

Syrie : violence domestique

Recherche rapide de l'analyse-pays de l'OSAR

Berne, le 25 octobre 2019

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1 Introduction

Les questions suivantes ont été tirées d'une demande adressée à l'analyse-pays de l'OSAR :

1. De quelles informations dispose-t-on au sujet de la violence domestique en Syrie ?
2. Quels moyens de protection existent sur place ?

Les informations reposent sur une recherche limitée dans le temps (recherche rapide) dans des documents accessibles publiquement que l'OSAR tient actuellement à disposition, ainsi que sur des renseignements fournis par des personnes de contact expertes du sujet.

2 Violence domestique

2.1 Évaluation juridique du HCR au sujet de la violence domestique

D'après les *considérations sur le besoin de protection des personnes qui fuient la République arabe de Syrie* (5e version actualisée de novembre 2017), « le HCR [...] considère que les femmes appartenant aux catégories suivantes sont susceptibles d'avoir besoin d'une protection internationale, en raison de leur appartenance au groupe social particulier défini comme « femmes en Syrie », de leur religion, de leurs opinions politiques réelles ou présumées ou d'une combinaison de ces motifs et d'autres motifs déterminants, selon les circonstances spécifiques à chacune : [...]

b) Les femmes qui ont survécu à une [...] violence domestique ou qui risquent d'en être victimes [...].»

b) Les femmes qui ont survécu à un mariage forcé [...] ou qui risquent d'en être victimes [...].» (HCR, 3 novembre 2017).

2.2 Cadre légal : violence domestique

La violence domestique n'est pas spécifiquement interdite par la loi, le viol conjugal ne constitue pas une infraction pénale, les habitudes générales autorisent les hommes à discipliner les femmes de leur famille. Selon l'*Agence des Nations-Unies pour les réfugiés* (HCR), la violence domestique n'est pas spécifiquement interdite par la loi. La définition du viol (article 489 du droit pénal, loi 148/1949 avec adaptations) exclut spécifiquement le viol conjugal. Les articles 192, 242 et 548 autorisent les juges à infliger des peines réduites pour les meurtres et les blessures « au nom de l'honneur » (HCR, 3 novembre 2017). Un rapport de l'OCDE de décembre 2018 relève également qu'en Syrie, il n'y a pas de législation spécifique concernant la violence domestique. Il est toutefois prévu qu'une femme puisse déposer une plainte, si elle est lésée d'une manière spécifique (article 489-492 et 504-507 du droit pénal). Selon le *US Department of State* (USDOS), la législation syrienne autorise les hommes à discipliner les femmes de leur famille d'une manière qui correspond à leurs habitudes générales (USDOS, 13 mars 2019).

2.3 Violence domestique très répandue

Violence domestique ancrée dans les normes sociétales. Selon le *Fonds des Nations unies pour la population* (FNUAP), la violence domestique figure actuellement parmi les formes de violence contre les femmes les plus répandues en Syrie. C'était déjà le cas au cours des années précédentes. Souvent ancré dans les normes sociétales, le phénomène n'est pas nouveau en Syrie. La violence, généralement exercée par le partenaire, peut prendre une forme émotionnelle, physique, sexuelle, psychique, financière et économique, d'après les personnes interrogées par le FNUAP. Elle ne se produit habituellement pas qu'une fois, mais de façon répétée, avec une intensité de plus en plus forte et peut provoquer de sérieuses blessures physiques (FNUAP, 5 mai 2019).

La violence domestique était déjà très répandue avant la guerre ; intensification dans tout le pays pendant les années de guerre. Selon le HCR, qui se réfère à une série de sources, la violence domestique est très répandue en Syrie et s'est « normalisée » pendant les années de guerre. Auparavant, on dénombrait déjà beaucoup de cas de violence domestique contre les femmes et ces pratiques étaient largement tolérées. La violence domestique a été identifiée comme un problème majeur dans l'ensemble du pays (71 pourcents des sous-districts analysés) dans le *Protection Needs Overview des Nations Unies* d'octobre 2016. D'après les femmes interrogées, les hommes parviennent moins bien à dominer leur colère à cause du stress psychologique dû à la guerre ; ils deviennent donc plus vite violents. Les hommes et les femmes interrogés auraient décrit la violence des hommes comme une conséquence « compréhensible » de la charge psychique inhérente à la vie dans des régions instables. L'échec des hommes dans leur rôle de pourvoyeurs, lié au fort taux de chômage et à l'augmentation du coût de la vie induite par la guerre, causeraient une angoisse également citée comme motif de l'augmentation de la violence domestique (HCR, 3 novembre 2017).

D'après le FNUAP, les répercussions de la violence domestique s'aggravent en période de crise, rendent les femmes encore plus vulnérables et les exposent à une pression psychique accrue. Les femmes concernées auraient affirmé ne se sentir nulle part en sécurité, ni à la maison, ni en dehors. La pauvreté, le chômage et les déplacements de population pendant les années de guerre ont amené un stress et une pression accrues sur les hommes, les femmes, les garçons et les filles. On recourrait par conséquent plus vite à la violence. Selon une personne interrogée par le FNUAP, les hommes déchargeraient leur colère en criant sur leurs épouses et en les frappant (FNUAP, 5 mai 2019).

La *Banque mondiale* (WB) signale également une augmentation de l'ampleur et de la portée de la violence domestique (de même que des viols, y compris conjugaux), des mariages forcés avec des combattants de groupes armés, de la traite des femmes et de l'esclavage sexuel. La guerre a encore renforcé les traditions et attitudes patriarcales qui, auparavant déjà, restreignaient fortement les droits des femmes (WB, 6 février 2019).

D'après le FNUAP, les partenaires peuvent éviter de devoir rendre des comptes. Il leur suffit de divorcer. La menace de divorce peut inciter les femmes à rester dans une relation entachée par la violence et les abus. Les femmes divorcées perdent souvent leurs droits à l'héritage et la garde des enfants. Tout comme les veuves, elles sont exposées à d'autres menaces (FNUAP, 5 mai 2019).

2.4 Protection gouvernementale et non-gouvernementale

Dans le meilleur des cas, la police est indifférente, dans le pire, elle se rend coupable de harcèlement sexuel vis-à-vis des femmes qui déposent plainte pour violence domestique. Selon l'OCDE, qui se réfère à différentes sources, la police est perçue comme non qualifiée et indifférente aux plaintes pour violence domestique, raison pour laquelle beaucoup de cas sont passés sous silence. La violence domestique serait depuis longtemps taboue dans la société syrienne. En cas de plainte, les victimes craindraient en outre des mesures de représailles de la part de leur mari ou des membres de la famille. Dans la plupart des cas, la victime retirerait la plainte avant une condamnation. Lors du dépôt d'une plainte, la police refuserait souvent d'intervenir ; il arriverait même qu'elle abuse des femmes concernées, qu'elle les harcèle sexuellement, les insulte, les tire par les cheveux et les frappe (OCDE, décembre 2018).

Possibilités légales très restreintes pour les femmes : la corruption et l'inégalité de traitement, ainsi que la honte et l'exclusion sociale, empêchent la plupart des dépôts de plainte. Selon le HCR, les femmes n'ont que des possibilités légales très restreintes d'agir contre la violence subie dans leur propre foyer. Les cas de violence domestique seraient généralement considérés comme des infractions administratives (HCR, 3 novembre 2017). D'après le FNUAP, les personnes interrogées ont mentionné des obstacles spécifiques auxquels sont confrontées les femmes et les filles ayant subi des violences sexistes. On trouve en Syrie des systèmes juridiques qui diffèrent d'une région à l'autre, des éléments fonctionnels de systèmes judiciaires formels, mais aussi des systèmes informels. Dans le nord-est de la Syrie, la *Kurdish Security Administration* est responsable des affaires juridiques. Les parties du pays qui ne sont pas contrôlées par le gouvernement ne sont pas toutes dotées d'un système judiciaire formel. Même quand il en existe un, les femmes et les filles ne lui feraient pas confiance, parfois pour des raisons de corruption et d'inégalité de traitement. Dans d'autres cas, la procédure judiciaire serait inefficace à cause de l'influence exercée par des groupes armés ou des membres de la communauté. Les femmes et les filles qui portent plainte et qui tentent d'épuiser les possibilités légales seraient toutefois exposées à la honte, au scandale, à l'exclusion sociale et aux insultes. C'est pourquoi cette voie ne serait pas une option pour elles. Contrairement aux hommes, les femmes qui intentent une action en justice pour les violences subies seraient considérées comme ignorantes, rebelles et impies (FNUAP, 5 mai 2019).

La guerre a provoqué la fermeture des foyers pour femmes tenus par des organisations féminines, le gouvernement n'assure pas de services pour la protection des femmes en dehors de Damas, les initiatives locales des groupes d'opposition n'ont pas de financement assuré. Selon l'OCDE, des organisations de défense des droits des femmes assurent, dans une moindre mesure, un soutien aux victimes de violence domestique, notamment à travers une série de foyers pour les femmes, autorisés par le *Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour* et rattachés à ses services. Mais la guerre a provoqué la fermeture d'un grand nombre de ces foyers. Le gouvernement n'offre pas de prestations spécifiques pour les femmes (OCDE, décembre 2018). Selon l'USDOS, on trouvait ces dernières années à Damas plusieurs centres autorisés par le *Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour* pour les femmes victimes de violence domestique. Selon des ONG locales qui citent l'USDOS, nombre d'entre eux auraient toutefois cessé leurs activités à cause de la guerre. En dehors de Damas, le gouvernement ne proposerait aucune prestation de ce type. Selon des organisations locales de défense des droits de l'homme, les comités locaux de coordination et d'autres groupes liés à

l'opposition proposeraient des programmes spécifiques pour la protection des femmes ; mais les ONG n'y participeraient pas et un financement durable de ces initiatives ferait largement défaut (USDOS, 13 mars 2019).

3 Sources

FNUAP, 5 mai 2019:

« Women and girls continue to experience various forms of violence in their homes, in flight from danger, and within internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps and other places—yet these experiences are generally hidden under a blanket of silence as is often the case around the world. As in the past years, the forms of violence that are the most common in Syria are sexual violence, domestic violence, and early/forced marriage. [...] »

Domestic Violence

“Domestic violence is the most common violence in our community because of local traditions and customs, and because our community is patriarchal. A husband beats his wife and does not allow her to go out. Women are also not allowed to work so that they stay financially controlled by their husbands.” (Woman from Al-Thawrah subdistrict, Al Hasakeh governorate).

Domestic violence is not a new phenomenon in Syria, and is often normalised and ingrained in social norms. It can encompass emotional, physical, sexual, psychological, financial and economic violence. The incidents of physical violence toward women that were mentioned by FGD participants most commonly occurred within the home, and were perpetrated by intimate partners: *“There are many youth who think that beating and insulting the woman is the proper way to control her and making her submit to your will.” (Woman from Heish sub-district, Idleb governorate).*

Marital rape was reported by women, in one case with the justification that it is a necessary measure to prevent men’s infidelity: *“My husband forces me to have sex. I cannot prevent him, and I feel disgusted and insulted afterwards.” (Woman from Masyaf, sub-district, Hama governorate).* Likewise: *“Women are always forced to please their husbands so that they do not sin with other women.” (Woman from Heish sub-district, Idleb governorate).*

Women also report economic violence at the hand of intimate partners, such as being prevented from working or men taking their wife’s wages: “Women work for low wages and for long hours, such as picking olives. The husband then takes all the money to buy cigarettes and for whatever is needed for the house.” (Adolescent girl from Heish sub-district, Idleb governorate). **Economic violence prevents women from achieving a level of independence and resiliency needed to cope with crisis.**

In times of crisis, the impact of domestic violence is amplified, increasing women’s vulnerability and psychological distress. This is especially true for women who experience domestic violence, who report feeling that nowhere is safe and free of violence, whether inside or outside the home. Violence at the hands of an intimate partner tends to be cyclical and repeated rather than a one-time incident. Episodes often escalate in

severity and can result in serious physical injury: “I know a girl who was forced by her parents to marry her cousin. After marriage, she was beaten and humiliated. He even broke one of her ribs.” (Adolescent girl from Kisreh sub-district, Deir-ez-Zor governorate).

Divorce may be used as a threat for women to remain in an abusive relationships, as a divorced woman will often be deprived of inheritance rights and child custody, in addition to the other vulnerabilities that widowed and divorced women face. “The man tells his wife, ‘If you do not like it, my parents can take the children, especially if they can receive relief packages because of them. This will ruin the life of the children.’” (Woman from Ma’arrat An Nu’mān sub-district, Idlib governorate). [...]

Psychosocial Consequences of War/Crisis

Poverty, unemployment and displacement over seven long years of hardship create a level of stress and pressure for men, women, boys and girls that may lower the threshold at which they resort to violence: “Everybody is angry at this situation. Men express their anger by shouting at and beating their wives. Mothers express their anger by beating their children, and children do the same by fighting with each other.” (Woman from Ein Issa sub-district, Ar-Raqqa governorate).

Men in particular may interpret these stresses as a threat to the traditional balance of power in families, especially the culturally important role of household provider. To counteract these feelings of powerlessness and in order to reaffirm gender roles, men may resort to violence, especially against their wife and children: “My husband practices violence on me because he wants to prove his authority and his importance.” (Woman from Masyaf sub-district, Hama governorate). [...]

Seeking justice

“Justice is not for women. It benefits men instead. Our society is male-driven, always in favour of men and blaming women.” (Woman from Lattakia sub-district, Lattakia governorate).

FGD participants noted particular barriers to accessing legal or judicial action after experiencing GBV. Justice systems and legal mechanisms for adjudicating legal issues vary across Syria. In some areas of Syria there are functioning components within formal legal systems, while in other areas informal justice systems have filled the gap where formal systems are non-existent. And in yet other areas, such as Northeast Syria, the Kurdish Security Administration provides adjudication for legal matters. In non-government controlled areas – formal justice systems may simply not exist in some places, but where they do, women and girls report distrusting them. In some cases this is due to corruption and inequality: “The court is against the weak instead of by their side.” (Woman from Daret Azza sub-district, Aleppo governorate). Also: “There is no equity in the courts because of the lack of true faith, the non-application of the Islamic law and favouritism and bribes.” (Woman from Daret Azza sub-district, Aleppo governorate). **In other cases, women and girls report that the legal process is ineffective due to intervention by armed groups or community members:** “Once a person who had kidnapped a girl was taken to prison, but he was released an hour later because his relatives are from the Free Army.” (Man from Al Bab sub-district, Aleppo governorate). Another said: “Women are empowered and

complain about their husbands and brothers who are imprisoned until the community intervenes with the woman to give up her right.” (Man from Hole subdistrict, Al-Hasakeh governorate).

Alternatively, intimate partners may be able to evade accountability for domestic violence by divorcing their wife: “Most likely, such problems are not solved because, according to the culture of Deir ez-Zor, the man refuses to submit to these councils and divorces his wife instead.” (Woman from Kisreh sub-district, Deir-ez-Zor governorate). **However, for many women and girls, the effectiveness of the legal system is irrelevant. The shame, disgrace, social isolation, and verbal abuse that women and girls may face if they seek justice prevent them from considering it as an option:** “Such a thing as sexual violence is tolerated and kept as a secret. No complaints are filed despite the existence of judicial authorities, which can be effective or ineffective.” (Woman from Daret Azza sub-district, Aleppo governorate).

While gender norms accept that a man would be able to defend his rights by filing a complaint if he faced violence, a woman who does the same would be considered ignorant, rebellious, and lacking faith: “Anyone who turns to the court is ostracised by the community, because its of ignorance and lack of true faith, especially when we want the court to restore our rights.” (Woman from Daret Azza sub-district, Aleppo governorate). “If she files a complaint at the court, she will be considered a rebel who wants to act like a man, and that is disgraceful and inappropriate in our culture. People would start verbally abusing her and her family.” (Woman from Karama sub-district, Ar-Raqqa governorate).» Source: United Nations Population Fund (FNUAP), Whole of Syria Gender-Based Violence Area of Responsibility: Voices from Syria 2019 - Assessment Findings of the Humanitarian Needs Overview, le 5 mai 2019, p. 18, 25-26, 32, 33, 37-38, 42, 45, 89:

www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2009369/voices_from_syria_2019.pdf.

HCR, 3 novembre 2017:

«Women and girls reportedly also face specific forms or manifestations of persecution. According to reports, sexual violence has been systematically used throughout the conflict, including as a weapon of war.³³³ **The occurrence of other forms of gender-based violence (GBV), including domestic violence,³³⁴ “honour crimes”,³³⁵ early³³⁶ and forced marriages,³³⁷ as well as trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and forced prostitution,³³⁸ is reportedly widespread and has “normalized” after years of conflict.³³⁹ Women survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) reportedly suffer deep levels of trauma, which is often compounded by experiences of rejection and stigma by members of their families and community.³⁴⁰ Divorced women and widows reportedly face societal stigmatization and legal discrimination.³⁴¹ [...]**

³³⁴ **Syrian applicable laws do not specifically prohibit domestic violence. The definition of rape as included in Article 489 of the Penal Code (Law 148/1949, as amended) specifically excludes marital rape while Article 548 provides for reduced sentences for perpetrators of “honour crimes”. Already prior to the conflict, violence against women in the domestic sphere was reported to be extensive and widely tolerated; UNIFEM, Violence Against Women Study – Syria 2005, 2005, <http://bit.ly/2rb4Dgh>. Since 2011, domestic violence has been reported to be widespread: “(...) violence against women was extensive**

and generally went unpunished”; US Department of State, 2016 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Syria, 3 March 2017, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/58ec89bf13.html>, p. 44. See also, Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2017 – Syria, 8 June 2017, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/593a522f26.html>. The 2017 Protection Needs Overview identified **domestic violence as a key protection concern across the country (71 per cent of assessed sub-districts)**: “Women who identified themselves as survivors of domestic violence discussed how the sustained psychological toll of the conflict was eroding men’s capacity to control their anger; the threshold at which they resorted to violence was therefore getting lower. Male violence also appeared to have been normalized, widely discussed by men and women alike as an ‘understandable’ consequence of the psychological effects of living in areas of high insecurity. Moreover, whilst men have traditionally been the family breadwinner within the Syrian context, high unemployment and rising living costs have made basic needs provision increasingly difficult. The stress associated with failing to fulfil the role of household provider was explained as another major reason for domestic violence”; Protection Sector, Whole of Syria 2017 Protection Needs Overview, October 2016, <http://bit.ly/2pQJ9BB>, p. 35. **The proliferation of small arms has been reported to further aggravate the risks associate with domestic violence**; WILPF, Violations Against Women in Syria, November 2016, <http://bit.ly/2dweuXf>, p. 17; Syria Deeply, Syrian Women Recount Domestic Abuse During Civil War, 30 avril 2015, <http://bit.ly/2pK529z>.

³³⁵ **The law permits judges to reduce sentences for murder and assault if the defendant asserts an “honour” defence (Articles 192, 242 and 548 of the Penal Code)**. According to reports, there has been a significant rise in “honour” killings. In particular, women who had been subjected to sexual violence by government forces or ISIS (or are suspected as such) reportedly face the risk of being killed by their families for reasons of “honour”. [...]

UNHCR considers that women falling in the following categories are likely to be in need of international refugee protection on the grounds of their membership of the particular social group defined as “women in Syria”, their religion, their political opinion or imputed political opinion, or a combination of these and other relevant grounds, depending on the individual circumstances of the case:

- a) Survivors and those at risk of sexual violence;
- b) Survivors and those at risk of forced and/or early marriage, domestic violence and “honour crimes”;**
- c) Survivors and those at risk of forced prostitution and trafficking;
- d) Women perceived as contravening Shari’a law in areas under the control or influence of extremist Islamist armed groups;
- e) Women and girls without genuine family support, including widows and divorcees.

[...]» Source: UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Protection Considerations with regard to people fleeing the Syrian Arab Republic, Update V, 3 novembre 2017, p. 60-61, 63: www.refworld.org/docid/59f365034.html.

OCDE, décembre 2018:

«b) Domestic violence

There is no legislation in place specifically addressing domestic violence in the Syrian Arab Republic. Women can, however, file a complaint if she is harmed in certain incidents (Penal Code, Articles 489-492; 504-507; CEDAW 2012, p.13). Domestic violence

has long been a subject of social taboo, and women have very limited legal recourse against violence inflicted upon them in their own homes. Many incidents remain unreported due to victims' fear of reprisal from a husband or family member, or the perception of the police as untrained and unsympathetic to such complaints (US Department of State, 2016; ILAC 2017). When cases are reported, the police may be reluctant to intervene, and in some cases may in turn abuse the women, including sexual harassment, verbal abuse, hair pulling, and slapping (US Department of State, 2016).

Domestic violence cases are most often considered minor offences and most cases are dropped by the victim before sentencing (ILAC 2017). There is some limited support available to victims of domestic violence provided by women's organisations, including a number of shelters licensed and affiliated with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (CEDAW, 2012). However, many centres are no longer operated due to the conflict and there are no specific government-run services for women (US Department of State 2016).» Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), SIGI - Social Institutions & Gender Index 2019 - Syrian Arab Republic, décembre 2018, p. 5: www.genderindex.org/wp-content/uploads/files/datasheets/2019/SY.pdf.

UNOCHA, 8 août 2019:

«Highlights

- **Violence in northwest Syria continues, despite a conditional ceasefire between 2-5 August.** The ceasefire brought brief respite for civilian populations.
- **Hundreds of civilians have been killed or injured in the recent violence, and some 500,000 movements of displaced people have occurred. Within this number, some people have displaced multiple times. People have few remaining options to displace to, as most areas considered relatively safe are over-crowded and humanitarian assistance is overstretched.**
- **The widespread destruction of civilian infrastructure and basic services continues, with schools, health facilities, bakeries, markets, water stations, and residential areas damaged or destroyed in the fighting. [...]**

*Protection risks such as explosive hazard threats and family separation are perceived to be affecting all members of the community. Issues such as lack or loss of civil status documentation and Housing, Land, and Property (HLP) issues were identified. **Lack of physical safety due to conflict, restrictions to freedom of movement, and domestic violence are more likely to be a risk for women and girls.**» Source: UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), Syrian Arab Republic: Recent Developments in Northwestern Syria Situation Report No. 9 - as of 8 August 2019, 8 août 2019, p. 1, 7: www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2014195/nw_update_sitrep_9- final.pdf.*

USDOS, 13 mars 2019:

«Women [...]

The law does not specifically prohibit domestic violence, but it stipulates that men may discipline their female relatives in a form permitted by general custom. According to a

November 2017 FNUAP report, violence against women and children was pervasive and increasing due to conflict and the lack of economic opportunity for men. Victims did not report the vast majority of cases. Security forces consistently treated violence against women as a social rather than a criminal matter. Observers reported that when some abused women tried to file a police report, police did not investigate their reports thoroughly, if at all, and that in other cases police officers responded by abusing the women.

In previous years several domestic violence centers operated in Damascus; the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor licensed them. Local NGOs reported, however, that many centers no longer operated due to the conflict. There were no known government-run services for women outside Damascus. According to local human rights organizations, local coordination committees and other opposition-related groups offered programming specifically for protection of women; NGOs did not integrate these programs throughout the country, and none reported reliable funding.

Other Harmful Traditional Practices: The law permits judges to reduce penalties for murder and assault if the defendant asserts an “honor” defense, which often occurred. The government kept no official statistics on use of this defense in murder and assault cases and reportedly rarely pursued prosecution of so-called honor crimes. There were no officially reported honor killings during the year, but FNUAP reported in November 2017 that honor killings increased since the onset of the crisis in 2011 due to increased sexual violence and lawlessness.» Source: US Department of State (USDOS), Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2018 - Syria, 13 mars 2019: www.ecoi.net/de/dokument/2004226.html.

WB, 6 février 2019:

«With increased economic responsibilities, decreased access to economic and social life, and deepening gender-based violence, Syrian women face additional challenges. The conflict has exacerbated an already restrictive environment for women in Syria, reinforcing patriarchal traditions and attitudes. With weak to no enforcement and limited effective protection of women against violence, cases of domestic violence, rape (including marital rape), forced marriage to armed group fighters, trafficking, and sexual enslavement have all increased in scale and scope.» Source: World Bank (WB), The Mobility of Displaced Syrians; An Economic and Social Analysis, 6 février 2019, p. 20: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/31205/9781464814013.pdf>.

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