They discussed the importance of isolating the characteristics that place women at higher risk for PTSD for designing public health prevention strategies and fostering research.[50]

Along similar lines, Dr María Diéguez, a psychiatrist and psychotherapist with experience and training in the treatment of people with trauma sequelae, emphasises that women are especially vulnerable in any situation of victimisation. This is due, she says, to their pre-existing situation of disadvantage, in which their subjection to the rules of the patriarchal system and the gender mandates it entails play an important role, as does the greater likelihood of suffering varying degrees of violence at all stages of life. She argues that women will not only be more vulnerable to the psychological aftereffects, but also to the social consequences, because they have fewer opportunities for personal development and, in many cases, are left alone with their family burdens. She therefore stresses the importance of implementing affirmative action policies, when a possible physical and/or psychological disability is added to the condition of being a woman; and of addressing the gender perspective in trauma response.[51]

In consonance with this approach, the experts in psychology consulted for this study agree on the importance of taking the victim's

47. De la Rosa Gómez, A. and Cárdenas López, G. (2016). Reacciones postraumáticas: revisión desde una perspectiva dimensional. *Psicología Iberoamericana*, vol.24, núm. 1, 70-79, who take the reference to Barlow from the following document: Barlow, D. H. (2002). *Anxiety and its disorders: The nature and treatment of anxiety and panic.* 2nd ed., Guilford Press.

48. Oficina para la Salud de la Mujer en el Departamento de Salud y Servicios Humanos de EE.UU. (2018). Trastorno por estrés postraumático. *Oficina para la Salud de la Mujer en el Departamento de Salud and Servicios Humanos de EE. UU.* [Website].

49. Birkeland M. S., Blix, I., Solberg, Ø., and Heir, T. (2017). Gender Differences in Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms after a Terrorist Attack: A Network Approach. *Frontiers in Psychology*, n.° 8, 1-10.

50. Pulcino, T., Galea, S., Ahern, J., Resnick, H., Foley, M., and Vlahov, D. (2004). Posttraumatic Stress in Women after the September 11 Terrorist Attacks in New York City. *Journal of Women's Health*, 12, Issue 8, 809-820.

51. Personal communication.

sex into account, from both a psychosocial and a gender perspective. The terrorist act is a traumatic experience that each person, family, group of people and society as a whole elaborates from their own specific world of perceptions and interpretations. It is these that constitute the base from which they will address the traumatic events, with the resources and strengths they possess or have learned. Victims of terrorism –direct or indirect– do not operate in isolation, but form part of a specific cultural context. Therefore, the necessary strengths and the way in which the individual suffers and experiences the consequences of grief, do not derive only from that person's own characteristics, but also depend on the response of their environment. Indeed, the way in which the specific society and culture approaches suffering and recovery from a traumatic event has a direct impact on the victims' well-being. For many people, moreover, trauma represents a tremendously painful fracturing of their personal identity, an identity that is shaped, among other aspects, by belonging to a family, a society, a country and a culture. Therefore, the justice, recognition and reparation that victims of terrorism deserve must come from the community and it must come in the form of:

· Physical and emotional security as opposed to abandonment;

· Personal dignity and a sense of community as opposed to isolation and social exclusion;

· Visibilisation as opposed to silence and concealment

· Recognition of grief as opposed to stigma.

In addition to all this, according to the experts consulted, there is the question of guilt, an internal attribution of excessive responsibility that acts as a sort of 'self-defence', giving a false expectation of control that victims appear to require when their feeling of helplessness becomes unbearable. This is particularly true when other people were harmed ('survivor's guilt').

According to Helzer et al. (1987)[52] and Pérez-Olmos et al. (2005),[53] following the experience of the traumatic event, care for victims with PTSD is imperative. Caregivers (significant others) are, in turn, at risk of suffering Secondary Traumatic Stress Disorder (STSD) (Figley, 1995).[54] Most research has identified the partner as a significant other, who presents –as well as problems in social relationships such as avoidant attachment and negative assumptions about the world– signs and symptoms of stress, anxiety and relationship problems. It is therefore fundamental to provide physical and mental support for the

52. Helzer, J. E., Robins, L. N., McEvoy, L. (1987 Dec 24). Post-traumatic stress disorder in the general population. Findings of the epidemiologic catchment area survey. *N Engl J Med*, 317(26), 1630-1634.

53. Pérez Olmos, I. R., Fernández-Piñeres, P. E. and Rodado Fuentes, S. (2005 November). Prevalencia del trastorno por estrés postraúmatico por la guerra, en niños de Cundinamarca, Colombia. *Revista de salud pública*, Bogotá, n.° 7(3), 268-280.

54. Figley, C. R. (ed.) (1995). *Compassion fatigue: Coping with secondary traumatic stress disorder in those who treat traumatized*. Brunner/Mazel. American Psychological Association, 107-119.

caregiver (the secondary victim) as well as for the person receiving care.[55]

This disorder can disrupt the affected person's entire life. It increases their risk of other mental health problems, such as:[56]

- Depression and anxiety
- Drug and alcohol abuse
- Eating disorders
- Suicidal thoughts and actions

From the foregoing, one may deduce that, as Muñoz García and Navas Collado note, in addition to any physical injuries, victims of terrorist attacks also suffer a variety of psychological lesions, modulated by their previous vulnerability, and this affects their personal, work and home life.[57]

In this regard, it is clear that a rigorous examination of the effects terrorism has on its victims should not ignore the dynamics that lead to the persistence of gender asymmetries, with a greater prevalence of men over women in positions of power and responsibility (a result of the so-called 'glass ceiling'), and more opportunities for men to attain and maintain well-paid jobs. These difficulties arise from a series of factors that are external to the female identity system (socio-cultural and organisa-tional obstacles derived from the patriarchal culture): family responsibilities; direct discrimination (sexism and 'micro-machismos'); lack of gender awareness; invisibility of discrimination; and the prevalence and reproduction of gender stereotypes, among others. Such factors have an impact at an internal level, generating pressure on women's expectations that will make them more likely to give up work or take shorter hours in order to devote themselves to caregiving tasks, and making it more difficult for them to find and retain work and fully reintegrate into society.[58]

6.3. Female victims of terrorism, gender and equality

6.3.1. Women, terrorism and armed conflict

With no consensus on the issue, International Humanitarian Law (IHL) –also known as the laws of armed conflict– provides no specific definition of terrorism. Despite this shortcoming, however, IHL does proscribe acts which, when committed in the context of an armed conflict, are considered as 'terrorist acts' or 'terrorist

55. Ortuño Soria, M. A. and Duarte Neves, C. M. (2020). Mirando al cuidador: personas significativas de quienes sufren de Trastorno de Estrés Post-Traumático. *Revista Internacional de Psicología*, 18 (01), 1-44.

56. Mayo Clinic (s.f.). Trastorno de Estrés Postraumático (PEPT). *Mayo Clinic*. [Website].

57. Muñoz García, J. J. and Navas Collado, E. (2007). El daño psicológico en las víctimas del terrorismo. *Psicopatología Clínica Legal and Forense*, vol. 7, n.° 1, 147-160.

58. Moreno Díaz, N. (2018) Liderazgo and género: factores que dificultan el acceso de las mujeres a los puestos de dirección en educación secundaria. [Tesis doctoral, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid]. E-Archivo, 5-12.

measures' against all persons who do not take a direct part or who have ceased to take part in hostilities, i.e. individual civilians and/or the civilian population (Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the corresponding articles of the additional protocols to the Geneva Conventions, Article 51.2 od Additional Protocol I and Articles 4 and 13.2 of Additional Protocol II)[59]. In this context, the issue of gender has become increasingly significant. The situation, needs and rights of women affected by armed conflict have been the subject of several analyses, including studies carried out by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and two components of the UN system, the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), which merged into UN Women in 2010, as well as statements of opinion or intent by UN bodies, including the Security Council's iconic Resolution 1325 on 'Women, Peace and Security', approved in 2000. Indeed, there is widespread legal consensus in recognising the especial impact of such conflicts on women at an economic, political-military and sociological level. As a result, the international security paradigm has been progressively reformulated to incorporate gender mainstreaming.[60]

Specifically, with regard to the armed conflict/terrorism binomial, the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), Chapter II, 11 states that:

'The end of the cold war has resulted in international changes and diminished competition between the super-powers. The threat of a global armed conflict has diminished, while international relations have improved and prospects for peace among nations have increased. Although the threat of global conflict has been reduced, wars of aggression, armed conflicts, colonial or other forms of alien domination and foreign occupation, civil wars, and terrorism continue to plague many parts of the world. Grave violations of the human rights of women occur, particularly in times of armed conflict, and include murder, torture, systematic rape, forced pregnancy and forced abortion, in particular under policies of ethnic cleansing'.[61]

This laid the foundations for adoption by the Security Council of the aforementioned Resolution 1325 of 10 October 2000. The resolution is of fundamental importance in that it introduces the issue of gender into the international security model created in the United Nations Charter and establishes a disaggregated vision of the special protection that Member States owe to certain vulnerable populations. This fundamental responsibility of States to protect their populations extends to the international community as a whole and, in particular, to the United Nations Security Council, when the State in question is unable

59. Comité Internacional de la Cruz Roja (s.f.). Derecho internacional humanitario and terrorismo: respuestas a preguntas clave. *Comité Internacional de la Cruz Roja*. [Website].

60. Robles Carrillo, M. (2012). Mujer, Paz and Seguridad en la ONU. In *Género, conflictos armados y seguridad*. Universidad de Granada, 135-182.

61. ONU Mujeres (2015). Declaración y la Plataforma de Acción de Beijing, Declaración política y documentos resultados de Beijing+5. ed. Entidad de las Naciones Unidas para la Igualdad de Género y el Empoderamiento de las Mujeres, capítulo II, 11.

or unwilling to prevent or stop the acts that are causing the harm, the rationale behind the issuing of the resolution by the UNSC. Its key features, in addition to an improvement in security, include a statement on the importance of including women as active participants in peace processes, in both domestic and international armed conflicts. It highlights the effects of armed conflicts on women and girls, as a result of rape and other forms of sexual abuse and all other forms of violence. Such situations require the creation of effective institutional arrangements and special measures to guarantee the protection and full participation of women in the subsequent peace process in order to contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. This is the responsibility of the States, as is the obligation to end impunity and prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, including those relating to any type of violence against women and girls.[62]

Although terrorism *per se* is not specifically addressed in Resolution 1325, its impact on the various issues that are covered make it a very important tool for addressing the problem. In addition, many of the indicators developed by the United Nations to assess implementation of the resolution can also be used in the prevention of terrorism, mitigating its impact on women and girls.[63] The United Nations Security Council has subsequently adopted a series of additional resolutions that provide a framework for implementation and monitoring of the women, peace and security agenda and which have affected two of the main goals (Ruiz, 2020)[64]:

· Leadership by women in conflict prevention and peacekeeping
- Resolution 1889 (2009);
- Resolution 2122 (2013);
- Resolution 2242 (2015);
- Resolution 2493 (2019).
· Prevention and response to sexual violence in conflicts
- Resolution 1820 (2008);
- Resolution 1888 (2009);
- Resolution 1960 (2010);
- Resolution 2106 (2013);
- Resolution 2467 (2019);
- Resolution 2538 (2020).

These resolutions, together with the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on

62. Council of Europe (2004). *Gender Mainstreaming, Conceptual framework, methodology and presentation of good practices*, final report of activities of the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (EG-S-MS), 8-12. ECOSOC. (1997). Mainstreaming the gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the United Nations system, report of the Secretary-General, Coordination of the Policies and Activities of Specialized Agencies and other Bodies of the United Nations System (E/1997/100), 2-12. Robles Carrillo, M. (2012). Mujer, Paz y Seguridad en la ONU. In *Género, conflictos armados y seguridad.* Universidad de Granada, 135-182.

63. Chowdhuri Fink, N., Barkat, R., and Shetret, L. (2013). *The roles of women in terrorism, conflict and violent extremism: Lessons for de United Nations and International Actors*, Policy Brief. Center of Global Counterterrorism Cooperation (Goshen, USA), 1-14. Council of Europe, Loc. Cit.

64. Ruiz, R. (2020). Mujeres, poder de paz. *Revista Española de Defensa*, n.° 337, 14-15.

the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and General Recommendation N.° 30 on Women in Conflict Prevention, Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women) form a broad legislative framework on women, peace and security.[65]

According to the report published by Amnesty International 'Escape from Hell – Torture and sexual slavery in Islamic State captivity in Iraq', hundreds and possibly thousands of women and girls from the Yezidi minority in Iraq who were abducted by the terrorist group Daesh (the self-styled Islamic State), suffered appalling abuse (torture, rape and other forms of sexual violence) and were 'sold', forcibly married or given as 'gifts' to Daesh fighters or their supporters, leading many of them to take their own lives. This was the case of 19-year-old Jilan, who committed suicide while being held captive in Mosul because she feared she would be raped, according to her brother (as corroborated by one of the girls who was held in the same room as her). According to the same report, 16-year-old Randa, abducted along with much of her family whom she has never seen again (including her pregnant mother),

was 'sold' or given as a 'gift' to a man twice her age, who raped her. In addition to the trauma of the abuse suffered, there is also the stigma surrounding the abuse, specifically rape. In these contexts, survivors feel the burden of the loss of their 'honour' and that of their families, and, as a consequence, of their place in society.[66] Unfortunately, it is not only the Yezidi minority that has suffered this type of abuse; the same situation (rape and suicide, among others) has been well documented in relation to other minorities such as Christians.[67] Indeed, the European Parliament Resolution of 12 March 2015, on attacks and abductions by ISIS/Da'esh in the Middle East, notably of Assyrians, defines the situation in the following terms:

' (...) the United Nations and other international organisations have reported widespread serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law committed by ISIS/Da'esh and associated groups in Syria and Iraq, in particular against minority ethnic and religious groups, including through targeted killings, forced conversions, abductions, selling of women, slavery of women and children, recruitment of children for suicide bombings, sexual and physical abuse and torture'.[68]

65. Ministerio de Igualdad (Gobierno de España) (s.f.). La violencia sobre la mujer en el ámbito internacional. In *Delegación del Gobierno contra la Violencia de Género: Por una sociedad libre de violencia de género.* Ministerio de Igualdad. [Website]. ONU Mujeres (s.f.). Las mujeres, la paz y la seguridad. *ONU Mujeres.* [Website].

66. Amnesty International (2014). Escape from hell- Torture, sexual slavery in Islamic State captivity in Iraq. *Amnesty International (London, United Kingdom)*, 4-8.

67. The Heritage Foundation (2015, April 11). Women as Victims of Terrorism [Video]. YouTube. CNN. (2015 April 25). Faith turns Christians into terrorist targets [Video].

68. Council of Europe, Op. Cit. 63. ICRC. (2004). *Addressing the Needs of Women Affected by Armed Conflict, an ICRC Guidance Document.* ICRC, 7.

Jesús Díez Alcalde[69] is a colonel in the Spanish Army and an expert in international jihadist terrorism. Based on his experience in the field, he says that '*in the field of international terrorism, and especially in places where it is on the rise, it is even more important to emphasise this recognition, because on many occasions women are not only the victims of terrorism, but also suffer rejection from society itself. At the same time, in such environments, terrorist groups often exercise very specific violence against women who, without becoming direct victims of attacks, become a key factor in their terror strategies: rape, kidnapping, forced marriage and forced motherhood. In many other cases, women and girls are forced to become suicide bombers because they raise less suspicion among the security forces*'. In general terms, he adds, '*after suffering the blow of terrorism, the fact that women often have to take responsibility for the very survival of the family –not only economically, but also emotionally, in the social environment and in education– deserves special recognition in any regulations, policies and projects that seek to protect victims. Although great progress has been made, for too long the additional responsibility that women have had to bear as the head of the household or simply as part of the victim's nuclear family has not been taken into account. This situation is especially visible and dramatic in countries with enormous deficits in the institutional and government structures*'. He also believes strongly that women play an important role in preventing radicalisation and combatting terrorism, especially, but not exclusively, in the field of jihadist terrorism, his main area of study.

In line with this expert's view of the situation of women in countries with major deficits in their institutional and governance structure, in the wake of the Taliban takeover of Kabul on 15 August 2021, Alison Davidian, deputy representative of UN Women in Afghanistan, said: '*In Afghanistan, gender equality is critical for Afghanistan's future, long-term development, and sustained peace*'. However, the reality is that '*since the Taliban took power, a cabinet has been appointed that has no women. (…) The Ministry for Women's Affairs has been abolished*'[70]. Now that they have been ousted from decision-making positions, any guarantee of their rights is no more than a pipe dream. This situation has led to a major movement by Afghan women who, at risk to their own lives, have raised their voices to call for the restoration of rights that should never have been taken away from them. As Zahra Karimi, a researcher at Monash University, points out, '*many women have lost their jobs due to the Taliban's totalitarian regime*', which '*means that it is much more difficult for them and their children to escape violence*'. However, as Afghan researcher Somaye Sarvarzade points out, it is not a matter of simply reinforcing the monolithic vision that has taken root in the West of '*oppressed women*', since this narrative ignores those who are demonstrating against the

69. Personal communication.

70. Davidian, A. (2021, October 12). *La mirada de la experiencia: En Afganistán, la igualdad de género es fundamental para el futuro, el desarrollo a largo plazo and la paz sostenida*. ONU Mujeres, online.

Taliban[71]. Mahbouba Seraj, executive director of the Afghan Women's Capacity Building Centre, has said: '*Don't forget the Afghan women. Be our voice and make it reach your governments through yours. The rest of the fight is up to us and we will continue in it*'[72].

Finally, we should make reference, albeit briefly, to the reinforcement of the stereotyped roles that arise in armed conflicts: the '*male warrior identity and female caregiver identity*'. This idea, noted by Maria Villellas, researcher on peace and gender at the Escola de Cultura de Pau (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) and member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), permeates the war narrative. This is being seen in Ukraine since the beginning of the Russian offensive in the early morning of 24 February 2022, where messages and narratives are being created that focus on the unified category of "*womenandchildren*" –as if it were a single word– to designate individuals subject to the same lack of protection because, from that simplifying perspective, they imply that women and children experience the conflict in the same way and also suffer the same consequences. This practise makes other roles invisible, ignoring the fact that there are also women combatants, albeit they are a minority,

and many others who remain '*in the country defending pacifist political positions*'[73].

The reality is that the experience of women in armed conflict is multi-faceted, involving separation, loss of family members, physical and economic insecurity, increased risk of sexual violence, injury, detention, deprivation and even death. This is highlighted in the study 'International Humanitarian Law and Gender', the result of the Stockholm expert meeting on International Humanitarian Law from a gender perspective. The report shows that, in situations such as those described, each woman responds differently. It would therefore be a serious mistake to attempt a homogeneous view of this group; hence the importance of understanding their gender specificities from a multidimensional perspective, not only as victims, but also, among other aspects, as agents of change.[74]

6.3.2. Women, terrorism and human rights

Can we justify a special focus on women when incorporating the gender approach into any planned activity? In its publication 'Women's

71. López Trujillo, N. (2022, February 15). *Zahra Joya: "Tuve que huir de Afganistán porque como mujer periodista no tenía permitido trabajar"*. Newtral, online.

72. Amnistía Internacional (2022, March 8). Afganistán: Petición global a la comunidad internacional para que ponga fin a la supresión de los derechos de las mujeres y las niñas por los talibanes, *Amnistía Internacional*, online.

73. López Trujillo, N. (2022, March 6). *Entre el combate and la huida: así afecta la guerra en Ucrania a los roles de mujeres and hombres*. Newtral, online.

74. Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Stockholm, Sweden) (2007). International Humanitarian Law and Gender Report Summary International Expert Meeting: 'Gender Perspectives on International Humanitarian Law', 6-11.

Rights are Human Rights', the United Nations recognises that while this need not necessarily be so, in practice, the situation of women in most of the world's societies means that it is:

'Gender mainstreaming (or integration) is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned activity, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. (...) Gender mainstreaming as a strategy and methodology does not in theory mean an emphasis on women's experiences. However, given the socially constructed differences and relations between males and females in most of the world's societies, in practice it often results in a specific focus on women because they are mostly adversely affected by existing gender inequalities'.[75]

It is because of this greater propensity to suffer the adverse effects of inequalities that gender analysis is so important. As stated by the UN in the same document:

'gender analysis helps us understand how women and men experience human rights violations differently, as well as the influence of differences such as age, class, religion, culture and location. The report highlights and explores hierarchical and unequal relations and roles between and among males and females, the unequal value given to women's work, and women's unequal access to power and decision-making as well as property and resources. Gender mainstreaming or integration helps assess the impact of different laws, policies and programmes on groups of men and women (...)'.

Thus, female victims of terrorism are subject to a twofold vulnerability, and in their case the risk of revictimisation is multiplied, mainly due to the absence or lack of institutional policies level that take a gender perspective in this area. This has the effect of progressively distancing them from the horizon of reparation that forms an essential right and the backbone to the entire catalogue of victims' rights, that is perfectly delimited in general, at the universal level, and more specifically at the regional level.[76]

In these circumstances, women, either as direct victims or as family members or dependents of the direct victim, are protected by their legal status as victims in general and by any specific rules created for victims of terrorism and for women in particular. As the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) states, women are still subject to significant discrimination.[77] One major virtue of this Convention over other instruments dealing with the issue of equality and non-discrimination is that

75. Naciones Unidas (2014). *Los derechos de la mujer son derechos humanos*. Oficina del Alto Comisionado, 39.

76. Red Europea de Asociaciones de Víctimas del Terrorismo (NAVT) (2008). Carta de Derechos de las Víctimas del Terrorismo, *NAVT*, online. Muñoz Escandell, I. (2012). Los derechos de las víctimas del terrorismo en el ámbito internacional. Dykinson, 111-117.

77. Naciones Unidas (1979). Convención sobre la eliminación de todas las formas de discriminación contra la mujer, adoptada y abierta a la firma, ratificación y acceso por resolución de la Asamblea General 34/180 de 18 de diciembre de 1979.

it introduces new substantive provisions. As well as recognising the legal equality of women and promoting their de facto equality, Article 5 of the convention establishes that the States Parties are also required take all appropriate measure to eliminate social, cultural and traditional practices that perpetuate harmful gender stereotypes, and to create in society a frame of reference that promotes the full realisation of women's rights. These are human rights which –as stated in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action– the states are required to promote and protect in conditions of equality and non-discrimination, and to do so through gender mainstreaming, a strategy which, in the Council of Europe's definition, involves 'the (re) organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated into all policies at all levels and all stages, by the actors normally involved in policymaking'.[78]

Thus, when reference is made to *all* policies, no exclusions are countenanced. The issue of gender in respect of victims of terrorism is especially relevant; it can condition the effective exercise of their human rights, not only because they suffer distinctions or restrictions based on their sex, but also because they are subject to discriminatory exclusions for a variety of reasons that do not necessarily stem from conscious actions, but are the result of a combination of sociocultural factors

that are generally learned and deeply rooted. These socio-cultural factors have led to women assuming a whole series of burdens and, as the CEDAW states, women's contribution to the well-being of the family and the development of society, has not been fully recognised and is the cause of multiple forms of discrimination. Such recognition requires the prior establishment of full equality, and the Convention stresses that to achieve this it is necessary to modify the traditional role of both men and women in society and in the family. In other words, the goal should be to confront social attitudes and stereotypes that filter through all areas of people's lives, conditioning laws and policies, including those that affect women and men who are victims of terrorism.

6.3.3. Gender stereotypes and social representations of female victims of terrorism

When we speak of gender stereotypes, we are referring to a series of socially imposed generalisations about what a woman or a man is presumed to be; acceptance of this belief means that men and women are expected to act in accordance with this commonly assumed vision. Rebecca Cook and Simone Cusack define the term stereotype as 'a generalised view or

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78. Caballero, I. (2013). Interseccionalidad en *La transversalidad de género en las políticas públicas de discapacidad-Manual*, Vol. II, Cinca, 311-332. Consejo de Europa. (1999). Mainstreaming de género. Marco conceptual, metodología y presentación de "buenas prácticas", Informe final de las actividades del Grupo de especialistas en mainstreaming (EG-SMS), Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Trabajo and Asuntos Sociales, Serie documentos, n.° 28, 26-27.

preconception of attributes or characteristics possessed by, or the roles that should be performed by, members of a particular group'. Stereotyping is often unconscious, but that does not make it any the more innocuous. On the contrary, the more socially and culturally deep-rooted it is, the more it conditions how women and men live and relate to each other in many different areas: interests, professional expectations, occupations, salaries, etc. As Salgado Álvarez notes, such stereotypes 'are deeply rooted in our unconscious, we accept them uncritically as an inevitable way of understanding life. This means that our everyday encounters with stereotypes are often invisible and go undetected'. In such cases, she says, it is essential to be aware of the existence of the stereotype and identify how it harms women. In other words, 'diagnosing stereotypes as the causes of social harm is a precondition for determining how to treat them'. In this regard, she concludes, 'the analysis of legal and human rights can be instrumental in diagnosing a stereotype, which is a necessary prerequisite for eliminating it'. Salgado Álvarez, building on Cook and Cusack's[79] thesis, emphasises the importance of not overlooking the burden of legitimacy linked to the law ; 'when a State applies, executes or perpetuates a gender stereotype in its laws, public policies or practices, it institutionalises it, giving it the force and authority of law and custom. As a state institution, the legal system condones its application,

execution and perpetuation and thus generates an atmosphere of legitimacy and normality'. It is therefore essential to analyse in greater depth the persistence of gender stereotypes in the sphere of victims of terrorism and the impact it has in limiting or annulling the recognition, exercise and enjoyment of their human rights. Including every woman and every man in this category automatically binds them to a prototype, regardless of how they live and feel individually, and assigns a set of characteristics to them that are displayed as being shared by all those who belong to this category. These group stereotypes, which generally offer a very simplified image of the collective on which they are based, are one of the most common forms of social representation.[80]

As Bruel dos Santos writes, gender stereotypes, the roles attributed to the sexes and social representations of the feminine and masculine play 'a key role in forming universes of opinion, beliefs and shared attitudes that justify and fix unequal relations between men and women'. Specifically, she says, social representations 'can be viewed as a system for interpreting the members of a given group, a system that leads to processes of social classification (Pérez, Moscovici and Chulvi, 2002)', which 'are determinant in delimiting the right shared beliefs, images, feelings and suitable behaviour'. Thus, social representations 'intersect and crystallise constantly in our daily universe, bringing with them the

79. Cook, R. J. and Cusak, S. (2009). *Estereotipos de género: perspectivas legales transnacionales.* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1-7.

80. Salgado Álvarez, J. (2018). El tratamiento sobre estereotipos de género en los dictámenes del Comité de Eliminación de la Discriminación contra la Mujer. Foro. *Revista de Derecho,* n.° 29, 21-48. Reference included in this document: Cook, R., and Cusack, S. (2010). *Estereotipos de género. Perspectivas legales transnacionales,* Bogotá: Profamilia, 11.

identity, culture and history of a group of people, the way in which subjects apprehend everyday events, the features of the environment, information and 'common sense' knowledge (Moscovici, 1981). This knowledge is constituted from experience, but also from information and knowledge conveyed through education and social communication. The processes of social communication play an elementary role in the construction of a consensual universe, since they refer us to the sphere of relationships of influence and social belonging, which is a determining factor in the creation of representations.'[81]

The social definition of a victim of terrorism and the behavioural patterns associated with this definition, do not arise from the ordained social definition of men and women in each society. Thus, the experience of women who have suffered terrorist violence, their life experience and the social prescriptions that attempt to regulate their coexistence from unequal relationships, has not been sufficiently analysed in terms of the harm caused, just as it has not in the case of men.

To all this is we need to add the imagery projected by the media in its accounts of terrorism. Through these accounts, they provide a polymorphic representation of the victim that materialises a social order, turning that image into a symbol of the moral norms whereby that social order justifies itself, hence its importance .[82] There is also a clear depiction of the woman as victim, sometimes, as Plaza, Rivas-Nieto and Rey-García note, portrayed in an '*excessively literary, almost mystical, style that can descend into condescension or sensationalism*' and sometimes framed within positive narratives that highlight not only the dramatic situation of women and girls who suffer violence, but also that of women who rebel against it.[83] One paradigmatic case is that of the Yezidi women who managed to escape captivity under the self-proclaimed Islamic State, and who have subsequently become important agents in the prevention of radicalisation and extremism, because they possess an enormous capacity for critical analysis and first-hand knowledge of the internal workings of terrorist organisations, which is of enormous value in the fight against terrorism.[84] Alongside this representation, we have that of women as political subjects capable of constructing ethical spaces of reconciliation that challenge the logic of violence (Martín, 2017)[85] notes, together with the spaces of leadership and coordination that many female victims have created by way of associations.

81. Bruel dos Santos, T. C. (2008). *Representaciones sociales de género: Un estudio psicosocial acerca de lo masculino y lo femenino* [Tesis doctoral, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid], 193-200.

82. Bruel dos Santos, T. C., K. Scarparo, H. B., Calvo Hernandez, A. R., Sebastián Herranz, J. and Blanco, A. (2013, July/December). Estudio psicosocial sobre las representaciones sociales de género, *Perspectivas en Psicología*, vol.9, n.° 2, 244-253.

83. Plaza, J. F., Rivas-Nieto, P., and Rey-García, P. (2017). La representación de las mujeres terroristas y víctimas del terrorismo en la prensa española. El caso de El País, *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, n.° 72, 129-144.

84. Powell, C. (2016). *Women and Terrorism: Victims, Perpetrators, and Problem Solvers*, Council on Foreign Relations, online.

85. Martín, A. (2017). Rutas de ciudadanía: Testimoniar la violencia terrorista en femenino. In *Mujeres víctimas del dolor y la violencia terrorista*, Rodríguez, M.P. (ed.), Biblioteca Nueva, 49-70.

As Pablo Romero[86], editor of Público newspaper, notes, the first association of victims of terrorism in Spain was founded by widows, and women continue to play a key role in this area: '*Women affected by terrorism have played a very important role, and one that has not been sufficiently recognised.* (...) *One only has to look at the "history" of the fight against the various terrorist groups, especially ETA, in which men are overwhelmingly predominant*'. Notwithstanding, Romero highlights one very interesting aspect related to events organised to pay tribute to the victims; here, '*it is important to bear in mind that, traditionally, women have always been portrayed as brave, heroic, fighters... Should we not ask ourselves what lies behind such evaluations? Solitude, stoicism, resignation, management of scarce resources, a championing (almost always realistic) of their condition and, above all, discreet efficiency*'. Perhaps by studying these and other phenomena '*we will realise that a gender perspective will continue to be essential as long as the roles of "mother" and "caregiver" continue to be perpetuated*'. If we were to incorporate the gender perspective, '*the regulations and acts of homage would be totally different: less propagandistic and, perhaps, more "restorative"*'.

Studying social representations of female victims of terrorism can cast light on underlying beliefs, values and attitudes that will condition behaviour and the possibilities of individual and collective transformation, because this is a two-way street. On the one hand, it shows the human side of the tragedy (living and dead victims) and the individual grief becomes collective. On the other hand, the victims themselves appear, demanding remembrance, dignity and justice. As Irmgard Emmelhainz has said, 'the identity of the victim has great power to mobilise: a person who suffers a misfortune undergoes a de-subjectivisation; identifying oneself as a victim means building a field in which subjectivity can be recovered by gaining self-consciousness from pain. In other words, the victim incorporates the harm into her or his identity, while at the same time empowering her or himself with a sense of virtuousness or heroism. However, although the complaint is directed at power, instead of political subjectivation, it tends to lie within the framework of human rights and humanitarian crisis. Therefore, suffering becomes a cultural and social experience that does not imply dissent or antagonism, but is instead portrayed as an exception. (...) Despite its momentary therapeutic powers, condolence is a complaint and, therefore, a noise that needs to be transformed into political discourse'. She therefore stresses the importance of 'resignifying violence to stimulate our ability to see beyond the graves or their absence, eliminating the temporality of the observed (...)', to act and decide the values that we wish to govern our society[87] This is important for questioning the reproduction of certain patterns that are of no benefit, either individually or collectively, and hinder the necessary transformations. In other words, the purpose is to transcend the traumatic experience and turn it into a tool for social

86. Personal communication.
87. Emmelhainz, I. (2015). *País doliente: resignificar la violencia*, Política Exterior, online.

transformation. Only from this perspective will it be possible truly to initiate a process of reparation that places the individual at the centre and serves to reconstruct the social fabric that has been destroyed by violence.

Paloma Dealbert,[88] a journalist working at Diario de Navarra, gives a very graphic example of the patterns which are, often unintentionally, reproduced when it comes to delimiting the spaces occupied by women and men in public life. When conferences or seminars on terrorism are organised with a large panel of speakers, even if women experts *are* included, they are often given little or no voice. However, this is not the case when it comes to victims, where there is more parity.

The all-male panels Dealbert is referring to have come to be known as 'manels'. The United Nations has undertaken a series of actions to correct this trend which, it says, does not reflect the diversity of our world and deprives us of a more holistic, innovative and insightful perspective on any issue or discussion: "*Manels' are like tunnel vision: they limit the understanding of a topic for they only bring men's perspectives to the discussion.*"[89]

These and other issues play a role in the construction of collective memory. In matters of terrorism and violent conflict, women are too often seen as victims, often guided by their emotions, who need to be 'saved', rather than as active agents with the organisational capacity to advocate for themselves and their peers. This does not mean that, such leadership capacity is always associated with a complete overcoming of the trauma.[90] The reality, as we have said, is multifaceted. This is why it is so important to approach it from a cross-cutting approach, enabling us to view it from as many angles as possible and avoid the commonplaces to which we are often tempted to reduce it.

The influence of gender roles and stereotypes also inevitably extends to the terrorist organisations themselves, a sphere in which the leadership is overwhelmingly male and in which women usually play a subordinate role (though this in no way means that they should be seen as adopting a passive role, lacking free will or conviction or that they cannot be held responsible for their actions). As Pérez Sedeño aptly puts it in her work 'Terrorismo and estereotipos de género': '*Female terrorists will always be defined by their gender within society and within their terrorist organisation; they become weapons in the hands of the men and the terrorist organisation rather than an essential part of the infrastructure. As Orna Sasson-Levy (2003, p. 451) says, "men are the*

88. Personal interview.

89. Julliand, V. (2021). No más paneles dominados exclusivamente por hombres: Un nuevo compromiso de la ONU en Indonesia apunta a la normalización del equilibrio de género en los paneles de discusión. *Grupo de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo Sostenible. Blog de Acción 2030.*

90. Poloni-Staudinger, L., and Ortbals C. D. (2013). *Terrorism and Violent Conflict: Women's Agency, Leadership and Responses.* Springer, 13-31.

military, women are in the military."[91] However, we will not expand here on the role of female victimisers. Although the subject is of undoubted interest, as demonstrated by research published elsewhere, it lies outside the remit of this study. This study focuses on the victims, whose life project is destroyed or undermined by terrorism.

6.3.4. Female victims of terrorism and inequality

Tying in with the previous section, many of the experts consulted agree that when discussing society and culture, we should emphasise the importance of looking at the unequal treatment received by men and women, in which they are subjected to a system that imposes different expectations and cultural mandates from birth. Men are expected to be strong, dominant, intelligent, independent and oriented towards public and social success. Not fulfilling this gender mandate means not being an 'honest-to-God', 'proper' man. Women are expected to occupy domestic and private spaces, with no public voice, more susceptible to romantic love, as sensitive, self-sacrificing, caring, selfless mothers, with a natural gift for multitasking, devoid of authority for managerial positions and, in short, what in the collective imagination is known as 'the angel of the home'. If they do not fulfil this mandate, they are considered 'bad mothers', 'selfish' or 'unfeminine'.

The gender mandates that fall on women are the most debilitating for their own identity and, ultimately, the inequalities they suffer mean that the experience of confronting terrorism becomes an added oppression that undermines their dignity and hinders the reconstruction of personal identity, visibility and reparation of the harm caused.

To place this issue in context, one might begin with a recent example that has nothing to do with terrorist violence but is nonetheless revealing of a system that continues to hold sway. According to UN Women, the profound impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on our economies and societies has revealed society's dependence on women, both on the frontline and at home. At the same time, however, it has highlighted structural inequalities in all areas (economic, health and social security and protection). The authors argue that, in times of crisis, the effects of scarce resources and limited institutional capacity have a disproportionate impact on women. To give a significant example, women make up 70% of the global health workforce, particularly as nurses, midwives and community health workers, and represent the majority of service staff in health facilities as cleaners, laundry workers and caterers. However, women are often not taken into consideration in global or national decision making on the response to COVID-19. They continue to be paid less than their male counterparts and hold fewer leadership positions in the healthcare sector. Face masks and other protective equipment are

91. Pérez Sedeño, E. (2012). Terrorismo y estereotipos de género, *ISEGORÍA, Revista de Filosofía Moral and Política*, 46, 233-247.

designed and sized for men, putting women at greater risk of exposure. Moreover, it is women who continue to shoulder the greatest burden of professional and non-professional care. This, the authors conclude, is due to the very design of patriarchal structures and the consequent sex-based distribution of roles, which survive to a greater or lesser extent in different societies.[92]

For different reasons, at other difficult historical moments, such as when terrorist groups (fundamentally ETA), threatened coexistence within Spanish society and during the actions of so-called global jihadist terrorism, women have also proved to be the most fragile link. The impact of terrorism in each society on which it has left its mark cannot be measured in merely numerical terms, as a body count of the people who lost their lives in the different attacks. However shocking such a toll may be, it is only one of the statistical indicators by which we should measure the impact. Terrorism has also left in its wake a long trail of injured people, deferred deaths and broken families. And yet even *these* terrible figures do not give us the full picture. Other aspects also need to be taken into account. As Eva Mier Mendiguchía,[93] secretary for women and equality at the Comisiones Obreras de Navarra trade union, points out: 'The gender approach permeates many aspects that are difficult to quantify and that are revealed when we examine each particular case'. Among other aspects, she says, we should not

only consider those people who have been left in sole charge of minors, dependents, etc. as a result of terrorist actions; we should also study the geographical, cultural and religious context in order to assess the importance of greater or lesser exposure of women.

Along similar lines, María Cecilia Rita Villegas, in her study 'La violencia contra las mujeres en el marco del terrorismo de Estado en Argentina',[94] writes that 'thirty percent of the victims of the state terrorism exercised by the military/civil dictatorship installed in Argentina on 24 March 1976 were women, according to data compiled by the CONADEP (CONADEP, 1991, p. 294)'. This, she says was specific, systematic, planned and clearly-intentioned violence, based on pre-existing gender stereotypes that were exacerbated in that society. In this way, she says 'the role of women as housewives, mothers and wives was reinforced, with an emphasis on their reproductive, domestic and caregiving function. The discourse of state terrorism exacerbated the model of women as guarantors of the family unit, the basic cell of society. The only proper sphere for women was the private sphere. It also amplified the 'virgin-or-prostitute' dichotomy, linking female political and social activists to the negative prototype of 'free and sexually active bad mothers, bad wives and bad housewives'. In consequence, she notes, 'one of the most frequent insults hurled at them was"whores"'.

92. ONU Mujeres (s.f.). Los efectos del COVID-19 sobre las mujeres y las niñas. *ONU Mujeres.* [Website].

93. Personal communication.

94. Villegas, M. C. R. (2018). La violencia contra las mujeres en el marco del terrorismo de Estado en Argentina. *Revista Derechos en Acción*, año 3/n.° 9, 251-265.

Villegas also explains that the repressive methods used were different for women; in addition to torture, they also suffered sexual violence – practices that have been recognised since 2010 as crimes against humanity. As Rita Segato says, 'rape, as the forced and naturalised exaction of a sexual tribute, plays a necessary role in the symbolic reproduction of power whose mark is gender.'[95]

The experts consulted for this study agree that in repressive contexts such as these, sexual crimes have often been rendered invisible. They emphasise that the silence and invisibility form part of the same power structure and power relationships that made such violence possible. By analysing them from a gender perspective, it is possible to elucidate the gender structure and the implicit power relations in society, and at the same time, to review the legal conceptualisation of human rights. This social and institutional invisibility prevents the truth from being known, those responsible from being brought to justice and the victims from receiving reparation. In the specific case of Argentina, according to the same sources, the hierarchy of power between the genders endorsed sexual violence against women during the period in which state terrorism operated. Subsequently, with the incorporation of the gender perspective into the country's legislation, systematic

sexual aggressions have been re-categorised as human rights violations. As a result of this recognition, women who previously did not view themselves as victims of a crime against humanity or who felt ashamed or even guilty about acknowledging what had happened, have been emboldened to break their silence, with all the ensuing implications for truth and justice processes, and the consequent impact on policies on remembrance and reparation.

This confirms the importance of awareness, which runs in both directions between the individual and the collective. The Red Cross notes that Spanish society has been sustained by a family care model built on a gender-based division of labour, with most of the tasks related to caregiving and assistance for others (children, sick or disabled adults and the elderly) assigned to women.[96] This has resulted in widespread discrimination and inequality. As Joseba Eceolaza,[97] a columnist specialising in issues related to ETA violence and remembrance, notes: 'Situations of social exclusion and economic and social hardship have a more marked impact on women. Gender gaps are evident in society as a whole and they are most clearly manifested among women who have suffered terrorist violence. For this reason, it is necessary to reinforce housing, employment and psychological support programmes, since these are instruments that can alleviate the

95. Sonderéguer, M., Correa, V., Cassino, M., and González, A. (2011). Violencias de género en el terrorismo de Estado en América Latina. *Centro Cultural de la Memoria Haroldo Conti*, 2-7.
96. Cruz Roja (2019, November 4). El 89 por ciento de las personas cuidadoras es mujer. *Cruz Roja*, online, according to which, 89% of all caregivers in Spain are female (based on 2018 figures from the Sociedad Española de Geriatría y Gerontología and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC)).
97. Personal communication.

inequality suffered by women, which is all the greater in the case of women who have been the victims of terrorist violence'.

Initially, in Spain, the direct victims of the attacks were mostly men, due to the action of terrorist groups such as ETA, which primarily targeted members of the security forces and the armed forces, as well as prominent figures in politics, the judiciary, the business world and the media, among others – all areas to which women gained access later and always from the persistence of gender roles (such as those that assign women household chores and keep them away from decision-making positions). As we are seeing, these roles also mark the difference between the consequences of the attack on women and men, as well as on their environment. Thus, behind the appalling figures of those killed and injured stand large numbers of women left alone to look after their children and in some cases, to tend to the physical and/or psychological injuries suffered by the surviving spouse. And they have had to cope with this situation despite greater difficulty in accessing the labour market and the barriers imposed by the lack or insufficiency of reconciliation measures, amongst other conditioning factors.

One could cite any number of cases, most of which have never even been reported in the media and which have been diluted by silence. One incident that did make the press was reported by El Mundo newspaper under the headline: 'People see the dead person, but not what comes after the killing'. On 8 June

1986, ETA assassinated Civil Guard Corporal Antonio Ramos in Mondragón. At the time, his wife Carmen Rodríguez was expecting a baby and her intense trauma impacted the foetus she was carrying to such an extent that he was born with a profound disability and is currently institutionalised. Her other son, Alejandro, was five years old at the time and has scarcely no memories of his father. What he does remember, he tells the paper, was the constant sight of his mother lying in bed, plunged in depression. Alejandro subsequently took to drugs, although he has now recovered. On 11 February 2007, his mother, after eating her favourite mal (breaded veal), injected herself with an overdose of insulin in the kitchen. It was there, a few days before his birthday, that her son Alejandro found her body. Carmen's sister said: 'People see the dead person, but they don't see the rest; what is left behind after the killing, everything we have lived through, the gradual destruction of the family, the consequences that a crime has for everyone in their circle. They go and kill a man with four shots. After a while, how the family is getting on is no longer newsworthy'.[98] This ties in with what Irmgard Emmelhainz called 'seeing beyond the graves' and 'the temporality of the observed' and with the question Pablo Romero asked with regard to different representations of female victims: 'Have we not asked ourselves what lies behind those appraisals?'.

By including a gender perspective in the care and reparation of victims of terrorism, it would be possible not only to gather the

98. The information on this case has been taken from Simón, P. (2014, March 31). Los crímenes de ETA. *El Mundo*.

perception, experience, knowledge and interests of women and men who have suffered this type of violence, in order, by encouraging their participation, to influence the way policies, planning and decision-making are formulated,[99] but also to open the door to an understanding of the harm caused with its consequent impact on the narrative; It would tell us the stories buried behind accounts of yet another attack, stories like that of Maria Luisa Sanchez Ortega[100] from Bilbao who was returning home from her work as a cleaner at around 10:30 on the night of 18 February 1987. As she walked past a Renault dealership a large bomb, planted by ETA, went off. Maria Luisa was seriously injured: she lost both legs, suffered severe injury to the pubis, fractured ribs and severe burns to her face, which affected her eyeballs. A car from the roadside assistance association Detente and Ayuda (DYA) took the injured woman to Basurto hospital in Bilbao, where, following emergency surgery, she died shortly after 1:00 a.m. She was 60 years old. Her husband, Antonio Rodríguez, was ill, and her two children were unemployed. Once again, as Carmen Rodíguez's sister commented, 'People see the dead person, but they don't see the other, the one who is left behind after the killing'.[101]

At the same time, Jesús Díez Alcalde,[102] an army colonel and expert in international jihadist terrorism, stresses the importance of creating laws on victims of terrorism that take into account the specific needs of women, as well as strengthening their fundamental role – as activists and mediators– in the fight against terrorism. 'It is unquestionably necessary to consider and include the gender perspective in the fight against terrorism'. Moreover, he believes that 'we need to explore in greater depth the specific and particular circumstances of the victims: this is especially significant in the case of female victims. In particular, it is important to highlight the situation of female victims of terrorism who, although not the direct victims, 'not only lose a loved one, but in many cases are left with the task of raising their families whilst enduring unbearable grief. Furthermore, in the case of ETA violence, for too long they have had to live with an unpardonable social ostracism'.

As we have seen, one of the consequences of the impact of terrorism on the lives of the women and men who have suffered it is disability. In such cases, the individual necessarily has to reconstruct his or her identity and to do so alongside assumed gender roles, meaning that the outcomes are different depending on each person's specific circumstances. There is clear evidence that this condition affects women and men differently and that the way it is represented mentally and symbolically is

99. United Nations (2002). *Women, Peace and Security*. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000). United Nations, 4.

100. Covite (s.f.). María Luisa Sánchez Ortega, In *Mapa del Terror*, Covite. [Website].

101. Fundación Víctimas del Terrorismo (s.f.). María Luisa Sánchez Ortega. In *Memoria de vida. Homenaje a los hombres, mujeres and niños asesinados por la banda terrorista ETA: 1968-2010*. Fundación Víctimas del Terrorismo. [Website].

102. Personal communication.

also different, due to existing stereotypes and roles. This is why it is so important to analyse the relationship between gender and disability, as categories of social, historical, political and cultural construction that arise from a person's bodily characteristics (Díaz Castillo and Muñoz Borja, 2005).[103] Sexist stereotypes reinforce prejudices regarding disability (Shakespeare, 1998).[104] Disabled persons lose their status as subjects in the collective imaginary. The social significance of image is precisely one of the aspects that leads to a negative self-perception by victims, who overnight become not only victims, but also persons with disabilities. In particular, because they do not match the prototypes or aesthetic norms of the dominant culture and socially preestablished patterns, female victims who suffer a disability as a result of the attack will, among other aspects, have to face the consequences of the social stereotypes that they themselves, in general, end up internalising. As Grace Shum and Ángeles Conde[105] point out, women with disabilities, 'in addition to suffering vocational, emotional and relational discrimination, are denied the possibility of aspiring to some of the patterns traditionally linked to the female gender, as wives, mothers and caregivers, due to social prejudices about disability, which tend to view them as being sick and in need of care'. 'On many occasions,'

the authors write, 'the self-perception of these women is a reflection of social prejudice and a manifestation of how they are viewed by others'. If the disability is physical, the norms of beauty imposed on them will contribute to the formation of a negative perception of their body, and if the disability is mental, the label of 'madness' will eventually invade all spheres of their personality until they are completely cancelled out in the eyes of society. In the case of women, due to the prejudice of the society in which they live, disability becomes a reason for difficulty in exercising the caring role in which they have been socialised and, moreover, a further cause of discrimination in accessing the labour market.

Generally speaking, enormous progress has been made in social and political recognition of the right to equal opportunities and gender equality and the empowerment of women have now been enshrined among the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations 2030 Agenda and continue to be a fundamental objective for the European Union. Nonetheless, the progress made in reducing the different gender gaps has not been proportional. This will not require merely combating such gaps, but also achieving the recognition of both domestic work and caregiving (neither paid nor recognised as such) that continue to operate within the fra-

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103. Shakespeare, T. (1998). Poder y prejuicio: los temas de género, sexualidad y discapacidad. *Discapacidad y sociedad*, coord. Len Barton, 205-229. Díaz Castillo, L. Á., and Muñoz Borja, P. (2005). Implicaciones del género y la discapacidad en la construcción de identidad y la subjetividad. *Revista Ciencias de la Salud*, 3(2), 156-167.

104. Shakespeare, T. (1998). Poder y prejuicio: los temas de género, sexualidad y discapacidad. *Discapacidad y sociedad*, coord. Len Barton, 205-229.

105. Shum, G. and Conde, A. (2009, June). Género y discapacidad como moduladores de la identidad. *Feminismo/s*, n.° 13, 119-132.

mework of the informal economy, in the expectation that more inclusive and equitable and less discriminatory institutional frameworks will be achieved that better meet the challenges posed by such situations (Grau Pineda, 2020.)[106]

An important institutional and collective commitment is needed to break the chain of prejudice and to view disability as just another condition of human diversity that can even be viewed as a positive aspects of a person's life story, if society stops erecting barriers to the real attainment of that inclusion. For this reason, it is essential to examine the lived experience and everyday life of these individuals in order to detect possible differences in their restructuring as women or as men.[107]

6.4. Male victims of terrorism and traditional models of masculinity

6.4.1. The construction of male identity

This study places special emphasis on the victimisation of women and their undeniable social disadvantage, conditioned by gender roles and stereotypes. However, as George L. Mosse rightly says in 'The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity', it is not possible to change society without also taking into account the stereotype of modern masculinity: '*Without reference to it, for example, any history of female or gay liberation movements will be incomplete. Profiling men makes a welcome contribution to our understanding of the society in which we live, and in this way may provide some indications that lead to possible change.*'[108]

As already discussed throughout this paper, many of the characteristics that societies attribute to men and women, and which they classify as masculine or feminine, are neither biological nor natural, but are acquired through a complex process of social and individual learning (Lamas, 2000: 9.)[109] Therefore, as the United Nations has noted, despite the fact that in most societies, inclusion of the gender perspective in any planned activity in practice places particular emphasis on women as being more exposed to the violation of their rights, by definition, the incorporation of such a perspec-

106. Grau Pineda, M. C. (2020). Empleo doméstico y cuidadores informales: obstáculos para conciliar. In *Reflexiones sobre el empleo doméstico: De dónde venimos, dónde nos encontramos y hacia dónde vamos.* Departamento de Trabajo y Justicia, Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco, 103-122.

107. Shum, G., and Conde, A. (2009) Género y discapacidad como moduladores de la identidad. *Feminismo/s*, n.° 13, 119-132, from which we have taken the quotation from Shakespeare, T. (1998). Poder y prejuicio: los temas de género, sexualidad y discapacidad en Barton, *Discapacidad y sociedad.* Morata/ Fundación Paideia, 205-229. Díaz Castillo, L.A. and Muñoz Borja, P. (2005). Implicaciones del género y la discapacidad en la construcción de identidad y la subjetividad. *Revista Ciencias de la Salud*, vol.3, n.° 2, 156-167.

108. Mosse, G. L. (2000). *La imagen del hombre. La creación de la moderna masculinidad.* Talasa, 226.

109. Espinar, E. (2009). Infancia y socialización: estereotipos de género. *Revista Padres y Maestros*, n.° 326, 17-21.

tive is oriented towards an evaluation of the consequences for both women and men. Thus, a gender-based approach does not in any way exclude men, as is often mistakenly presumed. Indeed, quite the opposite is true. Otxotorena Fernández argues that if there is a hegemonic masculinity (the normative masculine ideal), i.e. a specific way in which men have been socialised, it follows that there are also certain subordinate masculinities that lie outside the orbit of this patriarchal way of viewing masculinity. A man has to prove his manhood every day in order to be considered as a man – that identity that is the measure of all things. He does so through a triple negation: he is not a woman, not a child and not a homosexual (Otxotorena, 2009).[110] As Fernández Llébrez notes, '*neither the masculine nor the feminine stereotype refer to any single woman or man, but to a specific way of being a man or a woman, characterised by dichotomies and heterodesignation, by what is considered to be active or passive, rational or emotional, heterosexual or homosexual. As a result, interpersonal relationships based on emotions, feelings, intuitions and physical contact will be seen, in accordance with the male stereotype, as feminine and will be avoided. This will affect men's relationships both with women and with other men. Thus a man who asks for help or relies on women is seen as displaying signs of weakness, incompetence and vulnerability that must be kept in check if he is to be considered a "real man".*'[111]

In this way, the normative masculine ideal is constructed on the basis of a series of restrictions (for example, 'men don't cry' or 'men are strong') that are part of a process of socialisation that validates the manhood of those who show the so-called attributes of masculinity and marginalises those who, for whatever reason, do not.

However, there are many factors that can 'alter' the process of incorporating such attributes or cause them to break down. One of these is the appearance of a mental or physical disability as the result of a terrorist attack or the fact of having to take on a caregiving role for which the man has not been socialised. In such cases, there may be a clash with his particular view of what 'manhood' is, as he has learned it.

Josetxu Riviere Aranda, an expert on equality, gender and masculinities,[112] notes that 'there is currently a less rigid idea of masculinity than in the past'. In his work 'Una aproximación a las masculinidades, la salud and los riesgos laborales' he notes that: 'Today we find more diversity within masculine identities, but ideas still persist that mark these masculine 'beliefs' and their social representations. Brannon and David summarise these imperatives as: "no sissy stuff; be a big wheel; be sturdy as an oak; and give 'em hell". The "must be" of men excludes emotional characteristics and abilities that are attributed to women and sets

110. Otxotorena Fernández, M. (2009). *Perspectiva de género con los hombres en procesos de cooperación al desarrollo.* Emakunde, Instituto Vasco de la Mujer, 139-153.

111. Fernández Llebrez, F. (2004). ¿Hombre de verdad? Estereotipo masculino, relaciones entre los géneros y ciudadanía. *Foro interno: anuario de teoría política*, n.° 4, 15-44.

112. Personal communication.

out the demands and conditions that must be met if they are not to fail as men.'[113]

Consulted about the theme of this study, Riviere stressed the importance of the relationship between the construct of traditional and hegemonic masculinities and the use of violence, the survival of traditional male models of resolving conflict through force (also reflected in terrorist violence) and the exploration of the role played by male victims of terrorism as caregivers. 'As in other social, political and economic aspects,' he notes, 'gender roles and stereotypes partly influence and determine the situation of people affected by terrorism. I think it is of particular interest to include the gender perspective both in the origin of terrorism and in the way in which victims of terrorism have experienced its consequences'.

Undoubtedly, the terrorist act creates a breach in the construct of male identity that merits a study in itself. Here, we will now focus on two specific aspects: the condition of acquired disability and the role of the caregiver.

6.4.2. Masculinity and acquired disability

In addressing how disability cuts across the male ideal of self-sufficiency and the effects this process has on men's mental health and acceptance of support when needed, it is essential to use an intersectional approach. It is important to analyse the impact of the terrorist act on the life of the man, in that he will unable to perform certain tasks as he did before, or even unable to perform them at all. Such tasks, formerly the pillars of his status in the three spheres of family, work and society, now become barriers to maintaining his identity as a man and a conflict arises with what he has learned about the qualities of provider and protector of the household as roles that pertain to his sex. This leads to a revolution in his life in which former roles may be inverted, with his children and/or wife or partner occupying the space he previously owned and filling the role of provider in his place. In such situations men are frequently overcome by feelings of invalidity that challenge their masculinity. They may react by withdrawing into themselves, becoming invisible and refusing outside help (King, Shields, Shakespeare, Milner and Kavanagh, 2019.)[114]

Díaz Castillo and Muñoz Borja underscore this idea, noting that men, in such circumstances, can be relegated to the private space, losing their dominant, protective and productive status, and be stripped by society of the predominant role that society itself had awarded them. They emphasise that this process of dispossession is influenced in different ways depending on the type of disability (physical,

113. Riviere Aranda, J. (2020). Una aproximación a las masculinidades, la salud y los riesgos laborales. *Cadernos de Psicoloxía*, vol. 37, 107-121.

114. King, T. L., Shields, M., Shakespeare, T., Milner, A., and Kavanagh, A. (2019). An intersectional approach to understandings of mental health inequalities among men with disability. *SSM - Population Health*, Vol. 9, 100464.

mental, sensory or cognitive) and the moment in which it is acquired, since these two aspects directly influence the process of construction of their subjectivity. This subjectivity, they conclude, will be affected by the stereotypes associated with people with disabilities (predominantly involving their being infantilised and they may be seen, for example, as 'asexual' beings, lacking 'potencies' and 'sexual needs.'[115] In the masculine representations found in certain discourses related to disability, Navone sees a tension with respect to the hegemonic norms of masculinity, which may be summed up in the three imperatives of providing, protecting and fertilising.[116] Such representations, which are fundamental to the construction of masculine identities, inevitably interfere in processes of full rehabilitation. To this is added an experience of vulnerability in the face of violence that the victim has been unable to 'face down', 'avoid' or 'overcome', which leaves a deep scar on the man's vision of himself and his position in the world.

According to a report by the Spanish Red Cross, 'El enfoque de género en la intervención socia', social norms that are imposed on what masculinity should be (being tough, not showing feelings, being strong, etc.) limit the personal and social development of those men who do not conform to this mould and they suffer the adverse effects of not complying

with the model of hegemonic masculinity. Such adverse effects range from various forms of discrimination to effects on 'their health and quality of life as a result of assuming such prejudices and stereotypes about masculinity'.

The report also highlights the importance of taking into account the relational dimension of inequality, since on many occasions the disadvantages suffered by women are due to their position *vis-à-vis* men. If an action is taken that only considers women in isolation, the result is very likely to have less impact and be less effective than anticipated. For all of these reasons, according to the organisation, gender analysis must also extend to the masculine gender.[117]

6.4.3. The caregiving man

Combined with a progressive aging of the population, among other factors, in many Western societies the effects of terrorism have resulted in a considerable rise in the number of people dependent on third-party care. While in many cases there are options for institutionalised (or formal) care, in many societies family care remains the predominant model, with resulting imbalances in the life of the caregiver (for example in their employment, health, leisure or

115. Díaz Castillo, L. A. and Muñoz Borja, P. (2005). Implicaciones del género y la discapacidad en la construcción de identidad y la subjetividad. *Revista Ciencias de la Salud*, vol.3, n.° 2, 156-167.

116. Navone, S. L. (2018). Norma, integración y desafío. Representaciones masculinas de varones con discapacidad física. *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad Revista Latinoamericana*, n.° 29, 75-98.

117. López Méndez, I. (2007). *El enfoque de género en la intervención social*. Cruz Roja, 13-35.

social life.)[118] Culturally, this work is still mostly assigned to women. However, there are also male caregivers and it is important to examine the particular features pertaining to them.

Male caregivers of people with disabilities, according to Meza Rosero, still constitute a minority that blurs the historical gender roles whereby men were left to perform the tasks of sustenance and strength. His study on the experiences of such people shows that men who are assigned the role of caregivers suffer processes of transformation and are conditioned by the need and non-availability of a woman to perform that role. At a social level, the reaction to the figure of the male caregiver ranges, depending on the context, from hypervaluation to undervaluation of his role. In both cases, his true needs are not detected. Therefore, incorporating a gender approach into the fulfilment of these functions is of key importance for generating a process whereby men can build an identity as caregivers.[119]

Along similar lines, a study conducted in 2016 by researchers at the University of Valencia reveals a gender differentiating factor in the positioning of the caregiver. Male caregivers are more likely to seek external resources and services than women, since women tend to assume 'this responsibility alone, with the stoicism of those who know they have no choice' and 'feel that this work forms part of their "natural" functions', considering that 'it is not permissible for them to transfer this responsibility to other people'. Like many other studies, this work recognises that men still have little input in the tasks of caring for dependents. It is essential to revalue such work, implementing interdisciplinary preventive and supportive actions that will help support caregivers, rethinking means of caring that generate community bonds, designing effective measures to promote their welfare from a holistic perspective of the effects at a physical, emotional and psychological level, and promoting effective public policies that make all of this possible.[120]

Like other studies too, researchers find that the gender gap in the care burden may also be the result of the different ways that men and women cope with that burden, even under similar conditions (Hong & Coogle, 2016).[121] Lifelong structural inequality influences how men and women approach care work,

118. Toledo Sepulcre, B. (2020). Evolución de la prevalencia de género y edad en el cuidador familiar. Intervenciones enfermeras. Departamento de Enfermería Comunitaria, Medicina Preventiva y Salud Pública e Historia de la Ciencia. *Universidad de Alicante*, 13-19.

119. Meza Rosero, E. H. (2016). *Experiencias de hombres cuidadores de personas con discapacidad: Recorridos desde la masculinidad.* Corporación Universitaria Iberoamericana, 18-41.

120. Rodríguez del Pino, J. A., Samper Gras, T., Marín Traura, S. and Aguado Hernández, J.A. (2018). Hombres en cuidado. Narraciones de cuidadores masculinos informales en Valencia. Investigación and Género. Reflexiones desde la investigación para avanzar en igualdad. *VII Congreso Universitario Internacional Investigación and Género.* 673-685.

121. Hong, S., and Coogle, C. L. (July, 2016). Spousal Caregiving for Partners With Dementia: A Deductive Literature Review Testing Calasanti's Gendered View of Care Work. *J Appl Gerontol*, 35(7), 759-787.

the stress they face, and how they cope with such stressors. Because the course of men's lives tends to develop around paid employment, they generally feel less responsible for care-related tasks, unlike women who, during their lifetime, place more emphasis on care and nurturing (Calasanti, 2010).[122] Indeed, among other aspects, the experience of receiving third-party help has also been different, with men viewing the receipt of such support as a relief, while women may feel a certain loss of autonomy in their role as caregivers.[123]

Unfortunately, there are still few studies analysing from a gender perspective the influence of informal caregiver support networks that facilitate the development of strategies that do not reinforce traditional gender roles, but encourage greater shared responsibility between all parties.[124]

122. Calasanti, T. (2010, October). Gender Relations and Applied Research on Aging. *The Gerontologist*, 50(6), 720-734.

123. Swinkels, J., van Tilburg, T., Verbakel, E., and van Groenou, M. B. (2017). Explaining the Gender Gap in the Caregiving Burden of Partner Caregivers. *The Journals of Gerontology*, series B, vol.74, Issue 2, 309-317.

124. Rodríguez Madrid, M. N., Del Río Lozano, M., Fernández Peña, R., Jiménez Pernett, J., García Mochón, L., Lupiáñez Castillo, A. and García Calvente, M. M. (2019). Gender Differences in Social Support Received by Informal Caregivers: A Personal Network Analysis Approach. Internaational Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 16 (1), 91.

07.

Integration of the gender perspective in regulations and in the design and management of policies, programmes and projects

7.1. Approach to gender analysis

The gender analysis is an essential tool for determining how actions will affect women and men, allowing them to be tailored to their specific circumstances and needs. Any planned action (regulation, policy, programme or project) may initially appear to be drafted in a gender-neutral way but when it comes to implementation, generate unequal results for women and men. This occurs when there is no measurement of the impact of such actions and, therefore, no corrective measures can be designed to prevent harmful situations for the target group. To avoid undesirable effects of this nature, it is necessary to determine the gender relevance of regulations, policies, programmes and projects that affect the victims of terrorism. For this purpose, it is essential that the following aspects are analysed:[125]

· Identification of the persons to whom the action is targeted: whether it affects only women, only men or both.

· Identification of possible inequalities in the situation and position of one group or the other, whether the action affects them directly or indirectly.

· Identification of possible differences in the effect on women and men, as well as on gender relations.

In other words, it is necessary to measure the gender impact of actions planned by public authorities, organisations and agents for the protection, recognition and remembrance of victims of terrorism. Such actions can bring about changes in gender relations, even in the most unintended cases.

However, in order to undertake this task with at least some hope of success, political, technical, material and human resources are required. This in turn, involves, on the one hand, a process of internal change within the different (public and private) organisations to ensure systematic integration of gender equality; and, on the other, an external manifestation that this integration has taken place, through the actions that affect target groups. In short, gender analysis is a technical tool that favours a better understanding of the real situation, but it also has a political aspect, since its ultimate objective is to highlight inequalities that might be impacted by the actions and/ or to prevent exacerbating existing inequalities or creating new ones, leading to an improvement

125. Red de Unidades de Género de los Grupos de Acción Local ADI EL ZANCARA, ADIMAN and PRODESE (s.f.). *Guía para la elaboración de informes con enfoque de género. Red de Unidades de Género de los Grupos de Acción Local ADI EL ZANCARA, ADIMAN and PRODESE*, 8-27.

in the quality of interventions from an equity perspective.[126] As Inés Gaviria,[127] journalist and Press and Projects Manager at COVITE, rightly notes: 'It would be helpful to review public policies targeting victims of terrorism from a gender perspective and to incorporate this perspective into future actions. The more mechanisms that exist in such policies to determine the specific circumstances of each victim (gender, age, religion, disability or any other personal or social circumstance) and their needs, the more effective they will be'.

7.2. Responsibility of public authorities

The gender perspective must be built into the design of all public policies, with indicators introduced that make it possible to monitor the evolution of a range of aspects related to inequality between the sexes as a consequence of gender roles.

In Spain, Article 20 of Organic Law 3/2007 of 22 March 2007 for the effective equality of women and men, specifically mentions effective integration of the gender perspective in the ordinary activities of public authorities, for which they are required to:

·   *Systematically include the sex variable in any statistics, surveys and data collection they carry out.*

·   *Establish and include in all statistical operations new indicators that allow for a better understanding of the differences in the values, roles, situations, conditions, aspirations and needs of women and men and their manifestation and interaction in the situation under analysis.*

·   *Design and introduce the necessary indicators and mechanisms to determine the incidence of other variables that generate situations of multiple discrimination in the different areas of intervention.*

·   *Conduct sufficiently large samples to enable the different variables included to be used and analysed according to the sex variable.*

·   *Use the available data so that the different situations, conditions, aspirations and needs of women and men in the different areas of intervention can be identified.*

·   *Review and, if necessary, adapt existing statistical definitions in order to contribute to a recognition and valuation of women's work and avoid negative stereotyping of certain groups of women'.*

This provision allows that in exceptional circumstances, non-compliance with any of these requirements may be justified by means of a reasoned report approved by the competent body.

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126. López Méndez, I. (2007*). El enfoque de género en la intervención social. Cruz Roja, 13-37.
127. Personal interview.

Article 19 of the regulation also stipulates that:

'Draft provisions of a general nature and plans of special economic, social, cultural and artistic relevance submitted to the Council of Ministers for approval must include a report on their gender impact'.

Finally, Article 15 establishes that it is the duty of the public authorities to adopt gender mainstreaming as a strategy for achieving equality between women and men in public policies:

'The principle of equal treatment and opportunities between women and men shall inform the actions of all public authorities on a cross-cutting basis. Public administrations shall actively integrate this principle in the adoption and execution of their regulatory provisions, in the definition and budgeting of public policies in all areas and in the pursuance of all their activities'.

As the Institute for Women states: '*Gender mainstreaming is an effective strategy for advancing the achievement of equality between women and men in public policies and contributes to eliminating gender inequalities, correcting working procedures and methods, and promoting trends of social change. It is not a question* of sporadic application of specific measures but of applying mainstreamed gender policies that involve a structural and social change.'[128]

This means placing equality between women and men at the centre of all actions, including public budgets. It involves integrating gender issues into the political agenda and reorienting decision-making mechanisms through the definition of new technical procedures within the institutions themselves. The objective is to change the dynamics of institutional action, so that regulatory or executive decisions are adopted on the basis of a prior analysis of their differential impact on different groups of women and men (De la Cruz, 2009.)[129]

Ultimately, the purpose is to ensure that after suffering this extreme and definitive form of violence, which marks a turning-point in their lives, the victims of terrorism should not subsequently have to endure others, such as the institutional or social violence to which they may be subjected when they become objects (i.e. part of the generic whole of 'victims') rather than subjects of attention, with their own singular and specific circumstances. Women and men have different needs and there are inequalities in their relations with each other and with their surroundings that cannot be ignored in regulations, policies, programmes or projects designed to protect, recognise and commemorate the victims of terrorism.

128. Instituto de las Mujeres, Ministerio de Igualdad (Gobierno de España) (s.f.). Programa Mainstreaming de Género. *Instituto de las Mujeres.* [Website].
129. De la Cruz, C. (1998). Guía metodológica para integrar la perspectiva de género en proyectos y programas de desarrollo. Emakunde-Instituto Vasco de la Mujer, 47-101.

7.3. Gender mainstreaming in public policies directed towards victims of terrorism

As can be seen, the impact of terrorism on the lives of individuals and on society as a whole has been so extensive that, in order to be able to assess or determine the full extent of the harm caused, we need to address the issue with our eyes wide open. And to do that, it is essential to educate our gaze. For all of these reasons, it is vital to adopt a systemic conception and understand the difference in the processes people undergo depending on their sex.[130] In this regard, the gender approach encompasses all aspects of a human being highly conditioned by the society in which he or she lives and makes it possible to detect, explain and address the differences imposed on the basis of sex. Alejandra Monge Arias,[131] who was the Coordinator of the Access to Justice Unit of the Judiciary of Costa Rica and Executive Secretary of the Brasilia Rules Monitoring Committee of the Ibero-American Judicial Summit (2016-2018), says that 'although the rules, policies, programmes or projects that are developed and implemented should contain general guidelines to favour the rights of all victims, some victims are in a more vulnerable condition than others. Bringing visibility to their particular situation aids in identifying their specific needs and the specialised attention they require. This process of individualisation should also extend to the victims of terrorism, since each of them faces a particular situation'. Therefore, she says, 'the analysis should be carried out from a gender perspective'.

As noted in Section 4 of this study, the Council of Europe defines gender mainstreaming as 'the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making.'[132] The starting point for the gender mainstreaming strategy is a recognition that the institutionalised practices of the state itself contain a gender bias arising out of dynamics associated with the traditional construction of the masculine and feminine in a specific time and social context. It is not enough, therefore, to accept a rhetorical commitment to equality. All public policies must be reviewed to correct this bias and actively incorporate this principle. Thus, based on the premise that no action is gender neutral, incorporation of the gender perspective requires a conscious decision leading to a political commitment to mobilise the entire institutional structure. This means that any actions to be undertaken and targets to be achieved must be reviewed on the basis of a preliminary analysis of the differential

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130. Rodríguez Zúñiga, M. J. (2002). Una espada de doble filo: Masculinidad y el hombre con discapacidad. Revista de Trabajo Social CCSS, n.° 64, 61-72.

131. Personal communication.

132. Instituto de las Mujeres, Ministerio de Igualdad (Gobierno de España) (s.f.). Programa Mainstreaming de Género. *Instituto de las Mujeres*. [Website].

(positive or negative) impact they will have on the lives of women, men, girls and boys and the fulfilment of their rights.[133]

As is the case more generally, making such changes in policies affecting victims of terrorism requires design and implementation of specific strategies, together with evaluations interrelating policies and programmes. This will make it possible to detect their weaknesses, opportunities and contradictions from a cross-cutting approach. This task also involves developing suitable tools, including impact reports/assessments, indicators and gender budgets. [134]

This mainstreaming process will affect all four stages of the public policy cycle:[135]

Identification or diagnosis

This is the phase in which a social issue is classed as a public problem, linking gender inequalities with the problem identified and determining what contents the diagnosis needs to take into consideration, the areas of intervention and the key stakeholders. The aim is to identify differences in relation to: the gender composition of the population or the group targeted by the policy; access or distribution (e.g. time, space, information, money or qualifications); the influence of the gender role and the different value attributed socially to the attitudes and behaviour of women and men; and direct or indirect sex-based discrimination that leads to inequalities in the effective exercise of rights.

Formulation or design

This is the point at which an intervention model is defined for the public problem identified, and objectives, measures, processes, resources and indicators are determined. This phase should include a pre-implementation assessment of the short-, medium- and long-term impact, as well as the direct and indirect effects of the policy on the target population.

At this stage, it is also necessary to determine whether the voice of women and/or

133. Biencinto López, N. and González González, A. (2010). *La transversalidad de género. Métodos y técnicas.* Instituto Andaluz de la Mujer, 65-84. Alfama, E. and Cruells, M. (2013). Experiencias y reflexiones sobre la transversalidad en las políticas de igualdad de género. In Canal i Oliveras, R. (Ed.), *Ciudades and pueblos que puedan durar: políticas locales para una nueva época.* Icaria, col. Akademeia, n.° 143, 355-369. Sánchez, A. (2017). Transversalidad e impacto de género: de las políticas a los programas. Estudio de caso en las Islas Canarias. Rev. *Cuestiones de género: de la igualdad y la diferencia.* Universidad de León, n.° 12, 287-306. Espinosa Fajardo, J. (2018). *Guía de género para políticas públicas más transformadoras. Orientaciones para el análisis and la incidencia política.* Observatorio de Género sobre Economía, Política y Desarrollo (GEP&DO), 6-27. AECID (2015). *Guía de la AECID para la Transversalización del Enfoque de Género.* Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID), 10-58. AECID and Embajada de España en Colombia, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (s.f.). *Transversalidad del enfoque de género y derechos de las mujeres.* Decálogo [Pamphlet]. AECID and Embajada de España en Colombia, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional.
134. *Ibid.*
135. The four stages described are taken from: Biencinto López, N. and González González, A., *Loc. Cit.* Alfama, E. and Cruells, M., *Loc. Cit.* Espinosa Fajardo, J., *Loc. Cit.* AECID, *Loc. Cit.*

key stakeholders in equality-related issues has been included, and whether the institutional structures for equality participate and have the resources to do so.

Execution or implementation

This is the point at which the different activities previously planned are implemented.

Monitoring and evaluation

In this phase, which may extend throughout the policy cycle, the aim is to analyse how the policy is being managed and implemented. From a gender perspective, it will be necessary to check whether monitoring and evaluation mechanisms have been put in place to facilitate accountability, learning and improvement, setting out the progress and challenges in terms of gender equality. For this purpose, it will be very important to assess what voices are included, what spaces for participation have been defined, what institutional structures for equality are involved and what resources are available.

All of the foregoing requires the creation of relevant instruments for planning, verification and evaluation of the gender impact. However it will also be necessary to create the necessary conditions for preparing and managing these instruments – i.e. the resources for implementation, including not only financial re-sources, but also resources for specialist advice. This includes gender equality training, awareness and sensitisation of the teams responsible within the organisation.

Incorporating the gender perspective therefore entails adopting a vision that matches all facets of the real situation and providing the means to transform it in coherence with the real needs of people (women or men). The aim is to give each person what he or she needs, based on principles of equality and equity, improving the quality and impact of regulations, policies, programmes and projects. This extends beyond actions that can be specifically classified as equality and extends to all facets affecting human life. Therefore, the gender approach needs to be decisively incorporated into all public policies, since excessive compartmentalisation can only lead to inconsistency and inequality, negatively affecting the lives of women and men, depending on their specific circumstances (Gonzalez and Segales, 2014)[136]. The aim is to achieve structural and social changes through public policies that promote progress in achieving equality between women and men, eliminating gender inequalities, correcting working procedures and methods and promoting trends of social change.[137] In this way, many of the adverse effects described in previous sections and suffered by female and male victims of terrorism can be alleviated or even eliminated.

136. González, E. and Segales, M. (2014). Women, gender equality and the economic crisis in Spain. *Women and Austerity. The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality.* Karamessini, M. and Rubery, J. (Eds.). Routledge, 228-247.

137. Lombardo, E. and León, M. (2014). *Políticas de igualdad de género and sociales en España: origen, desarrollo and desmantelamiento en un contexto de crisis económica.* Instituto de la Mujer, Investigaciones Feministas, vol. 5, 13-35.

7.4. Gender-sensitive reparation

7.4.1. Some preliminary concepts

For victims of terrorism, reparation is an essential part of the process of achieving effective justice. Terrorist acts are a serious violation of human rights and the right to reparation, to as great an extent as possible, is enshrined in International Human Rights Law as a fundamental catalyst of victims' interests, which must be guaranteed and safeguarded by the public authorities.

Due to the very nature of the serious damage caused by terrorism, the issue of reparation in this area needs to be dealt with in a way that transcends economic/financial aspects, catering to less tangible aspects that address the individual in a comprehensive and specific manner, as well as contributing to creating the necessary collective awareness. It is true that the human rights violations caused by terrorist acts are generally irreparable. However, it is precisely this dimension of the damage that makes it imperative, if the obligation to promote access to justice for

victims is to be fulfilled, to conduct a complete and adequate investigation and, once the perpetrators have been identified, to determine clearly their liability.

However, many authorities often overlook the human component, i.e. the perspective of the victim in the broad sense of the word, viewing victims as a 'nuisance'[138] and neglecting the fact that terrorist actions breach human rights and that the victims are entitled to have such rights safeguarded and guaranteed.[139] We cannot ignore the fact that the terrorist act has a dual dimension: individual and collective. Therefore, while it is true that the harm caused to the victim transcends his or her own individuality and affects society as a whole (which has a right to peace and security), it is also true that the collective right cannot, in any salutary way, be strengthened through the absolute denial of the rights of those who have suffered the damage, directly or indirectly. That would imply a corruption of the principles and values that must underpin the future of any society and would exacerbate the vulnerability of the victims. Therefore, the reaction to aggression must be accompanied by a large degree of balance in order to protect all the converging interests, taking as its reference point the interests of the most vulnerable, since what happens to them has a tremendous symbolic charge. In other words, it defines society's

138. Van Boven, T. (1993). *Study concerning the right to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms*. Final report submitted, Special Rapporteur. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/8, 2 July 1993. United Nations, 1-63.

139. Vacas Fernández, F. (2009). Derechos humanos y víctimas del terrorismo. In *La aplicación del derecho internacional de los derechos humanos en el derecho* español. Fernando M. Mariño Menéndez (Coord.). Co-published by Universidad Carlos III de Madrid and el Boletín Oficial del Estado, 103-135.

95

tolerance of the use of violence as a means of imposing projects of any kind, be they political, religious, or of any other kind.[140] Indeed, being the victim of terrorism has a dual dimension in that the individual in question is reduced to a mere instrument in the hands of terrorists as part of their strategy of imposing their aims through the use of violence. This is a tactic of dehumanisation that infringes not only the most essential rights of the victim as an individual, but also the interests of the collective. For this reason, Beristain Ipiña notes, victims of terrorism deserve to be called macro-victims.[141]

In order to understand the concepts of reparation and damage, it is essential to identify which legal assets are at stake. And this must be done by giving the victim a greater role than is traditional, based on a consideration of his or her subjective rights, in perfect consonance with the principles and guarantees of criminal law and, thus with the protection of protected legal assets and the guarantees that the perpetrator of the acts may enjoy. Beyond maintaining the established socio-legal order, and beyond the preventive purposes of punishment, the primary function of criminal law is to protect fundamental legal assets for society, which is the place upon which the interests of individual themselves are built.[142] The leading role in the prosecution of crime

(material and formal) is assumed by the state as the guarantor of legal peace.[143] The failure to protect the rights of the victim and to establish adequate legal channels to enforce them during the process leads to what is called secondary victimisation, that is to say, an unnecessary increase in the harm caused as a result of the passage of time and the course of the procedure itself. Institutional neglect thus contributes to aggravating the psychological harm to the victim whose human rights have been violated and to making its effects chronic.[144]

A system is therefore needed that views victims in the round, without reducing them to a label to be stuck over all their other characteristics and conditions as individuals. Being a man or a woman is one such condition and as we have seen, it has different consequences that determine the individuals' lives prior to the attack and to an even greater extent, condition their lives after it. Reparation with a gender perspective for victims of terrorism entails designing and implementing mechanisms that are sufficient and appropriate to their specific needs, the harm suffered and their specific situation. The aim should be to create gender-sensitive rules and policies that have a truly transformative effect and that effectively repair the harm caused. This can only be achieved through an integral consideration of the individual and his

140. Bueno Arús, F. (2009). *Terrorismo: Algunas cuestiones pendientes.* Tirant lo Blanch,18-126.

141. Beristain Ipiña, A. (2004). *Protagonismo de las víctimas de hoy y mañana.* Tirant lo Blanch, 34-35.

142. Galain Palermo, P. (2010). *La reparación del daño a la víctima del delito.* Tirant lo Blanch,145-146.

143. *Ibid.*

144. Varona Martínez, G. (2009, June). *Atención Institucional a las Víctimas del Terrorismo en Euskadi.* Informe extraordinario de la institución del Ararteko al Parlamento Vasco, 597-599.

or her specific circumstances at an individual, family, community and social level.[145]

7.4.2. Implementation of the gender perspective in the reparation process

As already mentioned, the fundamental principle inspiring this entire process should be not to cause additional harm to the victims. This requires respectful and dignified treatment from the outset. Following on from here, a gender-sensitive reparation process depends, fundamentally, on the capacity of such mechanisms to incorporate this perspective and thus to identify more precisely the harm caused, as well as advancing the programmes for reparation and reconstruction of the damaged social fabric. This is the only way that the longed-for social peace can be attained with a minimum guarantee of success.

To achieve this, a series of tools should be created that contribute to building a gender-sensitive process:[146]

· Formation of a research team specialising in victims of terrorism, including professionals with sufficient and appropriate training in gender issues.

· Development and implementation of training processes and continuous evaluation systems that help detect and eradicate any ingrained gender bias among the staff of the respective organisations. This will enable cross-cutting analyses and evaluations to be made of the real situation of the victims of terrorism.

· Creation of gender-sensitive monitoring, mentoring and support systems.

· Design of a database, recording not only harm related to loss of life or physical injuries, but also that related to the psychological impact or the incidence of other pathologies such as cancer; as well as the impact on sexual and reproductive rights; miscarriages caused in or following the attack; the impact on gestation of the foetus, and the impact on the victim's relationships with her or his environment (partner, family, community, etc.).

· Design of a dissemination strategy, clearly articulated with civil society organisations that provide support networks to victims of terrorism, for the purposes of creating spaces for attention and resources with a gender-sensitive approach.

· Creation of tools that facilitate evaluation and analysis of the real situation, with an emphasis on aspects related to sex and gender.

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145. Gilmore, S., Guillerot, J. and Sandoval, C. (2020). *Beyond Silence and Stigma - Crafting a Gender-Sensitive Approach for Victims of Sexual Violence in Domestic* Reparation Programmes. Moffett, L. (Ed.). Queen's University Belfast, 8-20.

146. López Méndez, I. (2007). *El enfoque de género en la intervención social.* Cruz Roja, 13-95.

08.

What the victims and experts think

8. What the victims and experts think

8.1. A preliminary reflection on processes of invisibilisation

In any form of terrorist victimisation, according to Subijana Zunzunegui, there are two concurrent meanings, one factual and the other hermeneutical. The factual meaning focuses on the actual evidence: an event occurred. The hermeneutic one is based on the meaning of that fact, i.e. what that event signifies and what it conveys. It is at this second level that memory becomes especially relevant because, on many occasions, the victimiser seeks to make the victims invisible as a strategy for hiding his or her position as a victimiser.[147] Maite Pagazaurtundúa[148] is a Member of the European Parliament and the sister of Joseba Pagazaurtundúa (chief of the local police of Andoáin, murdered by ETA in 2003). Referring to the effects of attacks by this terrorist organisation, she notes: '*It is a type of crime that generates a lot of re-victimisation. It is important to remember that the circle associated with the perpetrators continues to do a lot of damage with its strategy of public presence, legitimisation and its attempt to assert equal status with the victims and to achieve impunity*'. She adds, '*a study of the re-victimisation of victims of ethno-nationalist terrorism is greatly needed. Its consequences are causing considerable harm to many families.*'

However, the use of invisibilisation is not the exclusive patrimony of the perpetrators and their associates; pubic institutions, consciously or unconsciously, also do the same in their day-to-day activities. Irma Hernández López, a psychologist specialising in criminalistics, explains: '*Invisibilisation is an action that has a cognitive component. The practice of invisibilisation is created and reproduced within an institutional framework. And it is precisely within institutions that it is important to identify these processes of invisibilisation in order to propose actions that seek to eradicate such practices, which harm both individuals and the institutions themselves.*'[149]

147. Subijana Zunzunegui, I. J. (2014). Víctimas, Memoria y Justicia (A propósito de la victimización terrorista). *EGUZKILORE*, 28, 177-182.
148. Personal communication.
149. Hernández, I. (2020). La invisibilización como metáfora: Una categoría de análisis para identificar el proceso de invisibilización en problemáticas sociales. *Trama, Revista de ciencias sociales y humanidades*, vol. 9, (1), January-June, 100-131.

She describes the invisibilisation process in three stages:

· 	Stereotyping, i.e., 'more or less structured beliefs in the mind of a subject about a social group' (Paéz, 2004, 760)[150], which contain a value load. As Hernández López notes, 'these are precognitions that tend to be generalised and it is taken for granted that stereotyped groups have certain specific characteristics that endure over time and generate prejudice against certain social groups'. One component of stereotyping is, for example, the ethnocentric position.

· 	Symbolic violence, i.e. the indirect, non-physical violence that goes unevidenced, unperceived and unrecognised, and which is exercised by the dominator over the dominated (Bourdieu, cited in Fernández, 2005)[151], where the latter are unaware of this violence.

· 	Delegitimisation, i.e. the negative qualification that leads to a dehumanisation of the stereotyped group.

Victims of terrorism are swept along by the force of these currents in which women, moreover, socialised in a context that tends to displace them from the public space, are more easily diluted. A paradigmatic example is that of Guadalupe Redondo Vian. On the morning of 29 July 1979, ETA detonated a series of bombs in Madrid, at Barajas Airport and at Chamartín and Atocha train stations, killing seven people and injuring nearly a hundred. One of the fatalities was Guadalupe, a housewife, who at the time of the explosion was at Chamartín station with her husband, Gonzalo, a retired national police officer, who died four days later, and their daughter, Carmen, who survived despite serious injuries.[152] Their home city, León, dedicated a street to the couple, renaming it: 'Calle de Gonzalo Rey Ámez and esposa (Gonzalo Rey Ámez and Wife Street)'. In other words, one life had a name of its own and the other was anonymised and would have been erased from the collective memory had it not been for the strenuous efforts of their dau-

150. Páez, D. (2004). Relaciones intergrupales. In Fernández Sedano, I., Ubillos Landa, S., Zubieta, E. M. and Páez Rovira, D. (Coord.). *Psicología Social, Cultura y Educación.* Pearson Educación, 752-768.

151. Fernández Fernández, J. M. (2005). La noción de violencia simbólica en la obra de Pierre Bourdieu: una aproximación crítica. *Cuadernos de Trabajo Social*, n.° 18, 7-31.

152. Covite (s.f.). Guadalupe Redondo Vian. In *Mapa del terror*. Covite [Website].

ghter Carmen who finally in 2017, succeeded in having the street renamed 'Calle del Matrimonio Rey Redondo'[153] (Rey/Redondo Street).

What happened to Guadalupe Redondo is not an isolated event. The erasure of history and the time it took to restore her to her rightful place are just the tip of the iceberg of something deeper: the perpetuation and maintenance of stereotypes about women and structural gender inequality. This is a sort of institutional legitimisation of a historical condition of inequity which, by giving it an aura of universality, makes all manifestations of discrimination invisible, minimising the facts or denying that, even today, the reality speaks with a 'strong male accent' and is based on conventions that are grounded on reiteration rather than any logical argumentation (Martínez-Herrera, 2007).[154] This dominant vision goes beyond any simple mental representation, 'it is a system of structures inscribed in bodies and things' (Bourdieu, 2000).[155] These structures guide institutional action and permeate all layers of the social fabric.

As for the consequences of these processes of invisibilisation and, especially, the effects of their associated ethnocentrism, José Antonio Pérez Pérez[156] –a member of the Valentín Foronda University Institute of Social History who holds a PhD in Contemporary History from the University of the Basque Country– says that '*most of the women who were directly affected by terrorism in Spain, especially during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, endured a truly distressing situation, especially the widows of members of the state security forces killed in the Basque Country. (…) The disregard and (social, economic, affective) abandonment they suffered during those years has not been compensated for, despite the introduction of the new laws*'. And he concludes, '*Most of society, especially the younger generations, are unaware of their suffering and the terrible conditions these women had to face in raising their families. (…) For this reason, I believe that it is essential to foster projects that take the gender perspective into account.*'

153. Caballero, A. (2017, June 2nd). León corrige la calle 'Gonzalo Rey and esposa' para nombrar a la mujer. *Diario de León.*
154. Martínez-Herrera, M. (2007). La construcción de la feminidad: la mujer como sujeto de la historia and como sujeto de deseo. *Actualidades en psicología,* 21(108), 79-95.
155. Citado en Martínez-Herrera, M. (2007). La construcción de la feminidad: la mujer como sujeto de la historia and como sujeto de deseo.
156. Personal communication.

8.2. Victimisation and gender: conditions of vulnerability that may hinder or prevent access to justice

The United Nations has published multiple documents on the application and inclusion of the gender perspective in the fight against terrorism, analysing the different roles of women, both as terrorists (female perpetrators, instigators or participants) and victims of terrorism; as well as a number of studies that reveal the gender-based violence suffered by women as a result of terrorist acts in different countries around the world and their difficulties in accessing justice.[157] In relation to this last aspect, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) is very clear; in its publication 'Handbook on Gender Dimensions of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism', it says that women face a series of barriers to accessing justice created by social, economic and cultural practices that reinforce the structural gender inequality. Furthermore, it says, the gender perspective has traditionally been ignored in the design and implementation of reparation mechanisms, preventing effective access to women. It is therefore necessary to develop gender-sensitive reparations programmes that support equality and non-discrimination in access to reparations, recognise the gender perspective when determining the harm and respond to the needs of victims in a gender-sensitive manner.[158]

157. The website of the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) reports that it is implementing a partnership project with UN Women entitled "Reforma del Sector de la Seguridad en una Era de Terrorismo and Extremismo Violento: los Derechos de las Mujeres en la Región del Sahel". Oficina de Lucha contra el Terrorismo-OLCT (s.f.). Igualdad de género and empoderamiento de la mujer. *En Igualdad de género.* [Website]. UN Women itself has published the result of a report entitled "Consulta digital mundial: Voces and perspectivas de la sociedad civil acerca de las dimensiones de género de las respuestas contra el extremismo violento and el terrorismo". Borgeau, M. (2021). *Global Digital Consultation Civil Society Voices on the Gendered Dimensions of Violent Extremism and Counter-Terrorism Responses.* Outcome Report. UN Women.

158. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2019). Handbook on Gender Dimensions of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism. *UNODC,* 200. https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2019/July/unodc-addresses-gender-dimensions-of-criminal-justice-responses-to-terrorism.html

María Teresa Morán Garrido,[159] lawyer and specialist in the implementation of equality plans and measures in companies, agrees with this need to mainstream the gender perspective in the area of victims of terrorism. Specifically, she says that '*women, in addition to their own grieving process, are required to change their lives radically, to take charge of the home, to take care of dependents, to work outside the home and to keep a brave face while doing so*'. She emphasises that '*society "expects from them" (or rather imposes on them) a calm demeanour, forgiveness that no one has asked for, fortitude, self-sacrifice and, of course, all the aforementioned tasks*'. For this reason, she believes it is important '*that public policies explore in greater depth the reasons why these women often become "triple victims"*'. In particular, as far as reparation is concerned, '*we need to start from the socio-cultural situation in which these women are involved, in the same way as is being done to end other forms of unfair discrimination and thus achieve the goal of real equality.*'

This goal of equality is reflected in numerous regulations. As we saw in Section 5 of this study, equality between women and men, as a legal principle, is widely recognised in various international human rights texts and in Spanish legislation. This is also true for victims of crime in general and victims of terrorism in particular – to a greater or lesser extent depending on the area. Alejandra Monge Arias, former Coordinator of the Access to Justice Unit of the Judiciary of Costa Rica and former Technical Secretary for Gender at this unit,[160] says that '*although the rules, policies, programmes or projects that are developed and implemented should contain general guidelines to foster the rights of all victims, some are in a more vulnerable situation than others. Therefore, bringing visibility to their particular situation facilitates the identification and protection of the rights of all victims*'. She stresses that '*this individualisation should also apply to the victims of terrorism, since each of them faces a specific situation. It is important not only to take the sex of the victim into account, but also to conduct the analysis from a gender perspective*'. In addition, she says, '*the terrorist act not only affects the direct victim; it also victimises the people in their family and social environment. (...) Mechanisms must be sought to ensure compensation for the*

159. Personal interview.
160. Personal communication.

damage caused, as far as possible' (...) '[Although] *the loss of life is irreparable, death is not the only consequence of terrorism; the material, economic, social and psychological harm caused by the atrocity also needs to be considered. It is also essential to ensure access to these services, or failing that, to the courts, in order to guarantee that victims and their families can access their rights*'. She also refers to the Brasilia Regulations Regarding Access to Justice for Vulnerable People, (Brasilia Rules)[161] a document approved by the Ibero-American Judicial Summit in 2008, of which Spain is a member. Monge Arias, who was Executive Secretary of the Brasilia Rules Monitoring Committee between 2016 and 2018, says that '*there is a commitment by all countries in the Judicial Summit to facilitate access to justice to vulnerable populations*'. Rule 3 states that '*vulnerable people* are defined as those who, by reason of their age, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or physical or mental condition, or because of social, economic, ethnic and/or cultural circumstances, or others related to their religious beliefs and/or practices, or the absence thereof, encounter particular difficulties in exercising fully before the justice system the rights recognised by the legal system'. Rule 4 adds: '*The following, among others, may constitute causes of vulnerability: age, disability, belonging to indigenous communities, other ethnic-cultural diversities, including persons of African descent, as well as victimisation, migration, refugee status and internal displacement, poverty, gender, sexual orientation and gender identity, and deprivation of liberty.*' Rules 10, 11 and 12 define victimisation, describing what is meant by the term 'victim', how the situation of vulnerability that this condition may entail operates, how this situation is exacerbated in the case of persons listed in Rule 3, and how this exacerbation may be even greater as a result of contact with the justice system. It is worthwhile dwelling on this final aspect, which is detailed in Rule 12, since, as we shall see, it is a recurring complaint of the victims consulted: re-victimisation as a consequence of the system's response and the lack of understanding of the system, which makes them relive the traumatic situation. Thus, this Rule establishes:

161. Cumbre Judicial Iberoamericana (CIJ) (2019, December). *Reglas de Brasilia sobre acceso a la justicia de personas en condición de vulnerabilidad.* Actualización aprobada por la Asamblea Plenaria de la XIX edición de la Cumbre Judicial Iberoamericana, abril de 2018, Quito-Ecuador. Programa EUROSOCIAL, 11-34.

'The adoption of appropriate measures to mitigate the negative effects of the infringement of the legal system (primary victimisation) shall be encouraged. It shall be ensured that the harm suffered by the victim of the crime is not increased as a result of his or her contact with the justice system (secondary victimisation). At all stages of criminal proceedings, care should be taken to ensure the protection of the physical and mental wellbeing of victims, especially those at risk of intimidation, retaliation or reiterated or repeated victimisation (where the same person is the victim of more than one criminal offence over a period of time). It may also be necessary to provide special protection for victims who will be testifying in court proceedings. Special attention shall be paid in cases of domestic violence, and when the person accused of committing the crime has been released from prison'.

Rules 56 and 57 contain specific provisions relating to victims, in the drafting of which –says Monge Arias– Spain played a major role. In addition to all judicial decisions that may be adopted and that affect their safety (Rule 57), Rule 56 stresses the importance of promoting the victims' right to information, '*from their first contact with authorities and officials, without unnecessary delays*' in relation, *inter alia*, to the following aspects: assistance and support measures, compensation and, if applicable, the procedure for claiming it. Finally, Rules 75 and 76 refer to the safety of victims in vulnerable conditions, and these rules, as well as the previous ones, should be linked to those related to gender (Rules 17 to 20).

The Brasilia Rules comprise non-binding principles of action and recommendations ('soft law'). Nonetheless, it is a very valuable document, given the magnitude of the commitment reached in terms of access to justice and reparation for the harm caused. In addition, the Ibero-American Judicial Summit has established the need to implement a gender equality policy in the judicial system. Specifically, the Cancun Summit highlighted '*the need to promote Gender Equality as a cross-cutting institutional policy (...)*' and reaffirmed '*the duty to guarantee an efficient administration of justice in accordance with users' needs. Therefore, in this task it will consider the differences that exist between men and women with regard to their needs, interests, functions and resources, in order to eliminate any practices*

and customs that have a discriminatory effect or result, for reasons of gender or of any other nature.'[162]

Although there is no direct reference to victims of terrorism in the Brasilia Rules, a comprehensive analysis of the document suggests that the commitments established for access to justice and the enforceability of victims' rights are fully applicable to them. In addition, they constitute an example of judicial policy with a human rights perspective, which mainstreams gender, without ignoring the various conditions of vulnerability that may affect a person.

This is important, because adoption of a gender perspective will allow specific needs, different relationships with the environment and inequalities to emerge that cannot be ignored in regulations, policies, programmes or projects for the protection, recognition and remembrance of victims of terrorism. Otherwise, it will not be possible to measure the full extent of the scar left by terrorism on their lives, to aspire to just reparation and, of course, to accurately measure the damage caused to the social fabric.

8.3. The perspective of the victims consulted

Collective violence, such as that derived from terrorism, constitutes an important cause of mortality and serious alterations and aftereffects in the health of its victims – mainly amongst primary victims (direct victims and first-degree relatives), but also amongst secondary victims (those who have suffered from witnessing or learning of violent acts against third parties).[163] The statistics offered below are more than just data; they are life experiences shared by the people we consulted for this study. Naturally, they do not represent the entire collective of victims of terrorism. However, the information they provide is significant enough

162. Delgado Martín, J. (2019). *Guía comentada de las Reglas de Brasilia Comentarios a las Reglas de Brasilia sobre acceso a la Justicia de las personas en condición de vulnerabilidad.* Herramientas EUROSOCIAL, n.° 23, 9-58.

163. Larizgoitia, I., Markez Alonso, I., Izarzugaza, I., Páez Rovira, D., Mayordomo López, S. and Martín Beristain, C. (2004) Impacto en la salud de la violencia colectiva. *Norte de Salud Mental*, Vol. 5, n.°20, 19-28.

to at least give us pause for constructive thought not only on what has been achieved, but also on what might still need to be done or what could be done better.

In presenting the data, the victims have been divided into three groups: victims of the jihadist attacks perpetrated on four trains in the Madrid suburban rail network on 11 March 2004, including the two individuals who suffered the consequences of this type of terrorism outside Spanish territory; victims of ETA and others; and victims of the IRA, which operated primarily in Northern Ireland.

A total of 92 victims took part, of whom 62 were women and 30 were men. Of these, 35 were victims of jihadist attacks (27 women and 8 men); 25 victims of ETA and others (12 women and 13 men) and 32 victims of the IRA (23 women and 9 men). As can be seen, the number of women who participated in this study was ostensibly greater. This is especially significant considering that the call for collaboration was random and untargeted.

The results of the queries will be given as overall percentages in order to provide an overview of the situation.

62

Female participants

30

Male participants

Victims of jihadist attacks

27
Female

8
Male

Victims of ETA and others

12
Female

13
Male

Victims of the IRA

23
Female

9
Male

8.3.1. The residue of the attack: 'a before and after'

'That bomb didn't just go off on Calle Pizarra killing my husband; that bomb went off in the middle of my home, hurling us all in different directions', said Conchita Martín, widow of Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Antonio Blanco, in a statement to the National Court in February 2014 describing how the murder of her husband by ETA in Madrid on 21 January 2000 impacted her life and that of her family. In her own words, her daughter, who was 15 at the time, ceased to be a teenager; her son, who was only 10 years old, did not get over it and stopped trusting in people; and her in-laws died in utter grief.[164]

If there is one thing that all the victims unanimously agree on, it is the 'turning point' that the attack represented in their lives.

Victims of jihadist attacks

As regards the victims of the jihadist attacks of 11 March 2004 in Madrid and the other two attacks perpetrated outside Spanish territory, 100% of the women consulted –mostly direct victims (although they also included mothers and sisters of victims)– reported that they continued to suffer after-effects of varying intensity:

· Fear of dying, insecurity, anxiety and fear of taking the train or other public transport, as well as of crowds (concerts, cinemas, theatres, shopping malls and even walking around the city);
· Post-traumatic stress and insomnia;
· Inability to return to work or difficulty in re-entering the labour market, due to injuries sustained or having to provide care for injured persons (spouse, partner or other family member);
· Perception of life as being fragile and transient and not being able to make projects for the future;

164. Europapress (2014, February, 18). Viuda de Blanco: "Mi hijo no ha vuelto a confiar en el ser humano". *Europapress.*

· Being easily startled by noises and the appearance of suspicious-looking objects on the road or means of transport;
· Difficulties in socialising due to hearing loss;
· Disabling physical pain;
· Loss of self-confidence;
· Need for high doses of medication;
· Memory loss;
· Perception of institutional neglect.
· Resignation.

100% of Women

Continued to suffer
after-effects

● Women

In their own words

"I can't go to places I don't know or even places I do know where there are too many people. I have not been travelling since then."

"It has changed my life completely; I have a 69% disability, am unable to work in my profession and I am unable to sleep at night for more than an hour at a time."

"I can no longer live peacefully. I haven't managed to get over it despite all the time that has passed and the specialist therapy I have received."

"My sleeping pills no longer work and I only sleep between two and three hours a day. That means that I am physically and mentally exhausted all the time. (…) Every day and every night I keep remembering the attack and the images of everything that happened come back to me."

"I moved to another district so I wouldn't have to go past the place where it happened every day. What I felt and saw at the scene will stay with me for the rest of my life."

"I look at Muslims in a special way (something that didn't happen to me before), I can't help it."

"My life and dreams came crashing down."

"It is emotionally destructive."

"There was a before and after. I have had to learn to live with this new life. I lost my family and my job."

"I was granted a total permanent disability for my usual line of work. I had to reinvent myself physically, emotionally and professionally."

"In my case, as a young woman full of life, it destro-yed my youth and, for me, it brought my life to an end. Over the years, with effort and psychological help, I have struggled to survive. I will never be the same."

"Thanks to psychological and emotional support from the people around me and from professionals, I have been able to get over it and come to terms with the trauma, apart from certain phobias."

As for the men interviewed who suffered the same attack, most of whom were direct victims, only 25% acknowledge feeling fear, insecurity, nervousness and insomnia, feeling abandoned by the authorities or suffering from deafness. The remaining 75% speak of improvement:

75%

Speak of improvement

25%

Acknowledge feeling fear, insecurity, nervousness and insomnia, etc.

◆   Men
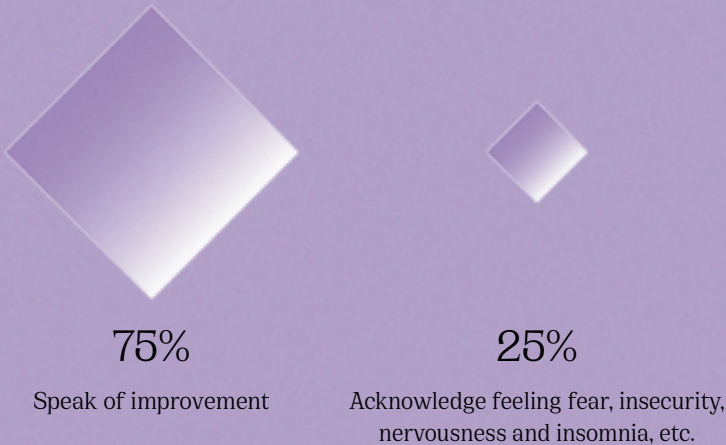
In their own words

"Many aspects of life have changed, especially the ability to overcome and face problems, to give importance to emotions and to value the importance of life."

"The first few years I had a lot of stress. I appreciate life more, but I am still afraid of seeing fatalities

when an accident happens or hearing news about a disaster, even though I think my death will just be another part of my life."

"Having experienced a situation like this makes you live more in the present; it makes you enjoy the moment more. You see that things can change in an instant, for better or for worse. Physically, for me the after-effect was hearing loss, I had to have surgery on my right ear, and the loss of hearing makes some tasks a little more difficult to carry out. Believe it or not, that is what most reminds me of the event."

"Personally, I try to live 'day to day'. I value the little everyday things much more and I try to focus mainly on looking after of my family."

Victims of ETA and other terrorist groups

The female victims of this type of terrorism who participated in the study were characterised by not being direct victims. They are mainly widows, daughters and sisters of men killed by ETA or others. All of them reported radical changes in their lives, the perception that they are now just 'getting by' rather than actually 'living', the experience of exclusion from Basque society, profound sadness, in some cases overcome by subsequent psychological assistance, and the experience of family disintegration.

100% of Women

Reported radical changes
in their lives

● Women

In their own words

"You have to start again from scratch, start a life that has been imposed on you, with all that that entails, because you have to abandon a shared life plan. You

always have the feeling that you have been forced to change your future, always for the worse."

"The attack scarred me physically, mentally and emotionally for the rest of my life."

"My life changed completely. My father meant everything to me. He was my reference point; he gave me protection, affection, security and all the economic well-being I needed. The attack took away all the dreams we had (a house we had planned, working together…sharing our lives), it brought sadness, injustice, insecurity, in short, it took me to another life."

"It has changed things radically. The loss of a child makes you change all your priorities and you lose any interest in the future. I keep going, because I still have another daughter left, but everything else just goes on outside me. We've stopped holding any family celebrations because he's not there."

"My father's murder was devastating, although at first I didn't realize how great an impact it had on my life. The first thing was the grief; it was so great that it took up everything. Over time it eased and I thought

I was fine. But then I realised that I was living in my father's absence and everything there brought me sadness. With therapy, I was able to move on and I think I am much better now; at least I no longer live in grief. "

"Unfortunately everything took a radical change for the worse. Growing up without a father from the age of 8, separated from my family - it was not easy to cope with."

"After the bomb, I lost the baby I was expecting. I already had a drawer full of clothes and things. They tell you: 'Try to forget about all that'. But you can't. No one thinks about everything it involves. It is always with you."

As for the male victims, who were mostly the sons and brothers of murdered men or direct victims who survived the attack, 92% reported a break in their lives following the attack while 8% did not answer this question.

92%

Reported a break in their lives

8%

Did not answer this question

◆   Men
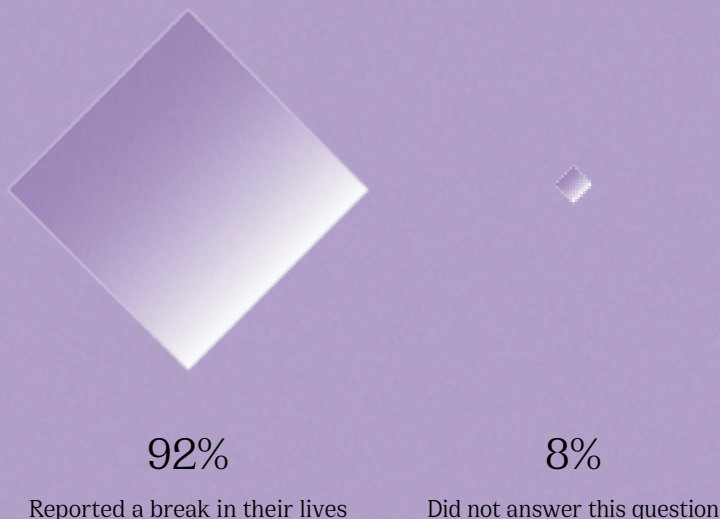
In their own words

"My father was killed by ETA. They destroyed our family. The aftereffects persist to this day and will be with us until the end of our days."

"Depression, anxiety, emotional deterioration."

"Over a long period of my life I suffered harassment, threats and attacks. Lifetime medication. "

"They steal your childhood, your youth."

"For my parents and me there was a total change, with tragic consequences for them. For me it left me without a brother. "

"I was born after the attack, but life in our family was never the same. I have lived my whole life in the Basque Country. When I was growing up, ETA was constantly killing and making threats. I studied alongside ETA members and I know many ETA sympathisers. With ETA, Basque society lived in fear, and now people are still afraid of speaking freely, of expressing their opinion openly. They can turn you into a social non-entity if they think your opinions about ETA and the nationalist world don't coincide with theirs."

"It has been difficult to learn to socialise with other people."

"My life is totally different, I lost my job and my way of life. I have psychological after-effects that require

treatment and I suffer. Thank God, my family and my wife have stayed with me. I am miserable."

"I had a promising future at the time, but the attack cut that short. It broke up my life and forced me to make certain decisions. It also meant great financial hardship for my family and me. It had a very negative effect on my girlfriend, my parents and my siblings with whom I was living."

"You are marked forever."

"Words are very important. They called him a foetus and that marked me, because that day I lost a member of my family."

Victims of the IRA

The female victims of this type of terrorism consulted in this survey were mostly widows, daughters, sisters and, to a lesser extent, direct victims. All of them reported dramatic changes in their lives and their home environment, which '*has never been the same again*'. They report that the family never recovers from a loss of this kind. In some cases, they feel mistrust towards their immediate environment, difficulty in traveling to new places for fear of a bomb going off unexpectedly, and cognitive problems which were nascent at the time of the attack and due to the impact caused in the family by the attack, were not diagnosed in time and were subsequently complicated by others, adding more 'trauma to the trauma'. For several of the women consulted, seeing Sinn Féin in government has also sparked feelings of re-victimisation.

100% of Women

Reported dramatic changes in their lives and their home environment

● Women

In their own words

"Generally my attitude towards life has changed and priorities have also changed. Things feel more negative than before the event."

"My family bonds and relationships are stronger. My feelings in general have changed towards life."

"The murder of my brother changed the whole family. There was always a part of us missing, he was my Mum's only son. (...) My Mum was affected so much by losing her only son; it affected her till her death."

"I can be very emotional all the time but particularly around anniversary's and Remembrance times. My memories are very easily woken, after 40 years since the murder. I can't relax in public I still have a 'Boulder on my Shoulder' I enjoy being in the company of SEFF members (like minded people). We are constantly reminded of the past, news items and the ongoing threat from dissidents. The non-stop attempts of the Republican sympathisers to re-write our history and the ongoing fight to blacken and bring to Court the British

Army and the RUC who were doing their day's work during very difficult times. The support that is given to Sinn Fein at elections also stabs the heart."

"A lot of worry, mistrust, who was responsible, e.g. neighbours."

"Completely. It turned upside down. The feelings of loss were so immense that I couldn't function. I attended a psychiatrist for 8 years afterwards. I loved my husband so much and 24 years on, the loneliness hasn't disappeared. He was my world. Financially things changed also and suddenly I had sole responsibility for raising our 5 children."

"I lost my full family that day, even though it was only my sister that was killed. I also lost the me that I was. I withdrew, looked at people differently and didn't trust them. (I still feel this way) My school life was disrupted. I didn't do as well as expected and instead of going to university, I took a job in a supermarket and then married very young."

"I've had to keep going, the same way I was before but with all the extra problems I now have. I still think

about it a lot and I am grateful I wasn't physically injured. People can't see any injuries so they think you're all better or have recovered but I still think a lot about it and it scares me at times to remember it."

"My 21 year old brother, a police officer in Northern Ireland, was brutally murdered whilst on duty 27 years ago. I am still coming to terms with the pain of losing him and normal family occasions are always tinged with sadness."

"I have never got over the loss of my only brother, we were very close and to learn of his murder has remained with me ever since."

"My and my families' lives changed by 100% in the pull of a trigger. Since then I have chronic health issues. I haven't been able to do any full-time work since that day but for my sanity work a few hours weekly with charity. My daughter was 1 year old the day after I was shot by terrorist in an off-duty ambush. I wasn't able to lift her or change a nappy for more than a year after. All I could do was read to her when she was lifted onto my knee. However she has a life long love of reading books."

"It is a life-changing event and the consequences of having to live with the aftermath is a difficult path both mentally and physically; memories stay and are recalled every day which makes coping with everyday life a struggle."

As for the male victims, most of whom were direct victims, sons or brothers, they all reported a rupture in their lives following the event. They mentioned permanent aftereffects such as anxiety, fear of future attacks, flashbacks and post-traumatic stress disorder.

100% of Men

Reported a rupture in their lives following the event

◆   Men

In their own words

"Physical and psychological trauma – Surgeries – constantly dealing with therapists, etc. Feel cheated on life!"

"My injuries have left me unable to continue with a normal life."

"I have never been the same since it happened. I think about it almost ever day, even though it is almost 30 years since he was murdered."

"I have had changes to my physical and mental health. It feels like everything has changed and become worse."

"I find it a lot harder to think back on memories because I worry I'm going to remember it again and I don't want to."

"My life was changed totally. We were a normal busy happy family, and everything changed for the worse. From a working husband, I became a full time carer for my baby daughter and wife and this really was a challenge. I had no income as I lost my job for security reasons after the ambush and the only help initially

was from my mother and my wife's parents. The mort-
gage company allowed us to pay interest only until I
was working again. There was no government help for
a couple of years after."

"My only brother was murdered and life was never
the same again. "

"Both women and men frequently express the particu-
lar pain caused by birthdays and anniversaries. In other
words, significant dates related to the life and death of
their loved one rekindle the traumatic experience."

8.3.2. Impact on children

It is especially important to note that the definition of a "child" is that used in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, viz:

"For the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier".

What the female victims observed:

- Women

In their own words

"It was easier to help the little girl rebuild her life, but not the boy. He turned in on himself more and more and his personality changed. Women exteriorise their grief in some way, communicating with their friends. But no man ever talks about his private life and thoughts. Women do. Boys don't do it under any circumstances. Their friends will never ask them and they will never tell them."

"They spent time in psychological treatment."

"Both children were affected. My daughter tends to speak more about the matter, my son hurts about it but finds it difficult to talk about."

"I would find that they physically show their anxiety and fears more outwardly. Children do not show it but they are frightened and this is evident in their school life and their temperament towards other children."

"It had a huge impact on the girls. They seemed to be more aware of the seriousness of what was happening, as if they were more conscious. In contrast, I have never known what the boys felt. They have never demonstrated it."

"My children lost their aunt and we had to try to make them see that she wasn't coming back."

"For a while they were very concerned every time I went out, if I was late or if they saw me looking sad. Every time there's an attack, they stand by me and try to cheer me up. My eldest son suffered a lot whenever he had to take the train. He avoids talking about it because he doesn't want to stir up old memories."

"I was at home more. It left one child so frightened she had to sleep in the same bedroom as me."

"They see that I sometimes get very anxious or nervous in certain places."

"They have each had their difficulties and have had to seek professional help. They suddenly didn't have their father and although I was there in person, they really lost their mother also for a time. I don't know how we managed to get through it. I have good family and friends and they helped."

"I don't have any children, nor do I think I will ever consider having any again, because of how insecure the world seems to me now."

"At the time my daughter was afraid of loud noises. On one occasions I got a call from the school, because she had hidden in the bathroom when she saw the gas lorry go by. She now has difficulty making friends. She socialises with one of her classmates and doesn't feel comfortable with others."

"Fear. He saw his father being killed."

"When the attack happened my oldest son was three years old. He still remembers that he couldn't see me for several months and when he did, it didn't look like me."

"I tried to make light of it as far as possible, but what happened has changed everything."

"I only had my eldest son and it influenced everything; it changed his life completely. He had to leave his friends and family, because I became unemployed and had to move to another region to survive."

"Loneliness, insecurity, helplessness and powerlessness to do anything about the injustice."

"My child was aware something had happened, but he was sheltered from any detail."

"My daughter always asked – 'Where's my Daddy'; Little constant questions – 'God took him home'."

◆ Men

In their own words

"I do believe that girls can be stronger at the time of the incidents but over time I feel that they suffer greater than males."

"Psychologically, the impact is negative."

"I have one son and, fortunately, I think it hasn't caused him any trauma. When talking to him, I have always tried to look for the positive effects. "

"I am honest with them. They understand my difficulties. My kids were very anxious on my behalf due to constant hospitalisations."

"I have never been able to have children."

Certain contradictions have arisen with regard to this issue. In some cases, the answers were based on real lived experience, because the victims had young children at the time of the attack. In many other cases, however, they did not. We have therefore decided to reproduce those accounts in which the answers to the questionnaire reveal the direct experience of the effects on children. Unlike other issues, the results have not divided up by type of terrorism, with a view to providing a sufficiently wide overview, to highlight the need for attention to be paid to the effects of terrorism on children.

Generally speaking, female victims express their concern about the emotional impact of the attack on their children, who they have seen showing concern about their parents' health or the impact of the loss of a loved one. They also report feelings of fear, withdrawal or introspective behaviour, and eating and sleeping disorders.

To a lesser extent, the male victims report that they have seen eating and sleeping disorders amongst their children. They recognize that the attack has marked their lives forever or that, at the time, their children did not show their true feelings in order not to cause the victim further suffering. One of them even gives it a positive spin.

Many accounts portray daughters and sons as people to be pro-tected; in others, they emerge as figures who help their parents to get by. Some report that, because of their young age, they were unaware of anything. Other say that, despite their age, the trauma remains or that the after-effects left on the father, the mother or both, have acted as a map with which the lived experience, blocked by memory, has found a way to continue influencing their lives: "I tried not to prevent passing any of it on to them, but there was always a deep sadness there".

Those who reported differences between the impact of the attack on girls and boys are mostly women. In all cases, they said that girls were more predisposed to verbalize their emotions, as opposed to boys who, they say, find it difficult or impossible to talk about their feelings.

8.3.3. Perception of information and su-pport provided by the public authorities

Victims of jihadist attacks

89% of female victims of the jihadist attacks of 11 March 2004 in Madrid and the two attacks perpetrated outside Spanish territory, report not having received information or support, while 11% say they did.

89%
Received no information
or support

11%
Received information
or support

22% reported receiving psychological counselling and compensation. 78% report unequal experiences (only compensation or only counselling, partial help or no help at all).

Many of them report that they received psychological assistance from the National Health System (with all its limitations in terms of mental health), mutual work insurance companies and the associative movement. In the latter case, they also received support in exercising their rights in matters of compensation and assistance.

There is also a clear absence of support in cases where the deceased was a brother or sister, with the attack having an impact on the family as a whole and the surviving sister being left in charge of a dysfunctional family without receiving any help from the authorities.

22%
Received psychological counselling
and compensation

78%
Unequal experiences

● Women

In their own words

"At first, the public authorities ignored me, perhaps because they were overwhelmed by the event. They called me a 'complainer' and even said I was 'very inventive', until I reported the situation to the courts, who backed my cause."

"I received absolutely no help from the public authorities. It was all obstacles, complications and snubs."

"I have never felt so alone or so scorned."

"The process of applying to receive aid was so complex that the victims were forced to create an association to exchange information and channel it to the other victims. The financial compensation arrived little by little and years later [and] was not proportional to the harm caused."

"I felt like I was the one who planted the bomb. Until I learned about the 11M association I felt lost and shattered."

"By the time they get back to you, if you needed psychological help... you're already plunged in misery.

There was no information at all until I was informed of the court ruling."

"The support and information I needed was provided to me primarily by the association."

"In such painful times you find yourself so lost that you can't find solutions. The problem is that when you ask for help, because the other person has not themselves been a victim of terrorism, they don't understand you, and they think that the only thing you're looking for is money. They don't put themselves in your shoes and try to help you."

Of these women, 78% stated that they had had to go through a lot of bureaucracy, 18% said they had not and 4% said that they had only gone though some of the procedures, because they were not informed of their rights and missed the deadlines.

78%

Went through a lot
of bureaucracy

18%

Did not go through
much bureaucracy

4%

Some procedures only

93% of them describe these procedures as lengthy, complicated, tedious, painful and interminable. Some of them are still involved with them. They described the processes as: 'horrible', 'too many and in the end you get nowhere', 'very slow and inadequate', 'chaotic', 'very sad and unpleasant', 'difficult' and 'painful'. 7% consider them 'poor'.

93%

Procedures were 'lengthy',
'complicated', 'tedious', etc.

7%

Procedures were 'poor'.

● Women

In their own words

"Every time I had to go to an appointment I had to explain everything that happened, and how I was feeling .... it stirred everything up again. Nobody makes it easy and it is very, very difficult to move forward."

"I had to go back on more than one occasion to bring documents, originals, photocopies...I had to go back and forth from one window to another and from one Ministry to another...The medical examinations... instead of centralising them, they sent you to different places, far from your home, with all the insecurity that that caused."

"They are complicated, because you have to do them right after the attack, when you are still in a state of shock."

"I was only able to process all the applications thanks to the association."

"Exhausting, exasperating and humiliating...I felt even worse after each attempt to have my rights recognised."

"They took too long. I received the financial aid four years after the attack."

"It was arduous and every time I had to do some paperwork, it meant weeks of insomnia and nerves. In short, it was a nightmare."

"Too complex even for people with administrative experience. Impossible for people without economic resources, people who do not know the language and/or have little knowledge."

"It felt like I was being treated like a liar."

In assessing the need for simplification, 89% consider that it would be desirable for these procedures to be simpler and more accessible, compared to 4% who do not consider it necessary and 7% who did not express an opinion.

89%
Procedures should be simpler and more accessible

4%
No change needed

7%
No opinion
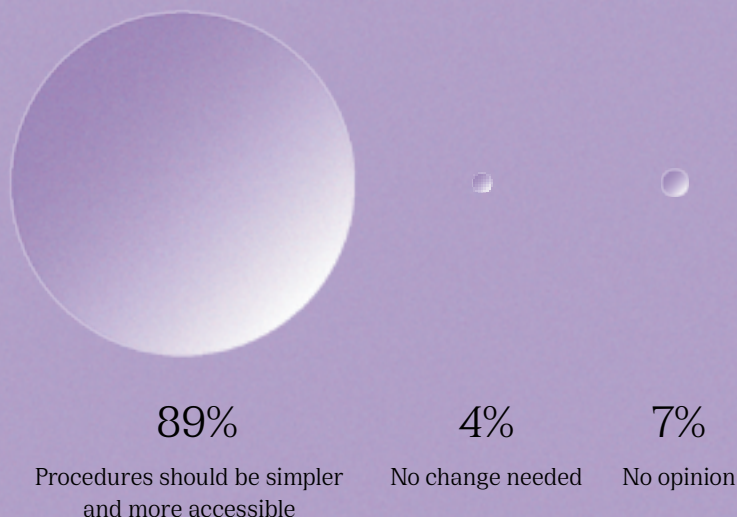
As to the nature of the compensation, the male victims of these attacks also report different experiences:

◆   Men

In their own words

"I didn't need to request psychological or therapeutic help. I have received the compensation to which I am legally entitled."

"At the beginning it was chaotic and they were scheduling mental health appointments for the following year, so many of us gave up."

"I tend to always see the glass as being half full. After what had happened, seeing how many people had unfortunately lost their lives, those who lost their loved ones, those who suffered more serious injuries, in the end you have to feel thankful for having come out of the attack with only minor injuries and being able to get on with your life, accepting the consequences that will be with you for the rest of your life."

With regard to the question as to whether they have received information and support from the public authorities, 88% answered No and 12% Yes.

88%

Did not receive information

12%

Received information
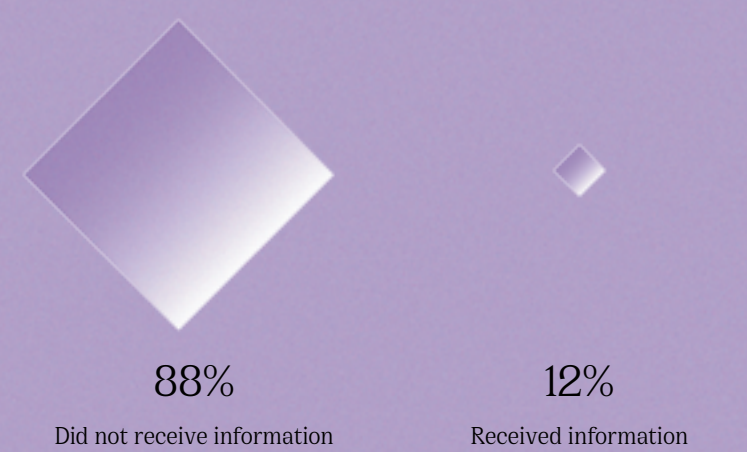
100% said they had received compensation. Of that number, 38% said they received psychological help, 12% reported that they never needed that sort of help, 12% said that 'the mental health appointments were scheduled for the following year, so many of us gave up' and the remaining 38% did not answer.

38%

Received compensation

12%

Did not need compensation

12%

Gave up

38%

Did not answer

50% stated that they have gone through many administrative proce-
dures and the other 50% said they had not. 50% described these proce-
dures as being very long and tedious, too complex, tedious and not very
accessible unless they had help in completing them, so they said that
they should be more flexible and faster in order to 'bother' the victim as
little as possible. The other 50% said they were alright, 'acceptable,', they
'presumed that they were necessary' or said 'in my case, they were not
too troublesome'. Notwithstanding the above, when assessing the need
for simplification of these procedures, 76% felt they should be simplified,
while 24% thought this was not necessary or gave no opinion.

50%

Have gone through many
administrative procedures

50%

Have not gone through many
administrative procedures

24%

No change needed or no opinion

76%

Felt the procedures
should be simplified
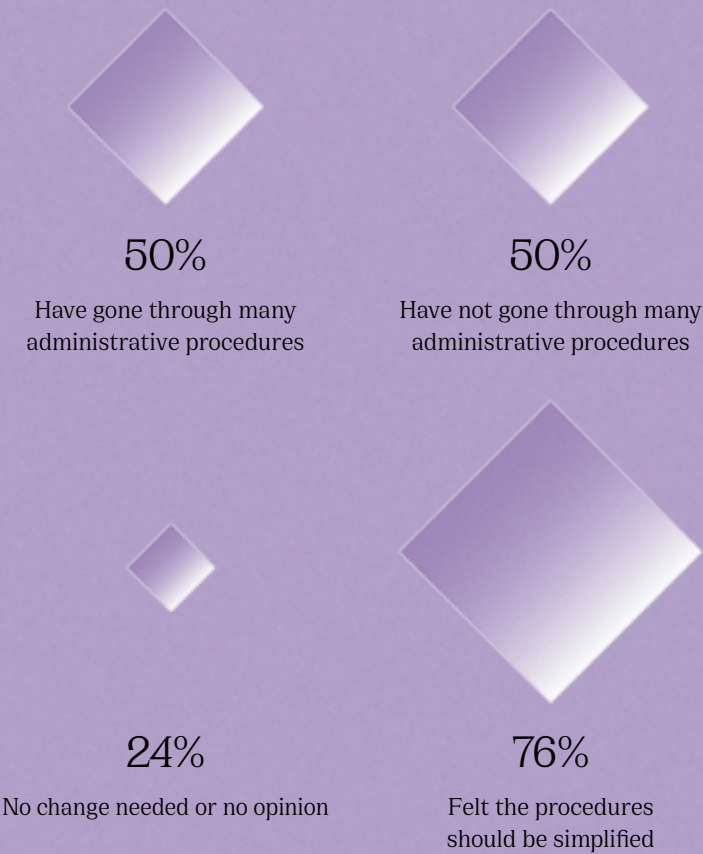
Victims of ETA and other groups

Amongst female victims, 92% reported not having received any information or support after the attack and 8% did not answer this question.

In addition, 58% said they or their family members had received compensation, 33% said they had not received any, even though they were entitled to it, and 9% did not answer. However, those who received economic compensation reported that the compensation arrived very late and in unequal form, some as the result of a judicial ruling and others by administrative means.

There were general complaints about lack of psychological counselling.

92%

Received no information

8%

Did not answer

58%

Received
compensation

33%

Received no
compensation

9%

Did not answer
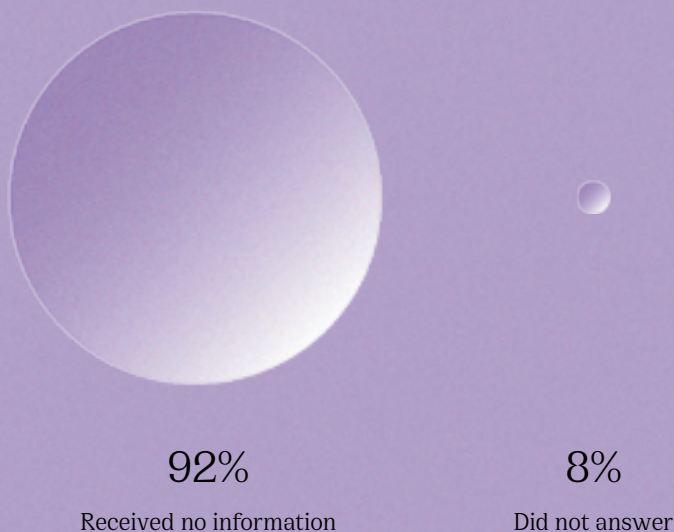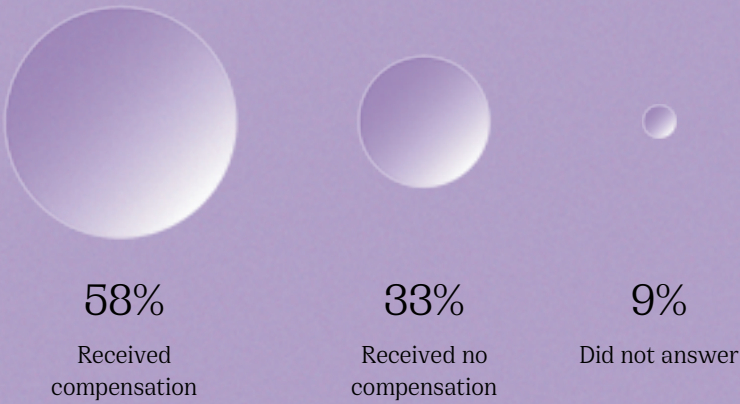
● Women

In their own words

"A year and a half later, I started to get my regular widow's pension, but not the pension I was due for a terrorist attack."

"I filed a claim but it was turned down because I submitted it after the deadline."

"Psychological support would have been invaluable, but it was conspicuous by its absence."

Seventy-five percent of these women reported having faced a lot of bureaucracy, 16% did not and 9% did not answer. 82% rated these procedures as 'not at all efficient', 'bureaucratic', 'complicated', 'slow', 'horrible' and 'inhumane', 9% did not remember it as being complicated and 9% did not answer.

75%
Went through a lot
of bureaucracy

16%
Did not go through much
bureaucracy

9%
Did not answer

82%
Procedures were
'not at all efficient'

9%
Procedures were
'not complicated'

9%
Did not answer

● Women

In their own words

"Lengthy, dreadful, erroneous procedures lacking any attention or empathy whatsoever."

"Dreadful. To this day justice has not been done, I am still fighting with the authorities to get what I am entitled to, like other victims of terrorism."

"Cruel, unnecessary, tardy, reiterative and humiliating (they told me that what I ultimately wanted or was looking for was money, since unfortunately my father could not be brought back to life)."

"An unfair, painful, tedious, slow, undignified ordeal, reliving the worst memories, sickening..."

"They were unbearably long, enormously complex, painful, full of obstacles and administrative errors. I wouldn't wish what we had to go through on anyone. After years of fighting, you get your rights recognized, at least in part, because the deadlines go by and nobody tells you anything. Quite the opposite: they even give you erroneous information. In the end, everything you've been through is so hard that rights don't even

seem like rights anymore. You are left with the bitter taste that your dignity, your heart, and, above all, the memory of your dead relative have been trampled on."

In keeping with these remarks, 82% felt these procedures needed to be simplified and 18% said they couldn't give an exact answer or expressed no opinion
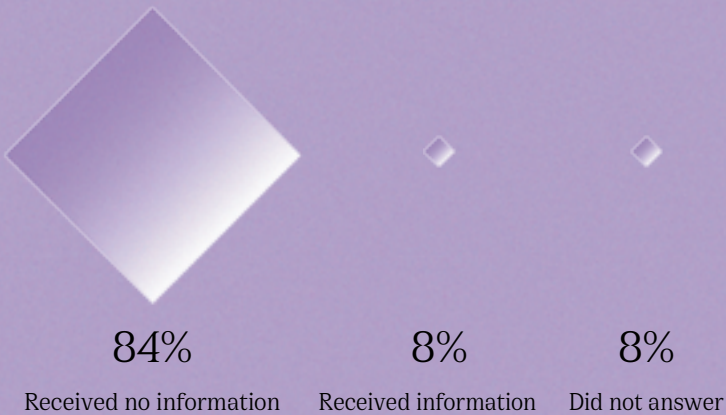
82%

Felt these procedures
needed to be simplified

18%

Couldn't give
an exact answer

For their part, 84% of male victims of ETA terrorism reported not having received any information or support after the attack, 8% did and 8% did not answer.

84%	8%	8%
Received no information	Received information	Did not answer

Seventy-six percent said they or their relatives had received compensation, 16% none and 8% only received compensation for damage to their vehicles. However, among those who were compensated, there were delays ranging from 16 to 36 years after the attack and the compensation was unequal (some as the result of judicial ruling and others by administrative means). Some also mentioned that the deadline was an obstacle to receiving compensation.

Again, there were widespread complaints about the lack of psychological counselling.

76%	16%	8%
Received compensation	Received no compensation	Received some compensation

◆   *Men*
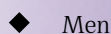
In their own words

"We received the help from the company my father worked for."

"Medical attention from the Mutual Assurance Company and follow-up by my company, with advice provided at an administrative and procedural level."

"I was partially indemnified as the result of a court ruling. Recognition as a victim following legal proceedings against the authorities."

"I did not receive any assistance. The authorities contested the physical and psychophysical damage and even the circumstances that caused them. They just shoved me to one side."

With regard to the bureaucracy involved, 53% of male victims reported having had to undergo many procedures and 31% did not, because they were children at the time. Eight percent said they were unable to access these procedures because no one informed them of their entitlements and the deadline had passed, and 8% did not answer. 84% described them as 'long', 'not very humane' and 'technical' and only 16% described them as 'normal' or 'relatively speedy'.

53%

Had to go through
many procedures

31%

No procedures
because they
were children

8%

Received no
information

8%

Did not
answer

84%

Described them as long

8%

Described them as normal

◆   Men

In their own words

"Chaos. My mother had to fight for her compensation.
They lost my father's file. All this at a time when the
state should have been prepared, because unfortuna-
tely there had already been a long list of killings and
decades of terrorist violence."

"Exhausting and designed to put you off asking for what you were entitled to."

"Protracted, and confusing (difficult to understand) from a legal point of view. Answers that dragged on for a long time."

"Denial and disinterest. Lack of empathy."

"Slow procedures, full of obstacles and the sensation that they would not end well."

When assessing the need for simplification of the procedures, 92% considered that it was necessary and 8% gave no opinion.
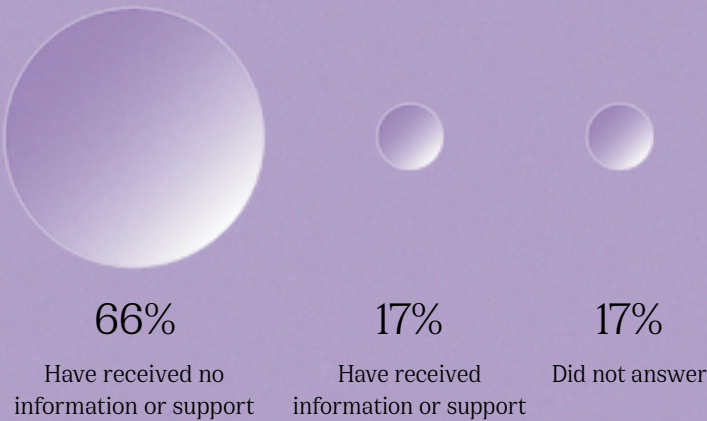
92%
Felt they should be simplified

8%
No opinion

Victims of the IRA

Sixty-six percent of the female victims of attacks perpetrated by the IRA report that they have not received information or support, while 17% say they have. The remaining 17% did not answer.

66%
Have received no
information or support

17%
Have received
information or support

17%
Did not answer

Twenty-two percent report having received some kind of help from the police, mainly counselling. Thirty-five percent report not having received any. Some specifically state that they didn't ask for any, with one of them giving the reason as being '*lack of knowledge of how to go about it and who to contact*'.

22%
Received help from the police

35%
Received no help

Forty-three percent say have received compensation, which in most cases is described as being 'small', 'a paltry monetary sum', 'meaningless', 'irrelevant' and even, 'an insult'. Some testimonies speak of delays of up to 5 years.

43% of Women

Received compensation

The most common complaint is the absence of psychological help. In many cases they say that they have received emotional support and counselling, follow-up and support from their association and 6% mention family and friends as being the main support: 'I was left to sink or swim'.

6% of Women

Mention family and friends as being the main support

As in the case of victims of jihadist terrorism, ETA and others, there is a lack of support in cases where the deceased is a brother or sister: 'Siblings are the forgotten victims. (...) Siblings do not have a voice, brothers or sisters'.

Thirty-one percent of these women said they had faced a lot of bureaucracy, 48% said they had not, in some cases admitting that they did not know what to do or that other family members took the steps; 17% did not answer and 4% said they had not taken any steps to obtain help or compensation.

31%

Faced a lot of bureaucracy

48%

Did not face much bureaucracy

17%

Did not answer

4%

Had not taken any steps to obtain help
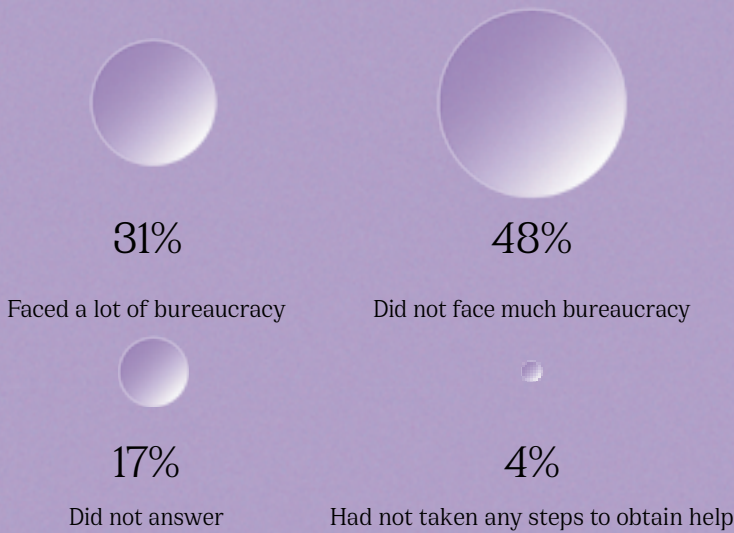
Thirty-nine percent rated these procedures negatively, calling them 'bad', 'disheartening', 'overwhelming', 'quite difficult' and 'totally soul-destroying and very debilitating').

They also mention the need for support from a family member, the association or the police themselves in filling out the applications. Only 13% rate them as 'simple', 'informative' or 'pretty self-explanatory'. The remaining 48% did not express an opinion.

39%

Rated these
procedures negatively

13%

Rate them
as simple

48%

Did not express
an opinion
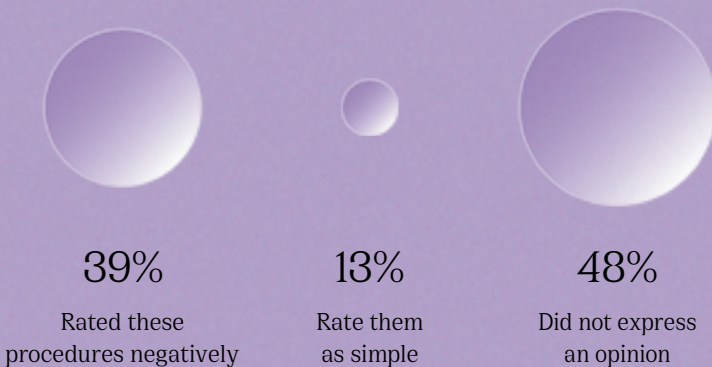
In light of the above, 39% believe that they need to be simplified, 22% believe that they do not and the remaining 39% do not answer.

39%

Believe they need
to be simplified

22%

Do not believe they
need to be simplified

39%

No answer
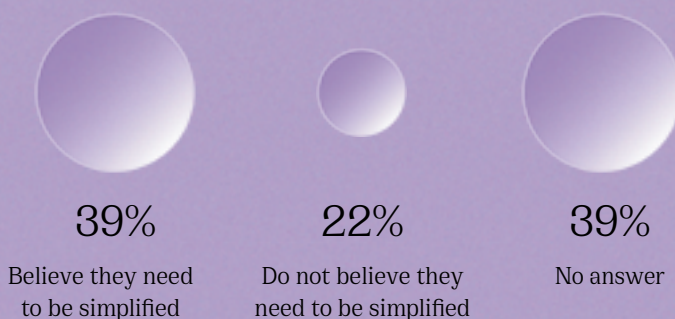
● Women

In their own words

"I received no help, just had to get on with life. The instinct to survive kicks in and living must go on. Lack of knowledge."

"Difficult for my husband and affected me."

"I was not contacted or pursued, to be honest."

On the other hand, 78% of male victims of IRA terrorism reported not having received any information or support after the attack, 11% did and 11% did not answer.

78%

Received no information or support

11%

Received information or support

11%
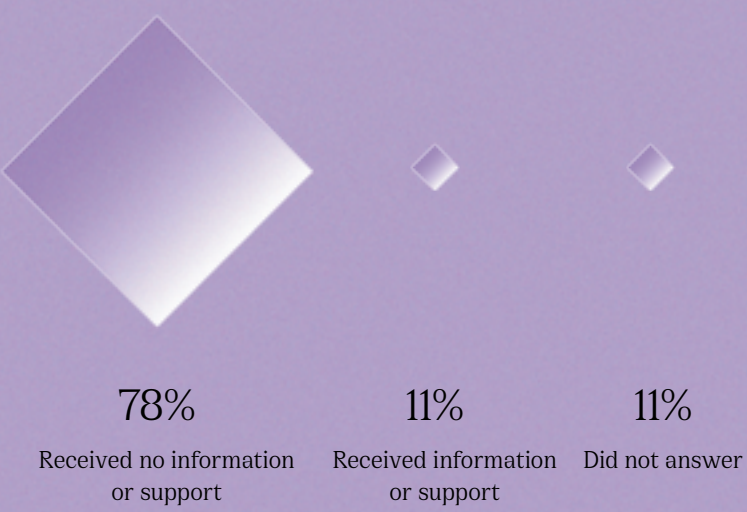
Did not answer

Thirty-three percent indicated that they or their family members had received compensation, 45% none and 22% did not answer.

33%

Received compensation

45%

Received no compensation

22%

Did not answer

◆ Men
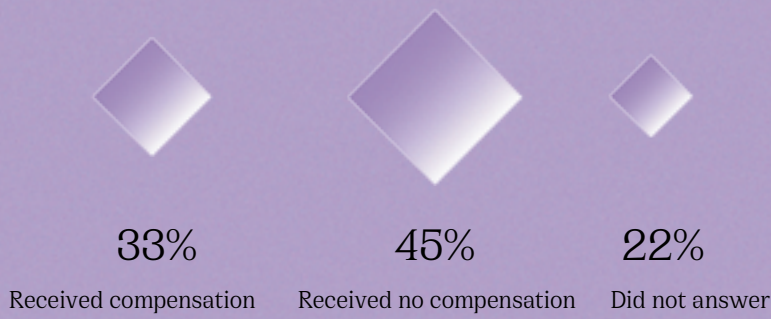
In their own words

"There was nothing of this kind provided. Just glad to be alive. No structures in place, Didn't get anything or claim."

"There was no counselling/assistance in those days. That's the way it was."

8.3.4. Perception of the judicial authorities

Victims of jihadist attacks

Regarding the perception of whether justice has been done, amongst female victims of the jihadist attacks of 11 March 2004 in Madrid and the two perpetrated outside Spanish territory, 74% consider that justice has not been done and 15% say that it has, qualifying this by saying that it has been done so 'within the possibilities of the judicial system' or saying that 'because I trust in justice, I have to say yes'. 11% did not know or did not answer.

74%
Consider that justice has not been done

15%
Consider justice has been done

11%
Did not know or did not answer

● Women

In their own words

"I felt badly treated, particularly by the social worker who attended me at first, who just urged me to get over the post-traumatic stress I was suffering quickly. She said that me being like that was hurting my family and I was feeling that way because I wanted to. I also felt badly treated by the forensic scientist on the first day he saw me, because he questioned whether I was really a victim, and I felt under attack at a time when I was feeling terrible emotionally. He later acknowledged that I was a victim."

"I only felt I was well treated by my lawyer and by the doctors from the public health system. The rest scored zero for humanity."

Regarding their treatment by judicial staff, prosecutors and lawyers, among others, 56% considered that it had not been good, 33% that it had and 11% had had no dealings with them.

56%
Not well treated

33%
Well treated

11%
No dealings
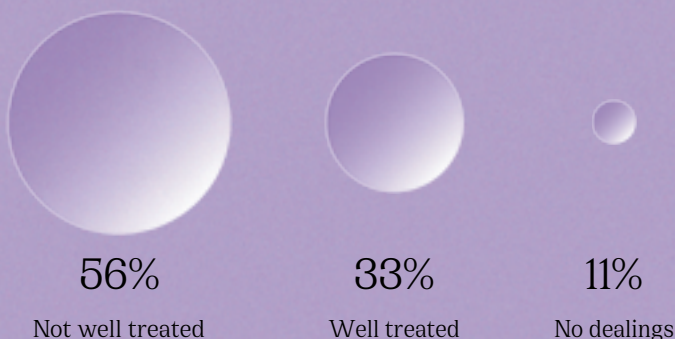
Among the male victims, 50% believe that justice has not been done, 38% say it has, and 12% say they do not know.

50%	38%	12%
Believe that justice has not been done	Believe that justice has been done	Do not know

Regarding their treatment by judicial staff, prosecutors or lawyers, among others, 75% consider that it has been good and 25% that it has not.

75%	25%
Well treated	Not well treated
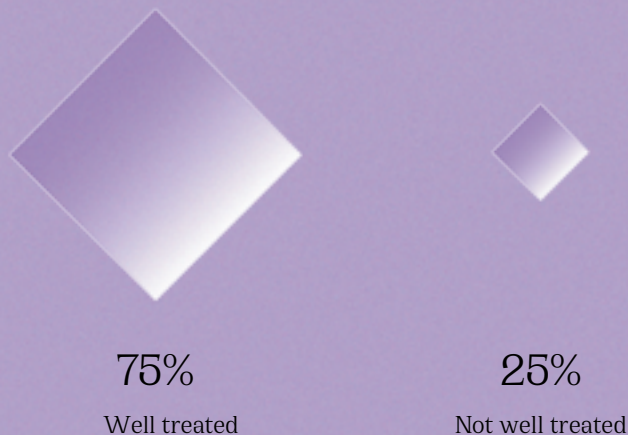
It is important to note that the 11 March 2004 attack in Madrid was the subject of a judicial process that ended with the corresponding conviction, although there are discrepancies among the victims as to who was responsible. This and the difficulties of effective access to justice expressed by the people consulted may be among the main causes for this perception among those who suffered the attacks that justice has not been done.

◆ Men

In their own words

"The trial over the 11 March attacks has sparked a lot of debate and doubts and I don't really know whether justice was done or not."

Victims of ETA and other groups

Regarding the perception of whether justice has been done amongst female victims of ETA, 75% answered no, 17% said yes (one said that 'there were collaborators or accomplices about whom I have doubts as to whether they should have been prosecuted') and 8% gave no answer.

75%
Believe that justice has not been done

17%
Believe that justice has been done

8%
Gave no answer

Regarding their treatment by the judicial staff, prosecutors or lawyers, among others, 41% stated that it was not good, 17% considered that it was, 17% indicated that 'on some occasions it was and on others it wasn't' and 25% had never had any contact with these groups.

41%
Not well treated

17%
Well treated

17%
Sometimes

25%
No dealings
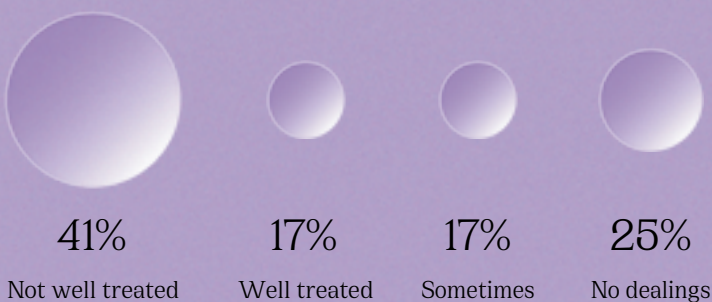
● Women

In their own words

"The trial is still pending."

"There were collaborators or accomplices who I still don't know whether they should have been prosecuted."

"My father's attack remains unsolved and the laws that protect us are sometimes patchy and sometimes unjust."

"There are many unsolved attacks and many of the murders in prison are better treated than the victims themselves."

"I have had no personal contact with legal professionals. I only had contact with one lawyer a few days after the murder and he was crucially important; an example of solidarity and dedication. He was the lawyer who my brother consulted and had been involved in the civic struggle against ETA for years."

"I had no direct dealings with legal professionals. A colleague from my office handled the trials and I have no complaints. But I feel we were very fortunate to have that help so readily available. If it hadn't been for that,

we would not have had a lawyer and we would not have known anything (we knew because my brother had to testify as a witness in the first trial)."

Of the male victims of ETA, 92% said that justice was not done and 8% did not answer.

92%
Justice was not done

8%
Did not answer
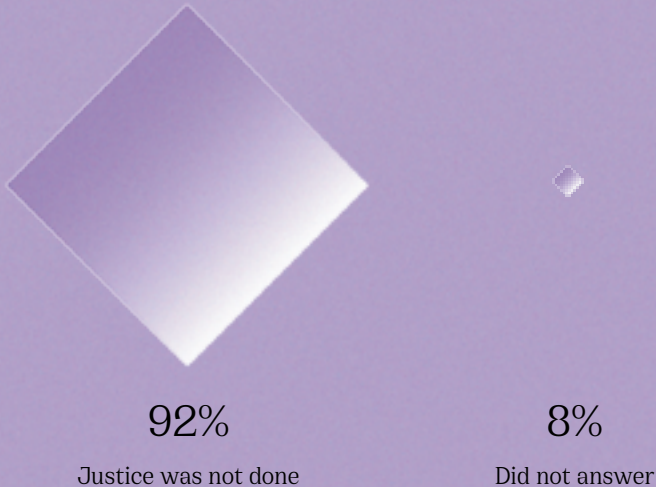
Regarding their treatment by judicial personnel, prosecutors or lawyers, among others, 31% considered that it had been good, 31% said it had not, 31% did not answer and 7% had never had any contact with these groups.

31%
Not well treated

31%
Well treated

31%
Did not answer

7%
No dealings

◆ Men

In their own words

"Unfortunately, we have not had access to justice and the case file has been lost for 44 years."

Victims of the IRA

Regarding their perception of whether justice has been done, 87% of female victims of the IRA answered No, 4% answered Yes and 9% gave no answer.

87%	4%	9%
Believe that justice has not been done	Believe that justice has been done	Gave no answer

Regarding their treatment by judicial staff, prosecutors and lawyers, among others, 61% considered that it had not been good, 17% that it had and 22% had had no dealings with them.

61%

Not well treated

17%

Well treated

22%

No dealings

100% of the male victims of the IRA say that justice was not done. Regarding their treatment by judicial personnel, prosecutors or lawyers, among others, 100% consider that it was not good.

100% of Men

Say that justice was not done and professional treatment was not good

Most victims of the IRA of both sexes say that have been unable to achieve their right to justice as a result of the 1998 agreements between the British and Irish governments, which were intended to achieve peace after decades of violence in Northern Ireland. The main complaints are that no-one has been implicated or convicted, and that no-one has been brought to justice and that they do not see any will for this to happen.

● Women   ◆ Men

In their own words

"Perpetrators of murder and violence released under the Agreement."

"Because of the '98 agreement, there is no interest in prosecuting the terrorists."

The '98 agreement has virtually given the terrorists a pardon."

"There is no Will to arrest and convict."

"We have been totally let down but I still will not give up."

"My young brother was murdered by PIRA in 1993 and since that time it has changed my life and the lives of all my family members greatly. It has left me very frustrated an angered with the Peace Agreement within Northern Ireland. I have not had justice for the murder of my brother."

8.3.5. Need to include a gender perspective in regulations, policies, programmes and projects

Victims of jihadist attacks

When asked whether in the case of victims of terrorism, they think that the impact on women and men is different because of their specific circumstances, 52% of female victims of these attacks, answered No, 41% answered Yes and 7% said they did not know or could not give an opinion because they could not base their opinion on studies and statistics on gender and terrorism.

52%	41%	7%
Do not believe impact varies by gender	Believe impact varies by gender	Did not know
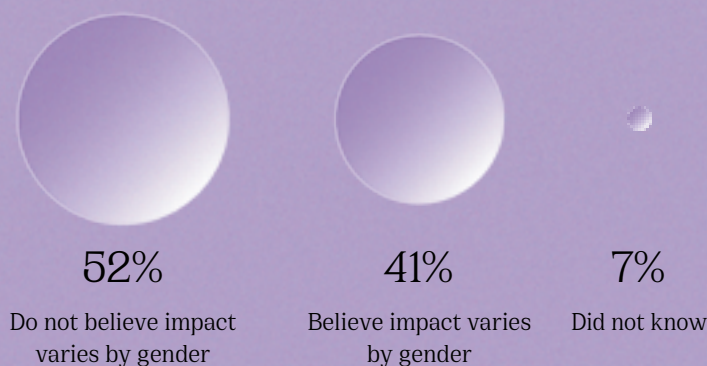
● Women

In their own words

"They even told me I was lucky, because my husband was working."

"I hope they didn't treat the men any worse than they treated me. I believe that all the victims were in the same circumstances; terrorism does not differentiate between genders."

"Feelings are very different and so is the way of coping."

Particularly noteworthy are expressions such as 'your husband is working', meaning 'you can't ask for anything more', in the case of a woman who would no longer be able to work because of her injuries. Such remarks show little appreciation of the importance work can have for the victims' personal development and for that of society as a whole.

Among the male victims 75% answered No to this question and 25% answered Yes.

75%

Do not believe impact
varies by gender

25%

Believe impact varies
by gender

◆   Men

In their own words

"If the gender perspective means preferential treatment for one of the two sexes, it would be unconstitutional and discriminatory."

"We live in a patriarchal society and there is a gender gap in all public or private institutions."

With regard to whether the regulations, policies or programmes should include the gender perspective, 59% of female victims of the jihadist attacks consulted thought they should not, 33% said they should, and 8% did not know or felt they could not answer because they do not have studies and statistics on gender and terrorism on which to base their answers.

59%
Gender perspective
should not be included

33%
Gender perspective
should be included

8%
Did not know

● Women

In their own words

"For me, there is no gender in cases of victims of terrorism. We are all victims."

"I believe that in general women are more prone to psychological disorders and take longer to get over them. Furthermore, we tend to have worse jobs with lower salaries and more instability. I think that in general we are more defenceless."

"Obviously the situation does not affect men, women and children in the same way, when it comes to coping with and overcoming it."

"In such circumstances, each person is different, taking into account how they are, how they have lived the experience, how they feel, etc. That should be taken into account."

"I believe that currently women and men are the same in that aspect, that is, we are human beings and our feelings are the same."

"We should all be treated equally."

"No one should have any special treatment on the basis of being female, but on the severity of their injuries."

"I don't know any men who have been affected, only women, but in my case I have not noticed anything that made me feel discriminated against because I am a woman."

"Women take on greater family burdens and have more limited access to the labour market. The specific needs of women should be taken into account and this should be translated into legal regulations that help cover specific needs."

"Each person is affected differently. Not because of their gender, but because of their circumstances."

"When it comes to the after-effects, I think yes. One response I was given was that my aftereffects were actually symptoms of the menopause. No one wants to write down what they are really caused by."

As for the male victims, 63% believe that this perspective should not be included, 25% that it should and 12% said they did not know.

63%

Gender perspective
should not be included

25%

Gender perspective
should be included

12%

Did not know

◆   Men
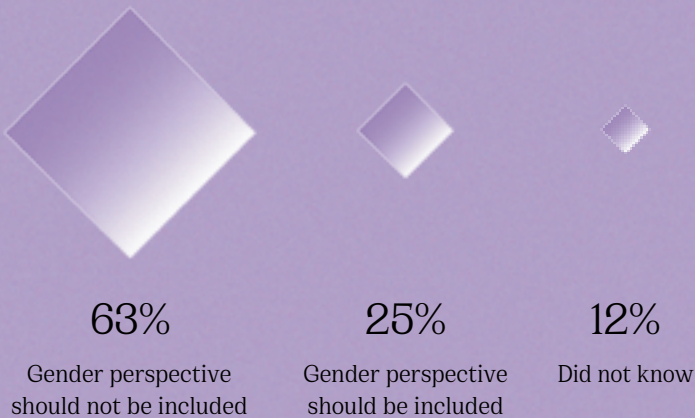
In their own words

"It should be an issue to consider and equality plans should be developed that are actually implemented in all areas of work."

"From what I learned in a workshop I participated in at the association, the needs for psychological care due to post-traumatic stress are different for men and women, direct victims and family members."

"I don't think the way a man or a woman looks at things changes much. Although I would not have a problem if this were taken into account."

"Not if the gender perspective means preferential treatment for one of the two sexes. It would be unconstitutional and discriminatory."

"Each person is affected by their circumstances, not their gender."

With regard to whether the effects of the attack on women and children who have not been direct targets of the attack, as indirect victims, should be considered – for example the role of women as caregivers and providers of the socioeconomic needs of family members, 66% of the female victims of the jihadist attacks consulted thought they should, 30% said they should not and 4% said they did not know.

66%	30%	4%
Should be considered as indirect victims	Should not be considered as indirect victims	Did not know

● Women

In their own words

"No. If so, I hope that men who have been indirect victims, as in the case of my husband, will also be taken into consideration. From the moment I was erroneously discharged from hospital, he became my hands, my legs... everything, because I could not do anything for myself."

"Not if the gender perspective means preferential treatment for one of the two sexes. It would be unconstitutional and discriminatory."

"I believe that, based on principles of equality, any member of the nuclear family should be considered an indirect victim, regardless of gender."

Likewise, 63% of the male victims of these attacks say that they should be considered, 25% say that they should not and 12% say that they do not know.

63%
Should be considered
as indirect victims

25%
Should not be considered
as indirect victims

12%
Do not know

◆   Men

In their own words

"Our partners and children also suffered first-hand from seeing their husband or father suffer and not being able to do anything to help him."

"There are no direct or indirect victims, there are human beings."

Victims of ETA and other groups

When asked whether they consider that the impact on women and men of attending to victims of terrorism is different, given their specific circumstances, 67% of female victims of ETA agreed, and only 33% disagreed.

67%

Impact is different for
women and men

33%

Impact is not different
for women and men

● Women

In their own words

"Unfortunately, the largest number of fatalities have been among men. The widows, many of whom did not have jobs and had young children, were left totally defenceless, uninformed, with many problems and with no resources. I understand that when it comes to caring for people you have to at least know the situation of the person. The greatest injustice is to treat everyone the same."

"ETA mostly killed men. Women (widows, mothers) on their own, without psychological or economic help, or institutional support, etc… are a constant in ETA terrorism."

"Two days before the bomb went off, the doctor told me that everything was perfect. Two days later, I started to feel minor pains and went to the hospital. Without examining me, the doctor said it was normal, because I was pregnant. I had to insist and I told him what had happened. Then they checked me and told me that my baby was dead."

"Pain has no gender. The impact is different in each case and in each person depending on the circumstances. "

"A victim is a victim regardless of gender."

"For both my mother and my father, the murder of their son was devastating."

In answer to the same question, 70% of male victims of ETA felt that the impact was not different, 15% said it was and 15% did not answer or said that they were not qualified to answer.

70%	15%	15%
Impact is not different for women and men	Impact is different for women and men	Did not answer

◆   Men

In their own words

"In my case, my father did not experience it in the same way as my mother, nor did my brother and sister or my girlfriend."

"My mother had her life partner taken from her and I know, to this day, that she made the decision to let herself go, to let herself die. On millions of occasions, she openly said that she wanted to commit suicide. She did not want to stay in this world; getting up every day and remembering her husband entailed too much suffering."

When asked whether the regulations, policies or programmes should take the gender perspective into account, 58% of the female victims of ETA thought they should and 42% that they should not.

58%
Gender perspective
should be included

42%
Gender perspective
should not be included

● Women

In their own words

"Women have been the most affected by terrorism. They are the ones who, in most cases, have had to provide for the family in extreme conditions."
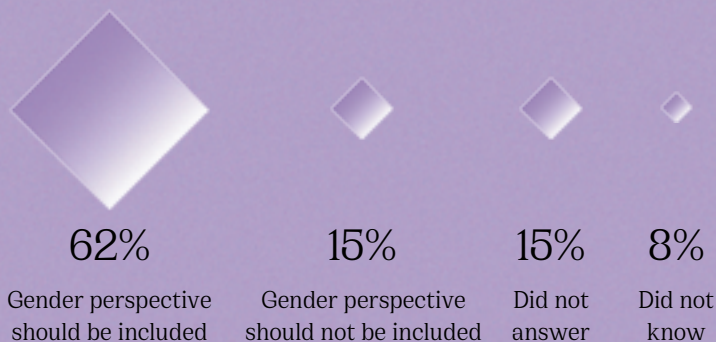
"Regulations, policies and programmes are targeted at individuals and if they do not take into account the objective circumstances of the groups, they will be ineffective and will not meet or address the needs. It will be pure demagogy."

"The harm at a psychological and emotional level is the same. It doesn't matter whether you are male or female. As a society, we have to stop separatism, because that is the first step towards creating inequality."

"They should have suitable staff to analyse each situation in depth."

"You don't always encounter properly trained staff and in those situations that is very necessary."

Asked the same question, 62% of male victims of ETA answered No, 15% answered Yes and 15% did not answer. The remaining 8% said they were not in a position to assess the issue.

62%	15%	15%	8%
Gender perspective should be included	Gender perspective should not be included	Did not answer	Did not know

In relation to whether the effects of the attack on women and children who have not been direct targets of the attack should be considered as indirect victims, giving as an example the role of women as caregivers and providers of the socioeconomic needs of family members, 100% of female victims of ETA answered in the affirmative.

100% of Women

Believe that women and children should be considered as indirect victims
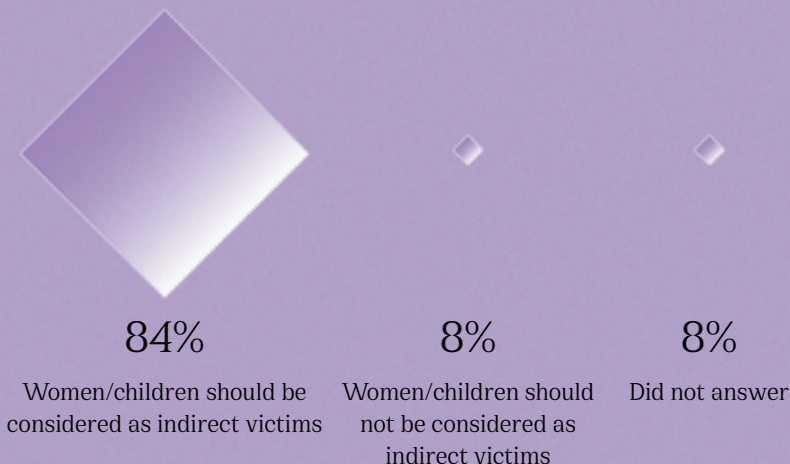
● Women

In their own words

"I know of many cases of seriously wounded and disabled people who have been treated unfairly and, I would even say, mistreated – them and, of course, the members of their family living with them. They lacked the recognition and consideration for their unlimited effort and sacrifice and that led to the destruction of many families."

"An attack creates a rift in many aspects of the family; it is not only about the individual harm of the direct victim."

"I think the authorities should consider continuous follow-up monitoring of the indirect victims of the attacks. They should take an interest in the needs that arise amongst the families and try to help."

In answer to the same question, 84% of male victims of ETA agreed, 8% disagreed and the remaining 8% did not answer.

84%	8%	8%
Women/children should be considered as indirect victims	Women/children should not be considered as indirect victims	Did not answer

◆   Men

In their own words

"They tell you that the compensation is for the widow. No, it is for the family."

"I believe that women are valuable in themselves and do not need specific laws. Imposing gender ideologies separate rather than unite. Women's equality is seen as something that has already been achieved, that there were reasons for demanding it in the past, but not now. It generates controversy, hatred and partisan disputes."

Victims of the IRA

Asked whether they consider that the impact on women and men of attending to victims of terrorism is different, given their specific circumstances, 83% of female victims of the IRA answered in the affirmative, 4% said possibly, depending on the circumstances and only 13% answered no.

83%

Impact is different
for women and men

4%

Maybe

13%

Disagree

● Women

In their own words

"Women mostly need to work through the process to deal with the situation. So in that case, gender may play a role in differentiating the experience. Men are more quiet about what they have been through and internalise feelings."

"Women carry it more and deal with it, and men tend to set it to one side."

"Men tend to put a brave face, but everyone is affected."

"Just get on with it' attitude, today the same as it was in my day."

"Women can appear to be stronger. Men don't talk about things (my opinion)."

"Women would express themselves better. Women will speak more readily."

"The women at times are forgotten about."

"No one considered my views or how I was feeling. "

Asked the same question, 67% of male victims of the IRA agreed and 33% disagreed.

67%

Impact is different
for women and men

33%

Impact is not different
for women and men

◆   Men
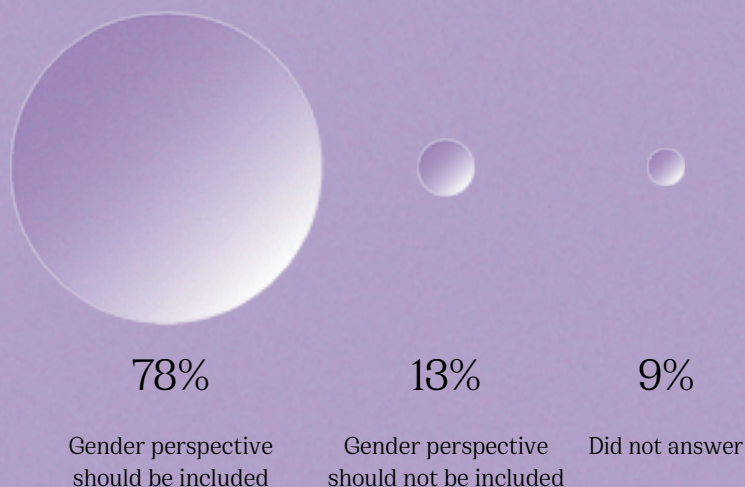
In their own words

"Women were more resilient then."

"My mother got no support for the loss of her son,
it destroyed her."

When asked whether the regulations, policies or programmes should take the gender perspective into account, 78% of the female victims of the IRA thought they should, 13% that they should not and 9% did not answer the question.

78%

Gender perspective
should be included

13%

Gender perspective
should not be included

9%

Did not answer

● Women

In their own words

"Gender may play a role in differentiating the experience. Men are more quiet about what they have been through and internalise feelings."

"Females, I feel, would assist programmes
going forward."

"There has been no recognition by any government
of the role women played in the background during
the Troubles."

"Women deal with grief and adversity in a different
way to men, so yes, that should be factored into pro-
grammes. Women are generally more open to talking
about their experience."

"There is a lot of need to recognise the female
role of support."

"Females are not always recognised for all of the ro-
les they do in a household as well as trying to manage
their time to accommodate other tasks and personal
time. Females suppress how they feel at times to put
on a brave face so they can keep going, without others
knowing what is really happening in their lives."

"The female condition should be considered because
it is hard to look after yourself when you're also relied
on to care for many others."

"Because it was mostly the men who were attacked or killed, the women were forgotten about."

"Things should be female-orientated."

"Not sure. I just feel I was so alone for a long time."

"When I think back to it now, it made me fearful when I had children, what type of world was I bringing them into."

"The majority of solicitors dealing with these cases are male and they expect women just to get on with it and not seek help."

"Lawyers took me into an office before the court and asked me to strip to bra and pants to see my injuries as they were using 'cosmetic reasons' as part of my claim. However, in court I was told that as a married woman I no longer needed to display my body on the beach! And they denied the claim, I was also told in court that as a married woman I was in the lucky position to have a husband to provide for me. Although I had worked full time in a professional career before and since I was married."

On the same issue, 67% of male victims of the IRA agreed
and 33% disagreed.

67%

Gender perspective
should be included

33%

Gender perspective
should not be included

◆   Men

In their own words

"Women should be taken account of more."

"Females should be treated on a level playing field."

"There needs to be recognition of the effect terrorism had on the women at home, and now their role as carers."

"Everyone should be equal. Changes happened to everyone, man, woman or child."

"In our experience my wife was treated as a second-class citizen it was appalling!."

In relation to whether the effects of the attack on women and children who have not been direct targets of the attack should be considered as indirect victims, giving as an example the role of women as caregivers and providers of the socioeconomic needs of family members. 96% of female victims of the IRA agreed and only 4% felt that it depended on the circumstances.

96%

Women/children should be
considered as indirect victims

4%

Depends on
the circumstances

● Women

In their own words

"Relationships are affected, family dynamics are different. Women still have the (…) role of looking after the children, house and family, regardless of their grief."

"Women and children are indirect victims of the attack in the sense that life will change for the whole household and possibly even the wider family depending on the consequences of the attack."

"I think they are direct victims, as often they are the ones that have to deal with the aftermath for years to come."

"The women were at home keeping the 'Home Fires' burning and caring for the family and keeping a brave face on and shielding the children from the sad reality of life, until it came to our door, and then covering over our feelings and tears. Trying to pick up and lead as normal a life as possible while the Troubles were still ongoing and our neighbours were being murdered."

"Absolutely agree, the women and children were at home waiting for their men to return from duty, not realising whether they were alive or dead."

"Extended family / neighbours, all were subjected to my trauma."

"It is only now with the planned victims pension, that the carers are being thought of."

In answer to the same question, 67% of the male victims of the IRA said yes, 22% said no and the remaining 11% through it should be a subject for debate.

67%	22%	11%
Women/children should be considered as indirect victims	Disagree	It should be a subject for debate

◆ Men
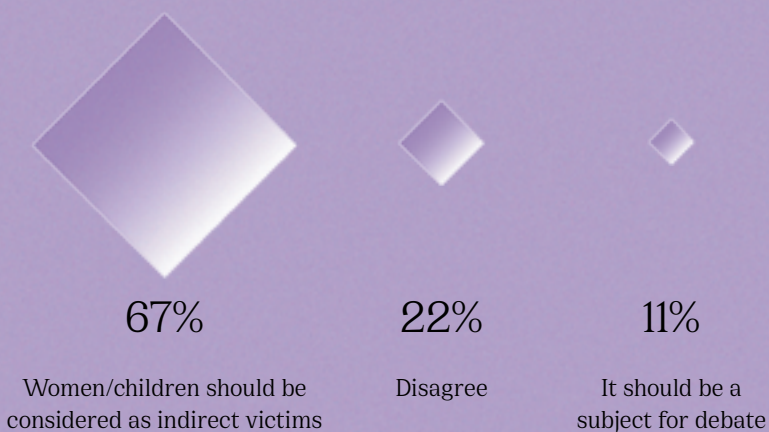
In their own words

"Has anyone thought of the amount of women who have PTSD even though they were not directly attacked?"

"When they talk about victims, women are not included, even if they lost a child or a partner."

"There is no doubt in my mind that women and young children were greatly affected by the terrorist situation in Northern Ireland and suffered immensely. Many women were left on their own to raise young families after their husbands were murdered by terrorists, how could this not be wrong and it most definitely changed all their lives forever."

8.4. The perspective of the experts

A total of thirty-five experts were consulted for this study. They all said they were aware of what the gender perspective is. Of these, 86% said that they were unaware of this approach being applied in regulations, policies, programmes or projects aimed at victims of terrorism, as compared to 14% who said they did have information in this regard. Within the latter group, most of the references were to initiatives within the context of the United Nations Human Rights System.

■ 35 Experts

86%
Unaware of gender perspective
being applied

14%
Aware of gender perspective
being applied
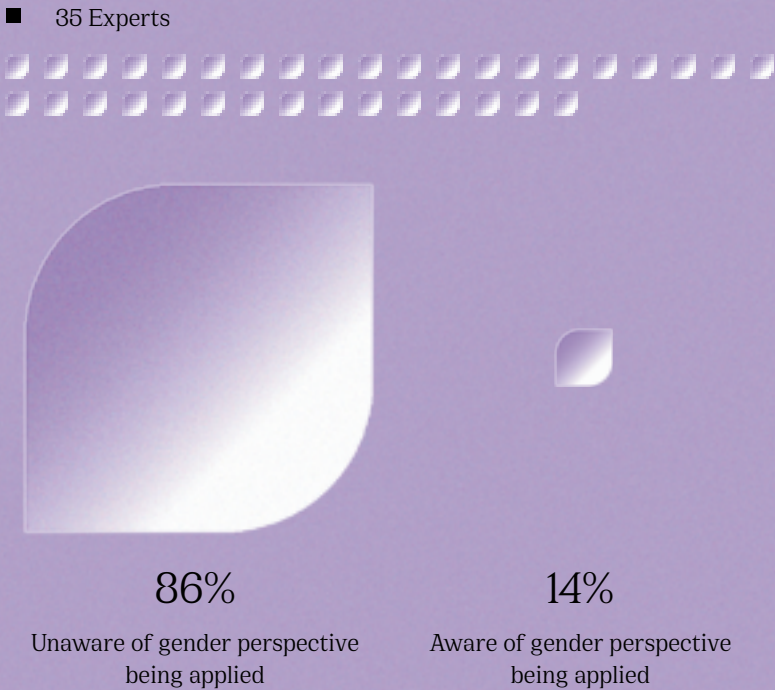
When asked about the need for regulations, policies, programmes or projects for the protection, recognition and remembrance of victims of terrorism to take into account specific gender-related issues, 86% answered in the affirmative, 8% in the negative and the remaining 6% said they did not know.

86%	8%	6%
Gender perspective should be included	Gender perspective should not be included	Did not know
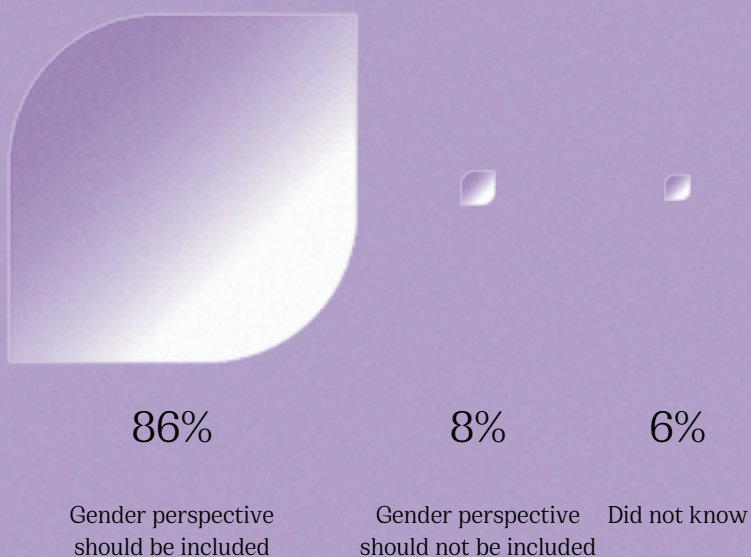
Among those who felt that such a need did exist, some said that the regulations, policies, programmes or projects for the protection, recognition and remembrance of victims of terrorism should include all the necessary mechanisms for a more appropriate personalisation of the measures to be adopted with respect to the victim. To this end, all the circumstances should be taken into account, not only those of an objective nature (such as the nature and gravity of the criminal acts), but also subjective circumstances, which would include the sex of the person and associated circumstances that might make them more vulnerable.

Finally, there was practical unanimity among those consulted when asked whether aspects such as the care provision and socio-economic needs of family members should be taken into account in the regulations, policies, programmes or projects for the protection, recognition and remembrance of the victims of terrorism. Ninety-four percent answered in the affirmative and only 6% said they did not know.

94%

Care provision and socio-economic needs of family members should be taken into account in the regulations

6%

Did not know

8.5. What the data show

It can be seen that the victims of terrorism have very different perspectives depending on the social context in which the attack took place and the terrorist group that perpetrated it. Selective assassinations by terrorist organisations such as ETA, the IRA and others, left behind a large number of widows and partners who had to cope alone with the consequences of the attack on their lives and those of their families. In this regard, 58% of female victims of ETA agreed that it was necessary to incorporate the gender perspective into regulations, policies, projects and programmes aimed at victims of terrorism, although only 15% of the male victims of ETA were in favour. There is considerably stronger support among female and male IRA victims, who agree on the importance of incorporating this approach by 78% and 67%, respectively. The lowest percentage is found among the victims of the jihadist attacks of 11 March 2004 in Madrid and the two attacks perpetrated outside Spanish territory, mostly direct victims, with only 33% of women and 25% of men in favour of incorporating this perspective.

Victims of ETA

58 %

Female

15 %

Male

Victims of the IRA

78 %

Female

67 %

Male

Victims of jihadist attacks

33 %

Female

25 %

Male
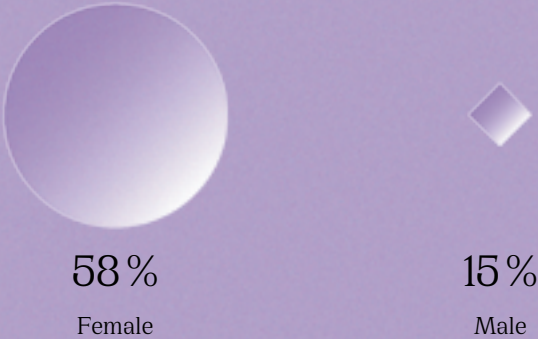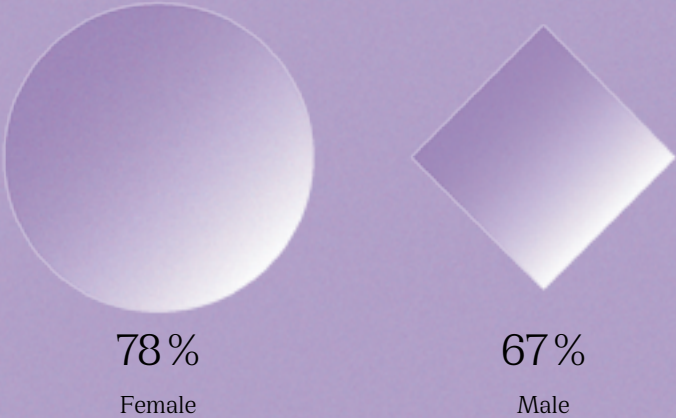
One factor that was also initially taken into account was the timescale. However, we also have very similar testimonies dating from different periods, showing cases in which women were undervalued, for example with direct reference being made to their marital status. Whether or not they are married can condition the way they are viewed and their injuries are assessed differently depending on that condition:

·   '*I was told that, as a married woman, I no longer needed to show off my body on the beach! ... and that, as a married woman, I was fortunate to have a husband to support me. Even though I had a full-time professional career before and after I got married*'.

·   '*They even told me that I was lucky, because my husband was working*' – and this after she had been told that the end of her professional career was not so serious, because she was married. The physical injuries decisively prevented her from remaining in the work that was her life, but despite this: '*I only received compensation for psychological harm*'.

The first of these testimonies dates from the end of the 1970s in the context of Northern Ireland and the second from the first decade of the twenty-first century in Spain.

From these and other similar cases, we deduce that the circumstances being denounced are in no way 'a thing of the past'; rather that they are enduring gender conditioners that continue to restrict women's right to equal opportunities and fully affect their present-day lives.

Finally, one revealing fact: there are no testimonies of the opposite occurring, i.e., of men having been described as 'lucky' to have a wife to support them.

·   Many of the experts consulted agreed that the reason for the need to incorporate a gender perspective into the policies and regulations affecting victims of terrorism lies in the specific social and labour situation of women in Spain; given that the country's social structure and protection systems are based on the concept of the structured family, because of its intensive dedication to the burdens

involved in maintaining care.[165] This situation also applies to female victims of terrorism (mothers, wives, partners, daughters and sisters and, moreover, workers and caregivers) who, in this context, will have to cope with the impact caused by the terrorist act in a family structure which from that moment on will be altered. Indeed, there is scientific consensus on the importance of determining the reactions and aftereffects of people who, directly or indirectly, have suffered a terrorist attack for prolonged periods of time or even throughout their lives. In this regard, UN Women notes that a new paradigm is emerging that starts with the premise that each intervention, without exception '*is an opportunity for learning how to influence desired social change towards gender equality, sustainability, human rights and peace*'. It is about moving 'towards acceptance of the reality that "we do not know what we do not know" during any programme planning or implementation process.'[166]

·   Among the arguments put forward by the victims and, to a much lesser extent, by the experts consulted, against incorporation of the gender perspective in the area of actions planned for victims of terrorism, one observes an identification of such a move with a sort of violation of the principle of equality, benefitting women to the detriment of men, or an attempt to give weight to the suffering of one group over the other. That is to say, the principle of equality is identified with giving everyone the same, rather than providing what each person equitably needs, given that equity is a general criterion from which the application of the rules in favour of justice should be weighed. Nor does the description of the concept as an 'ideology' contribute to seeing the benefits of gender mainstreaming in public management, which, beyond the state's international commitments, should be translated into a more equitable allocation of public resources and greater efficiency in obtaining results. Statements such as '*the violation of human rights does not understand gender*' or '*not seeing the relationship between the two areas of research or how it would*

165. Consejo Económico y Social (CES). (2012, January). *Tercer Informe sobre la Realidad Sociolaboral Española*. Col. Informes. Consejo Económico y Social, n.° 01/2011, 23-24.

166. Stephens, A., Lewis, E. D. and Reddy, S. M. (2018*). Inclusive Systemic Evaluation (ISE4GEMs): A New Approach for the SDG Era*. ONU Mujeres, 12.

benefit victims of terrorism in general as a group' reflect a view of the two themes as being mutually-exclusive closed compartments, which are mutually incompatible and which ultimately can only cause harm, since the gender analysis is seen as an attempt to justify the idea that '*women are more victims*', to the detriment and disregard of the victimisation of men.

For whatever reason, those surveyed who were opposed to gender mainstreaming are first and foremost individuals who live and function in a given social context of which –like those who favour such an approach– they are a reflection. For this reason, in many cases, albeit unconsciously, they suffer the effects of the socio-cultural gender constructs that permeate all areas of human life. As a result, they make demands that contradict their own initial position. Thus, in the same questionnaire, some have refuted the need to implement a gender perspective in the regulations, policies, programmes and projects aimed at victims of terrorism whilst at the same time calling for a recognition of the specific circumstances associated with being a woman or specific treatment based on the roles associated with their sex:

· I think the fear you suffer when you are a mother is one hundred percent greater.

· I was looking after 3 children and 3 adults and they didn't make it easy for me to develop a work-life balance.

· I had to put off looking for work to take care of my husband and children on my own, as it took time before my husband could do so.

· I felt alone, with no support from the justice system and an obligation to look after my entire family: a husband with health problems, a small child and my elderly in-laws.

· You have to remember that women are under-diagnosed and their symptoms remain more hidden.

· Consideration should be given to the special impact on women of the loss of a child.

· There are some specific situations where the female condition could be taken into account. I know of several women whose husbands were murdered and they were left to look after young children on their own. This was common in Northern Ireland and I genuinely believe that these specific incidents greatly impacted on women.

· I do believe that both men and women have suffered greatly by the terrorist violence in Northern Ireland and it would be difficult to say if one group suffered more than the other. I honestly believe that women and children may have had to carry the burden of pain and suffering possibly more than men. I can only say that from my own experience having watched my mother and sister over the years since the violent death of my young brother.

Precisely, 'being in charge of the children', 'giving up work to take care of the family', 'the fear of not being able to cope with these responsibilities, if you lose your health or life', 'the difficulty of developing a work-life balance', and other considerations that have emerged from the questionnaires and interviews, are the features of the care-giving role traditionally assigned to women in our society, which many say comes as an added burden to their work (if they are still in employment).

Whatever the reason, the contradictions that arise, as we have seen, are no more than a reflection of humankind itself and the cultural baggage that everyone to some extent bears. The male vision of the world has for so long been taken as a universal parameter that even today it requires a great deal of teaching to bring visibility to gender inequalities and to take into account discriminatory situations which, despite being there in front of us, are no better detected when analysing the situation on which we want to intervene. The important thing is to raise awareness of the aspects that contribute to reinforcing areas of rights violations; these are often difficult to detect, and they hinder or prevent the task of promoting and implementing the necessary changes. In this sense, inclusion of the gender perspective in policies, programmes and projects that affect the victims of terrorism must begin with an analysis of the needs of women who have directly or indirectly suffered the impact of an attack and it must do so within the gender relations in the spaces where they operate, from the family sphere to the social and

employment sphere, incorporating equity to correct the failures that the dominant model of coexistence is perpetuating.

Even so, shedding light on the submerged reality of women does not invalidate the analysis of other situations that affect men, as this study has shown. Incorporating the gender perspective entails adopting a vision that matches all aspects of the situation and providing the means to transform it in coherence with the real needs of people (be they women or men). The aim is to give each person what he or she needs, based on principles of equality and equity, improving the quality and impact of regulations, policies, programmes and social projects.

· It is important to note certain attitudes shown and the type of language used towards women in the centres where they have been attended and a tendency to minimise their suffering: '*It's nothing, the pain is because you're pregnant*', '*That's the menopause*' and '*What do you want to work for anyway?*'. Bearing in mind that in the cases cited, one woman was suffering pain because her baby had died in the womb; the 'menopause' was in fact the effect of injuries caused by the attack, and that work is a source not only of economic support but also of personal development for both men and women, it is clear that there is an important cultural burden that prevents the victims from receiving adequate attention. This is seen at all levels from the micro to the macro. There is no record, for example, of male victims being told that their sequelae were the effect of the andropause. Expressions like this are a form of undervaluation which psychologist Ianire Estébanez calls '*a way of questioning our judgement; it is as if we were being told that what we are saying is subjective, while the person telling us is speaking from a supposed position of objectivity*'. This results in a perception of invalidation and that what the person feels is actually unimportant. In a way, this form of invalidation is equivalent to the historical use of the term 'hysteria' as a female attribute.[167]

Thus, the main obstacle to incorporating the gender perspective in regulations, policies, programmes and projects related to victims of terrorism may lie in the prevailing socio-cultural and institutional perceptions at any given time and in any given place.

167. Requena Aguilar, A. (2021, October 10). Por qué 'intensa' es el nuevo 'histérica'. *elDiario.es*.

In any case, it is important to point out once again that the overwhelming majority of female and male victims of the IRA, as well as most of the female victims of the terrorism of ETA and other groups, who took part in this study, were in favour of including this perspective in the actions planned for victims of terrorism (regulations, policies, programmes and projects).

· Undoubtedly, Spain has an enormously advanced body of legislation when it comes to the protection of victims of terrorism, and this is the first step that every responsible state must take.[168] Without detracting from this progress, it is clear that good regulations, like good policies, must always be reviewed to detect possible points of friction with the everyday reality, in order to ensure that they do not have the opposite effect to that intended. As we have seen throughout this report, a continuous evaluation of this kind should focus on the different results that any planned activity aimed at the victims of terrorism might have for the lives of these women and men. Among other aspects, the victims call for greater humanization of the procedures, training for staff attending them, the creation of mechanisms to detect and correct inequalities, coordination between different public authorities and the removal of restrictive deadlines on the exercise of their rights, to ensure that the door is not closed to people who have been unable to submit the corresponding applications as a result of the serious impact of the attack. Amongst the group of victims of ETA, there is also serious inequality with regard to compensation (deriving from Law 29/11, of 22 September 2011, for the *Recognition and Comprehensive Protection of Victims of Terrorism*) between victims whose attacks have not been solved and those whose attacks have been resolved with the conviction of those responsible following a judicial process. This unfair situation was already mentioned in the Ombudsman's 2016 study on the rights of ETA victims ('*Estudio sobre los derechos de las víctimas de ETA*') which, *inter alia*, recommended '*paying special attention to the issue of equal compensation.*'[169]

168. Muñoz Escandell, I. (2017). *Estatuto Jurídico de las víctimas del terrorismo en Europa: Estudio de Derecho Comparado.* Known as the Grey Book. Pagazaurtundúa Ruiz, M. (ed.). Parlamento Europeo, 69.

169. Defensor del Pueblo (2016). *Estudio sobre los derechos de las víctimas de ETA. Situación actual.* Defensor del Pueblo, 71.

· All of these demands require adequate resources. It is essential to foster specialisation and appropriate skills among the staff of the different public authorities who are in contact with the victims, in order effectively to address each specific situation, humanely and empathetically. It is therefore essential to promote continuous training, specialisation and follow-up training, with involvement of the victims' representative organisations. This will require awareness and sensitisation programmes for all staff, including social-healthcare personnel (whose judgments and perceptions can seriously impair the victim's recovery).

As acknowledged, Spanish has undeniably led the way in introducing legislation in the area of victims of terrorism, but judging from the testimonies of those consulted and the experience of working in the victims' movements, it is clear that an in-depth evaluation is needed to detect possible flaws that may have occurred in its implementation and introduce any changes or corrective measures that may be necessary. What this study proposes is that gender be included among the categories to be considered in these processes.

It is clear that we cannot leave everything to the law. In his work 'Derechos and garantías. La ley del más débil', Luigi Ferrajoli wrote that '*no legal mechanism alone can guarantee de facto equality between the two sexes, no matter how much it can be rethought and reformulated based on an assessment of difference. Equality, not only between the sexes, is always a legal utopia, which will continue to be violated for as long as the social, economic and cultural reasons that sustain male dominance persist. However, this in no way detracts from its normative value. (...) The real problem, which requires legal invention and imagination, is the creation of a guarantee of difference that will in fact serve to guarantee equality.*'[170]

170. Ferrajoli, L. (2009). *Derechos y garantías. La ley del más débil.* Trotta, 92.

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Final thoughts

There is no human reaction than to try to shelter from uncertainty, even if this means pacing in circles like the panther in Rilke's poem who believes that the world is made up of thousands of bars and that there is nothing beyond. However, there *is* something out there. We only need to open the cage and view it from other angles. By practising this exercise continuously throughout our lives, we can acquire an increasingly less fragmented vision of the overarching reality – that reality that we will call reality and in which we will believe.

This study was founded on one basic premise: We see what we believe. We breathe ideas, beliefs and value judgments as if we had an invisible but very dense second skin, which envelops us in a continuous and practically imperceptible process of socialisation and which follows its own rules depending on the social, cultural and historical context in which we live. In light of this truism, knowing how gender relations are manifested in all areas, we felt it was essential to review the extent to which all this can permeate the planned actions (rules, policies, programmes and projects) targeted at victims of terrorism. On what grounds could they be thought to be exceptional? The experts we consulted almost unanimously recognised that they are not, and stressed the importance of incorporating gender as an analytical category to detect any differences and inequalities that may occur between women and men who have suffered the consequences of a terrorist attack, with particular emphasis on the former, since such inequalities are pre-existing and the terrorist attack constitutes a traumatic event which is most likely to exacerbate them. As Primo Levi oncer said, the victim is more than just a victim; he or she has responsibilities before and after being a victim.

Indeed, the victim is a person before becoming a victim. Victimisation is a condition that is imposed on the construction of their identity, another of its many component conditions, together with age, sex, skin colour, personality and all the other features that make that person unique. 'My identity is what prevents me from being identical to anybody else,' said Amin Maalouf, adding that 'not all these allegiances are equally strong, at least at any given moment'.[171] We know that nothing that affects human life before the attack is neutral and that this reality not only does not change after the traumatic event, but is liable to be exacerbated. As we have seen, incorporating the gender perspective does not mean giving greater importance to the suffering of one group over another or excluding some victims in favour of others. Nor should it rule out men by definition; however the fact is that the greater inequalities faced by women often mean that, in practice, this is the case.[172] For this reason, this first approach to the use of this perspective in the area of victims of terrorism has focused on women, given that they have been squeezed into a tight sociocultural suit. We need look no further than the fact that the pace at which women have been incorporated into the (formal

171. Maalouf, A. (2004*). Identidades asesinas.* Alianza, 18-19.
172. Naciones Unidas (2014). *Los derechos de la mujer son derechos humanos.* Oficina del Alto Comisionado, 39.

or informal) jobs market has not been matched by the incorporation of men into domestic work, with its associated tasks of care for dependents. For many, as María Ángeles Durán points out, this is not a freely chosen option and for it they pay 'the high price of a new personal identity and social integration' (Durán, 1986). The myth of the *superwoman*, capable of coping with anything has greatly harmed the quality of life of women forced to do a 'double day's work' (paid work and unpaid domestic and care work) or even a 'triple day's work' if they are also involved in supporting school work or actively engaged in associative or trade union movements.[173] As Marcela Lagarde says in her book 'Los Cautiverios de las mujeres', women '*are taking on more and more functions, roles, activities and responsibilities, private and public; that is, they are changing generically, they are contributing more to the social fabric, to the economy and to culture, with narrow margins of political mobility. Thus, women's subjectivity is becoming increasingly complex, but also more contradictory, resulting in an individual subjective conflict and similar discomforts that colour contemporary social mindsets regarding women.*'[174]

Nonetheless –or precisely for this reason– in conducting our analysis, we have taken into account the relational dimension of inequality,

since any approach to the object of this study that considered women in isolation would not only obscure the extent of the discrimination they suffer, but would also be detrimental to the ultimate aspiration of offering as broad a view as possible of the dimension of the harm caused by terrorism. We have therefore included a specific section to analyse the impact of traditional models of masculinity on the lives of victims of terrorism. In his work 'Masculine Domination', Pierre Bourdieu noted that to praise a man, one need only tell him that he is a 'real man'. And what is a 'real' man in each of our societies? Does such a model hold up in the face of a suffering male victim, weakened by the effects of trauma, relegated to the private space of caregiving or suffering a disability? As we have seen in this work, the masculine ideal of self-sufficiency, often collapses in the aftermath of a terrorist attack, causing a breakdown in the constructed identity of the man. To return to Bourdieu, we need to consider how the order of things can be changed, because this is not a natural order about which nothing can be done, but a mental construct.[175]

Something, undoubtedly, needs to be done and it must be done constructively. First, however, there are many questions we need to ask in order to open cracks in what we have

173. Durán, M. A. (2012). El trabajo no remunerado en la economía global. Fundación BBVA, 81. Puleo, H.A. (2005). El patriarcado: ¿una organización social superada? *Temas para el debate*, n.° 133, 39-42. Arrogante, V. (2020, March 9). Soy de la generación de la igualdad. *Diario 16.* Quezada Díaz, B., De la Hoz Becquer, A. M., and Lara Márquez, L. (2021). Diferencias de género en la sobrecarga laboral y el apoyo en la educación remota de la infancia, en personas que trabajan desde casa por la COVID-19. *Revista Liminales. Escritos sobre Psicología y Sociedad*, 10(20), 215-236. Europapress. (2020, January 30). Las mujeres viven más años que los hombres pero con peor salud debido a la 'triple jornada laboral'. *Europapress.*
174. Lagarde de los Ríos, M. (2016). *Los cautiverios de las mujeres.* Presentación a la quinta edición. Siglo XXI Editores, 23-53.
175. Bourdieu, P. (2000). *La dominación masculina.* Anagrama, 137-141.

learned, however painful this exercise may be. María Zambrano identified the break caused by such questions with the realisation of a long anguish: '*The act of questioning presupposes the emergence of consciousness [...] this detachment of the soul, the loss of innocence, in which the conscious attitude arises, is but the formulation, the concretisation, of a long anguish*'.[176] Once the anguish has been overcome and our conscience has been opened up, it is impossible to return to the common places which seemed so true to us because they are so familiar and so oft-repeated. Some may well be true; but others are very likely to be steeped in stereotypes and prejudices of whose very existence we were unaware, conditioning lives and feeding inequalities.

The inequalities between women and men persist in different spheres of life, including, as we have said, the labour market and caregiving, and the victims of terrorism, daughters and sons of society and the times in which they have had to live, are not exempt from this process. For this reason, the aspiration for true equality between women and men is a human right that also concerns them and without which it will not be possible to achieve full reparation or social justice. It is therefore necessary to change the administrative culture in order to recognise the structural and systemic nature of gender inequality so that we can see that public policies are not neutral and therefore tend to reproduce existing inequalities. Such inequalities, incidentally, do not operate in isolation; rather they interact constantly with one another.

In light of the above, in order to achieve the hoped-for transformative effect of policies aimed at victims of terrorism, such policies must adopt an intersectional gender approach, if they are to be fair and effective, avoiding undesirable biases that are breeding grounds for discrimination. An intersectional approach allows us to integrate other dimensions of social inequality other than gender (*inter alia*, race, class, sexual orientation, nationality and age) which, as Gracia Ibáñez notes, constitute 'overlapping axes of subordination in a person's life'.[177] Therefore, any policy that claims to protect human rights must generate mechanisms for detecting and adapting to intersectional factors, if it is to avoid defeating its own goal and establishing institutional discrimination, albeit implicitly or unwittingly. Indeed, one way of making the victim of terrorism invisible is, precisely, to incardinate them within the generic term 'victim' without taking into account the confluence of different factors such as those mentioned above. Homogenising a group rather than recognising its heterogeneity is a fertile breeding ground for discrimination.

Precisely, within this work of humanisation and recognition of the diversity of victims, these policies should promote women's leadership in activities aimed at preventing and counteracting the violent extremism that leads

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176. Zambrano, M. (1993). *El hombre y lo divino.* Fondo de Cultura Económica, 35.

177. Gracia Ibáñez, J. (2015). Una mirada interseccional sobre la violencia de género contra las mujeres mayores. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, Vol. 5, N.° 2, 547-569.

to terrorism, as well as investing in the creation of ethical spaces for reconciliation that challenge the logic of violence, including the associative movement. It is also very important to encourage the inclusion of women experts in spaces for promoting reflection, analysis and dialogue with civil society on terrorism (round table discussions, conferences, seminars and panels), which tend to be occupied mostly by men. The women who do participate in such forums tend to do so, for the most part, as victims whose contribution is to offer their testimony or as activists from movements of victims of terrorism. However there is still little or no space for women who are not victims, but experts in the field.

Due to these and many other situations, the incorporation of gender as a category of analysis in public policies will be decisive when establishing the framework to be undertaken and adapting it to the specific conditions of the victims of terrorism in order to create an appropriate set of concepts, practices and criteria for detecting such inequalities. This must take place at all levels and in all stages in the organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of such policies (i.e. through gender mainstreaming). In order for the implementation of this perspective to become a material reality in the area of victims of terrorism, it is not enough merely to want it to happen. As we have seen, it is necessary to transform the administrative culture, and this requires measures of training, sensitisation and awareness-raising on gender issues. Without them, it will not be possible to guarantee the effectiveness of the provisions to be adopted, nor the practical fulfilment of

the purposes that have been foreseen, nor even an appropriate approach to the victims of terrorism. This, in a way, is a form of exclusion that leads to stereotyped representations of what victims 'should be', which do not allow us to perceive them as they really are, but as we assume they should be or act, often reducing them to two-dimensional figures that can be readily moulded to the particular situation of the country in question.

However, not everything depends on the public authorities. It is also necessary to change cultural attitudes and perceptions of gender at an individual level to bring about a general awareness that will contribute to making the necessary social transformations. Like a broken mirror, the answers to the questionnaires offer us a fragmented image. Each word carries its own charge of loss and life experience but above all, what emerges is a human individual. Each attack happened on a given date, at a given time. And, once the event itself has passed, the victims begin to endure the consequences, many in uneven bursts. And they do so not on a *tabula rasa*, but on a concrete life history, developed under the influence of the rules of a specific society and a specific time.

This study has sought to shed some light (on the assumed and the unassumed, on the open wound or the barely-hidden scar), to listen and to open our eyes to the intimate lived experience of violence. The role that each man or woman plays in that social context, the cultural attributes assigned to him or her, is absolutely relevant, since it will determine in very different ways the possibilities of a

subsequent personal reconstruction and, in short, the integration of the event in their own life history. It is therefore very important to incorporate the gender perspective in all planned actions (public or not) that directly or indirectly impinge on the lives of victims of terrorism. All of them, consciously or unconsciously, have experienced violence from their own perception of reality and under the (not always protective) umbrella of the socio-cultural factors that have contributed to shaping their identity. And that umbrella will persist after they become victims – or indeed, its attributes may become more evident. And while it is true that there are as many victims as there are individuals, if there is one common parameter that unites them all, it is the way in which they have been socialised because of their sex. This socialisation will be a determining factor in measuring the harm caused to them following the attack, as will

the effect of living in a context of continuous violence, because each individual interprets the signs from the position to which they have been socially assigned, which conditions their sense of self and experience in this world.[178]

Finally, as Umberto Galimberti said in 'Myths of Our Time', every judgment, every assessment we make constitutes a shift in the ideas that have so far regulated our lives, 'and that perhaps are no longer adequate to accompany us in the understanding of a world that is changing even without our collaboration'.[179] This study seeks to open a space for reflection in this world, looking at the victims of terrorism from a different angle than usual. We hope that it will enable a conscious attitude to emerge which –beyond what we are accustomed to believe– will enable us to drive forward the changes we aspire to make.

178. Abasolo, O. and Montero, J. (s.f.). *Guía didáctica de ciudadanía con perspectiva de género Igualdad en la diversidad.* FUHEM ECOSOCIAL, 57-65. European Commission, Directorate-General for Research and Innovation. (2012). *El género en la investigación: manual.* Publications Office of the European Union, 10-11.

179. Galimberti, U. (2013). *Los mitos de nuestro tiempo.* Debate, 18.

10.

Acronyms and
abbreviations

10. Acronyms and abbreviations

AECID
Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation)

CEDAW
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CES
Consejo Económico and Social (Spanish Economic and Social Council)

CoE
Council of Europe

CONADEP
Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons)

DAW
Division for the Advancement of Women

G20
Group of Twenty

ICRC
International Committee of the Red Cross

IHL
International Humanitarian Law

MDGs
Millenium Development Goals

OECD
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

OSCE
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

PTSD
Post-traumatic stress disorder

SAARC
South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

SDGs
Sustainable Development Goals

UN
United Nations Organisation

UNED
Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (National University of Distance Learning)

UNODC
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UfM
Union for the Mediterranean

UN Women
Entity dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women

UNICEF
United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFEM
United Nations Development Fund for Women

UPC
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (Technical University of Catalonia)

W20
Women 20

WILPF
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

11.

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