European Conference on Interpersonal Violence
Paris 26th-28th of September 2005

SN 4 Report

Contents

Section 1: Background

Overview of CAHRV

The Co-ordination Action on Human Rights Violations (CAHRV) addresses human rights violations in the context of interpersonal relationships. CAHRV is a broad-based, collaborative effort of 22 research institutions in 14 European Countries, policy networks, and individual researchers, funded through the European Commission's 6th Framework Programme.

CAHRV Objectives

Violence against women and abuse and exploitation of children have been recognized as serious human rights violations. This framework needs to be extended to recognize that this applies also to elderly and male victims as well as to encompass awareness that all interpersonal violence can represent a threat to democracy and social cohesion. The field of interpersonal violence typifies fragmentation in addressing human rights violations. Each type of violation has been seen as a distinct concern; theoretical and practical links between the different aspects of violence have been neglected.

CAHRV aims to account for and overcome fragmentation in research, policy and practice, linking and building on networks for women, children and men.

Thematic areas

CAHRV aims to integrate research across gender and generational divisions, connecting these with aspects of citizenship and governance. The co-ordination action is realised through four sub-networks:

Sub-network 1: Identifying and profiling victimisation
(Co-ordinator: Manuela Martinez, University of Valencia, Spain)

Sub-network 2: The roots of interpersonal violence: gendered practices, social exclusion and violation
(Co-ordinator: Keith Pringle, Aalborg University, Denmark)

Sub-network 3: Addressing gender-based human rights violations
(Co-ordinator: Jalna Hanmer, University of Sunderland, UK)

Sub-network 4: Protective environmental factors securing human rights
(Co-ordinator: Ralf Puchert, Dissens e.V., Germany)

Each sub-network contributes to the action as a whole, using its specific topical focus as the example or demonstration case. CAHRV also examines when policies and interventions are effective and what context variables need to be considered for transfer. Cross cutting activities such as annual conferences and high-level expert groups and an interactive web-based communication system ensure a continuing dialogue between the sub-networks. The Paris conference reported here is one such cross-cutting activity.

Learning on cross cutting themes from the Osnabrück conference

A post-conference assessment and planning for cross-cutting activities was held on September 26 2004 immediately following the first CAHRV conference in Osnabrück. The meeting focused on what could be learned from the Osnabrück conference for future conferences, what possible improvements could be made and what ideas had emerged for the cross cutting themes for Paris in 2005.

Successful elements that were retained in Paris included:

- The overall format of combining public papers, general CAHRV papers and subnetwork sessions;
- The inclusive effort to open the network to interested researchers and practitioners;
- One day for presenting research from the country in which the conference is being held with translation made available;
- Ensuring that presentations are relevant to cross-cutting issues and contribute to the work of the sub-networks

Possible improvements were discussed and implemented in Paris including:

a. Structuring the main part of the conference to address cross-cutting issues, but including presentations that are also informative about what is happening in the subnetworks;
b. Structuring the conference around overarching themes and distributing position papers in advance; these themes were selected and co-ordinated with a prevention as the organising principle;
c. Instead of single speakers there were panels addressing central issues from different points of view;
d. A keynote speaker (Monica McWilliams) was invited who initially was outside of CAHRV but who has later joined.

Developing Cross Cutting Themes: The Oslo Workshop
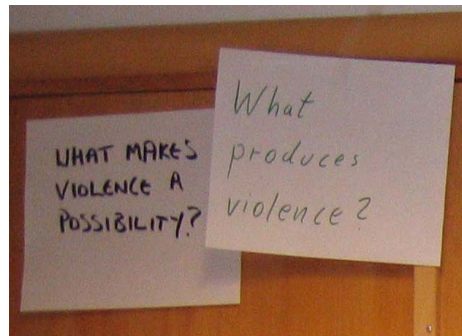
The Paris Conference themes were designed to be cross-cutting across all 4 CAHRV sub-networks. They emerged from discussion focusing on the topic of 'What makes violence possible' at the SN4 Oslo workshop.

Participants at the Oslo workshop were engaged in research on violence to women, men and children. There was consensus across this group that at least three broad factors were productive of violence:

- Socialisation/culture
- Situational factors (individual – propensity to violence, history etc and context – violent settings, opportunities, catalysts)
- Inequalities and social divisions (particularly gender, age, class and ethnicity)

In addition the question was raised about how important (and for what purpose) was it to differentiate between different forms of violence to women, men and children?

Section 2: Human Security for Women, Men and Children – Integrating and Differentiating Themes from a Gender Perspective

Monica McWilliams, High Commissioner for Human Rights, Northern Ireland

Leah describes what it was like to loose her Aunt and Papa when she was 7
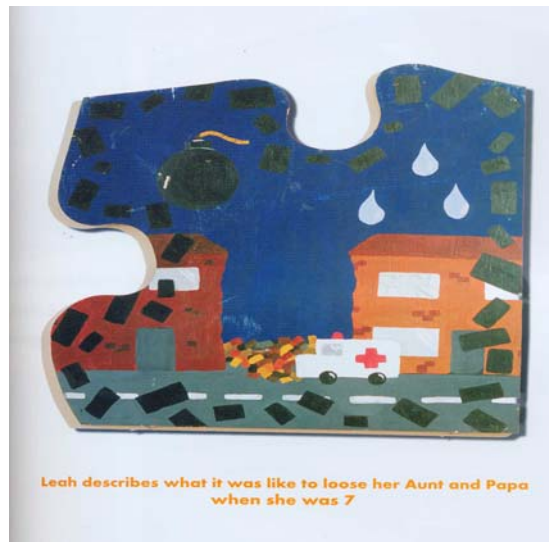
The keynote presentation aimed to set the concept of human security in an historical context and to look at the connections between human security and interpersonal violence. It is based on Monica McWilliams's experiences in Northern Ireland as a peace negotiator and as Commissioner for Human Rights and on her involvement in a research project collecting data from South Africa, Northern Ireland and the Lebanon. All three of these countries have been in peace agreements and a particular interest is on the impact of those peace agreements on the security and safety of women in those three regions.

Most of what has been written on security post World War II has been on the issue of state security, particularly with reference to the 'cold war', and on restrictions on mobility in the interests of stability. So people were restricted from moving across countries and borders in the interests of stability. The emphasis post war up until the 60's and 70's was on unilateral disarmament: one country who felt it was superior to another country made demands on a country to disarm. These demands and the issue of superiority is something that repeatedly comes through in relation to conflict resolution but also on the restrictions of mobility. This was changed by the rise of social movements both globally and locally; in the campaign for nuclear disarmament, starting locally but becoming global women organised around Greenham Common, Land Mines, anti-apartheid movements, Amnesty International, Greenpeace – all of these very strong movements arguing that an emphasis on state security was not going to lead to citizens, especially women, feeling safer inside their states. Also the diplomats and foreign affairs departments began to realise that a lot of the issues of human security came from inside states themselves; Northern Ireland and South Africa are particular examples.   We didn't have to fight across borders; the conflict was inside, in the region itself. Finally, the cost: people began to make comparisons economically on the waste in terms of what was being spent on security without any clear outcomes and that began to be addressed globally. So the concept began to change from 'state security' to 'societal security', focusing on insecurities within states including ethnic and religious insecurities. We began to hear about 'common security'. Citizens began to raise the issue of joint survival which contrasted with the concept of mutual destruction (if we pressed the button we would mutually destruct); the issue became one of 'human security' as a challenge to that kind of thinking.   States cannot be secure unless their citizens feel secure and this is an issue for the work of CAHRV. This leads to considerations about terror and to questions about who are the terrorists, what are solutions to terrorism and what is the connection between terror* and insecurity? If someone who is terrifying is made to feel more insecure will they become more terrifying?

This was an analysis women took in Northern Ireland (NI). Women in NI formed a political party and we succeeded in getting elected to the peace negotiations. This was the analysis we brought to presidents and prime ministers: if you make people feel more insecure you make them feel more terrifying. If what is going on in their minds is not addressed then they will continue to use their arms. We began to look at interventions based on human rights. Too often people go in to create peace; peace becomes some sort of end without any thinking about the human rights part of the peace keeping.

When I put the words of human security to men and women in South Africa and the Lebanon, the women immediately translated security as safety. They could identify with the term safety; security was something 'out there', it belongs to the state, safety is something that belongs to them personally. Thus, even putting the words 'human' and 'security' together has to be gendered and we have to look at what it means to those who are experiencing it.

Looking back at the history there is nothing new about the history of interpersonal violence. In a picture from England in 1874 when property laws were passed there is a terrifying looking man, obviously working class, standing over a frightened looking woman with a broken arm; a very typical image of what was going on in the home at that time and one of the rare occasions that it was made public. That is the way that most of the thinking went about interpersonal violence, pathologising it, something unstable inside the family that had to do with incapacity. The intervention by the State was to restrict women's mobility. There was thinking, particularly after WW2, that women should not become too independent in NI. In particular, every single child care institution that had been opened during the war was closed. It was the first time that Protestant and Catholic churches came together to make sure that all of those were closed: that women's place was in the home with the children and there was no conflict on that. There is conflict in NI over many things but in relation to women's place, the ecumenical patriarchy was united. The removal of women from the workforce was also important – restrictions on mobility for the sake of stability, but stability for whom?

How did that situation change? It's good that the word liberation stands between women and movement because the issue really was one of how women liberated themselves and how to focus on the rights of women. Initially these rights were based on civil rights. To my shame, I remember carrying a placard that said 'one man, one vote' and I never thought about it; I do think about it today. It took women in NI a bit longer because of the conflict situation as is the case all over the world. I remember men saying we have to wait until we solve this conflict before we get round to thinking about your situation. But women had watched and waited for too long and they weren't going to be in that position in the mid 70's.

The intervention could be at the therapeutic level, rather than at the social and economic level or the level of employment welfare and jobs and housing. That is still the struggle in human rights today, how to make those rights equal and central alongside political and civil rights?

We are beginning to connect these pieces. For example, the drawings of children reveal something of the trauma they have experienced; many of the areas they live in are extremely deprived. We need to consider the impact of paramilitary activity on the children and the impact of interpersonal violence. Only now are we beginning to put this piece of the jigsaw up publicly (the drawings) but we need to put up the other pieces. Teachers are telling us that it is physical abuse, sexual abuse and neglect that are having a bigger impact on some of the children in their schools.

The UN today begins to develop a different concept around security that takes on a more comprehensive view: Economic, food, health, environment, personal, community and political. These are seven dimensions of the UN development programme. Human security and development are now being connected but we have yet to see how this impacts on the issue of human rights and other areas of the UN. However, this has been criticised as being too difficult, too many variables to work with in policy terms. People are struggling to see how they can make this definition move away from one of nation states to one of concentrating on people's needs. One definition given of human security is the safety from threat and freedom from threat to rights, safety or lives. The previous definition of the seven dimensions and this one both recognise the importance of non-state actors in advocating human security. Until now it has been politicians and governments that have been involved in discussions on human security. There is now a realisation that civic engagement has an important role to play in the issue of security, particularly inside countries. The emphasis has been on the removal of threats, the removal of fear rather than on the positive, on the reconstruction and transformation of a society. We cannot focus on the word safety by taking away the fear and the threat if we don't look at the empowerment, transformation and reconstruction. This is extremely important to a gendered analysis.

CAHRV have previously discussed the features of interpersonal violence; intentional, coercive, control, used to establish and force or perpetuate gender inequality in interpersonal intimate relationships. It is

about the abuse of power and it is about subordination and when those two concepts are put together the context becomes very important. Already we're looking at relationships, roles, responsibilities and the inequalities between men and women. Those have to be analysed rather than simply looking at oppressor and oppressed.

Today we are also discussing risks and protections. Do these vary across political, legal, socio-cultural and economic boundaries? In NI every piece of legislation must be tested and proofed by what impact it will have on religion, age, race, disability, sexuality, political identity and marital status. In the peace negotiations it was found that those were the factors that make a difference to people in a country and particularly in relation to inequalities.

In terms of the situations: do conflicts and wars make a difference to interpersonal violence? Do colonialism and displacement? Of course they do. We hear about minorities often too simplistically, but minorities are themselves very fearful of approaching state institutions such as the police, in case they reinforce the view of themselves as some kind of violent group. This has been a problem in Ireland where the image of the family was presented as being very strong. It was considered to be a disgrace to go outside the family to seek help on the grounds that the English have always said that the Irish were a violent nation. It would perpetuate thinking that, during plantation, the English had come to civilize the Irish and so there was a silence created around colonialism about speaking out, and right up to the present day it determines who goes to speak to who about what is happening inside the family.

Violence is gendered. Who perpetrates it? Predominantly men, more specifically young men; predatory and proprietary behaviour; the impact of masculinity; there is much research on this. The UN has recently published a paper on masculinity and gun violence; the personal meets the political. Is it violence against women and children, or do we name it as men's violence against women and children? Is it gun violence or is it men's gun violence? The fact of having the availability of guns is also important in relation to conflict, particularly interpersonal conflict. I once did a study in NI comparing the availability of weapons to three regions in England and to the Republic of Ireland. It was very clear that the homicide rates were much higher because of the availability of those weapons. It wasn't the only factor in the murder of women but it increased the likelihood of fatalities. It was predominantly police men who were using their weapons, because paramilitaries were not allowed to keep their weapons in the home. Did this ever come up in terms of the decommissioning of weapons after a war? It was very difficult for me to put this on the peace table as one of the peace negotiators during the NI agreement and I reinforced this issue, that illegal and legal weapons were both important to address in relation to the impact they had on women's lives, but it was only the illegal weapons that the negotiators wanted to focus on. This is why it is important to have women as negotiators, if only to put those matters on the agenda, to try and get people to think about the reconstruction of a country after conflict in a more comprehensive way.

Do we see changes in patterns of interpersonal violence during conflict? Does it increase during or post conflict? This needs more research. In my own work in NI all I've been able to say is that perhaps men were home more often after the conflict, but it is too simple a connection to argue that men who were combatants go home after the war and begin to beat their wives. There was a concept: from being bombed to being beaten. This needs to be looked at more carefully. Should more resources be given to the police to look at this issue, do more women go to hospitals after the conflict and is there more training and availability of human services to deal with this issue? The police in NI know they have very different jobs following the conflict. They are putting domestic violence as a priority, using many of the instruments to gain intelligence that they used during the conflict, because it is a multi-million pound industry to gather intelligence on interpersonal violence. Is that a good thing, or is there a different way this issue should be approached within this new context? The question has also been asked about how easy it is for men who have been highly trained in military aggression to come home and maintain more passive relationships with their partners. We need to know more about the complexity of those who can and don't and won't, rather than simplistically suggesting men who were combatants are most likely to become violent in the home. So, what are the controls that are in place during a conflict and lifted after the conflict or are there more controls and more permission? What is the permission to use violence: what is the role of the police, what are the roles of the paramilitaries and what is the role of gate keepers? Are the police enabled to go into areas, what is the view of communities in those areas and does that give permission to particular groups in those communities who know that the police can not go in? Who do they go to if they know the police are not invited? Do women then have to place themselves under that control and what is asked of them if they go to those groups, particularly in relation to sex? This is something we are only beginning to research; certain men were placed in control when women were in prison. And the role of gatekeepers, we know that when women went to refugee camps the gatekeepers on their own side became the most dangerous, we know this from central Africa. Those who were in charge of food and

resources in camps used those as very powerful instruments to subordinate women on their own side. So women who were fleeing from the violence of the enemy, came to a sanctuary and found that within that they had to flee from the violence of men on their own side. That is a connection in all conflicts.

‚Brothers in Arms'

Above is an image of male bonding: brothers in arms defending the (mother) land. This contrasts with an image from projects working with children trying to confront this version of masculinity where men are being encouraged to listen to children, help them learn. The biggest problem we have in NI is romanticising the war to the next generation of children. Riots now involve children aged 10 or 11 and when they are arrested they are proud to tell their friends about their involvement. There is an issue here about how to challenge certain images of masculinity and to ask what makes a 'real man' in a post conflict society. Ready for peace but prepare for war is written on many walls. There is a fear of a loss of entitlement; this is what makes men hit back, and they retain a strong image of combating and challenging the other side. The impact of the conflict on women is great: it attacks women's physical and mental health, places obstacles in the way of their economic self sufficiency and enhances the social attitudes that maintain their subordination. It is structural; it's about incapacity and attitudes. It's also important to look at the different images of women during a conflict, it's not homogeneous: women as victims of sexual abuse, women as combatants (high in the Lebanon and South Africa), women working for peace in NGOs, engaged in formal peace politics, coping and surviving actors as well as victims able to speak out and run organisations, acting as heads of households – what happens when the men come home (in NI 20,000 men came out of prison in one day), and in reconstruction after the conflict.

There are three different ways of looking at conflict: conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation. In NI we are currently at the stage of disarmament. This presents dilemmas: Do you keep people apart because no other way can be found (benign apartheid), do you imprison people because no other way can be found to keep people safe, do you enter dialogue (we are not at that stage between political parties, hence we have no government), do you recognise people's differences and then attempt to say I'm different but we can be equal, do you build those relationships and de-commission the mind set? We used to say 'let them rust in peace' about weapons but we didn't get very far as women saying 'look it doesn't matter if the arms are decommissioned, a woman will still feel afraid of a man even if the poker is taken away from the fire, she needs to know that he is going to change his mind'. The same needs to be applied to the analysis of post conflict; demanding that guns are taken out is important but it's very important that there is an analysis of what led to the use of those guns in the first place. We have 27 peace lines in Belfast and there are more of them going up every day and we are now almost 10 years from the cease fire. After cease fires people don't feel any safer; they only feel safe if there is a wall put up between them and the other side because they haven't started speaking to each other yet, they haven't entered that dialogue and been able to trust the other side.

Peace Line in Belfast

To transform a conflict you have to address the violations: they cannot be ignored or forgotten. Some responsibility must be taken and this has parallels in the way the work is carried out in the interpersonal violence field. Reconciliation is very different and needs to be 'unpicked'. Transitional justice is another issue. Is this something for the courts or should it involve, as we have done in NI, restorative justice (truth telling and restoring to the community what was taken away, making reparation)? There are different approaches across the world: South Africa went through a very different process than Guatamala. It's quite shocking what didn't happen in Guatamala where many victims, mainly women, told their stories but nothing happened as a consequence. Is it enough to have truth telling without justice? This is an issue for amnesties: the testimony to be believed and validated is very important but what's the next step? Again, this is very similar to the issues in interpersonal violence. Most importantly, victims should not be seen as objects of evidence – how many times have we gone to court with women who don't get justice. The Swedish law that talks about the violation of women's integrity is important.

How gendered do these peace agreements become? The involvement of civic society as stakeholders is extremely important, and I believe this led to the UN resolution of 13/25 where we now monitor the role of women in decision making in post conflict societies. It is important to write into agreements how clauses and provisions will be monitored. Unless there is some overseeing body to ensure enforcement they are not effective.

How do we move from negative peace (absence of war) or negative prevention (an absence of interpersonal violence) to a positive one which focuses on peace or quality of life with justice? Negative peace or prevention will lead to an unstable resolution: you will be very peaceful but you will be very fearful. How can this be transformed? What can CAHRV do? The benefits of CAHRV's theoretical work must be fed into commissions and policies. It is political. Building a sense of solidarity, we have to start with children and communities; it has to be 'bottom up'.

This is what a gendered framework might look like: Counselling, truth processes and women's political and economic participation (Fig 1). We have to account for what are the conditions and what are the causes of violence. Look at what is the offending behaviour; how is it predatory, proprietary, controlling and coercive from the perspective of all, especially women and children?

Healing and truth are important but we must address these from a human rights approach and we can only make a bill of rights work through relationships.

Figure 1: Gendered Security Framework

- Maximisation of women's security
- Trauma Counselling
- Truth processes and reconciliation
- Reintegration of women ex-combatants
- Creation of sustainable women's organisations
- Promotion of women's political participation
- Provision of physical assets/resources
- Legal assistance and land reform
- Enhancement of women's employment opportunities

Section 3: The Paris Papers

Panel 1: Differentiation of types and levels of violence

Panelists: Manuela Martinez, University of Valencia
Ursula Müller, University of Bielefeld
Cathy Humphrey, University of Warwick, UK
Jorgen Lorentzen, University of Oslo

Facilitated by Ralf Puchert, Dissens

Overall development of research and activism has aimed to increase sensitivity and awareness of violence. The concept of violence now covers a wide range of threats and actions. Is it too wide, too inclusive, and are there problems with identifying clearly the object of inquiry and possible intervention? Differentiation may be important to understand and explain specific types of violence (e.g. for the development of prevention strategies), while integration and comparability are important for learning processes and special solutions (e.g. in the creation of a European database).

Manuela Martinez stated that interpersonal violence is not a unitary concept and, depending on the form it takes, it has traditionally been differentiated into three types: physical, sexual and psychological. However, some questions about this traditional distinction arise from the research with the purpose of improving both the future of violence research and intervention:

- Are the three types of violence completely independent from each other or are they interrelated in specific patterns?
- Are there available instruments that can measure accurately the different types of violence?
- Can we differentiate between specific types of victims depending on the type/s of violence they have been exposed to?
- Is it useful to differentiate between the different types of violence when we are looking at the immediate, short and long-term health impact of interpersonal violence on the victims?
- Is it useful to differentiate between the different types of violence when we are looking at the recovery of the victim's health and normal functioning in society along the time?

To answer some of these questions can a secondary analysis of the prevalence data be helpful, a further differentiation of the research instruments and a redefinition of the types of violence?

Ursula Müller asked whether different types of violence have different roots. She stated that the pre-conditions for answering this question might generate the answering process, because "after research is before research". Research results often lead to different possible interpretations, so research is creating answers that lead to more questions, especially related to the research design. Therefore it is necessary to address different levels of reflection on differentiation, such as methodology, theories (gender, violence, knowledge), epistemology, ethics of research and the ethics of scholarly conduct. For an analysis related to gender the following perspectives could be helpful:

Gender structure (level of society, macro-perspective), *gender order* (level of institutions as gendered constructions and constructions of gender, such as labour market, bourgeois model of the family, welfare state, legislation), *gender regimes* (level of normative expectations, gender cultures, symbolic representations) and *gender relations* (level of interaction between groups and between individuals).

At the same time the linkage between contradictions in the fields of discourse on the one side and structure on the other seems to be fruitful. For example, we find a male dominance in politics and economics and a high responsibility for societal development is put on men (*structure)* while at the same time, irresponsible health and violence behaviour is interpreted as a dominant cultural expression of traditional masculinities (*discourse*).

This leads to the necessity of encouraging the questioning of taken-for-grantedness in public symbolisations of masculinity, femininity, ethnicity, violence etc. and enhancing the complexity of thinking and the ability to cope with contradictions and uncertainties.

Three key concepts were identified by Cathy Humphreys which are relevant for the differentiation of violence: context, counting and severity.

Referring to the reporting *context*, how violence and abuse is defined and responded to depends upon where it is reported, that means in which discourse it is situated. Other context-related questions must concern child protection, child contact, criminal and civil justice as well as immigration.

A problem with *counting* can be that progress is often measured by ensuring that the form of protection or justice is not defined by the relationship – e.g. civil law responses, rape, stalking. Apart from that the ability to collect data so that it can be disaggregated by gender, age, or relationship is crucial to understanding social problems.

Invisibility deepens the problems of counting because interpersonal violence in the <u>private</u> sphere is almost always subject to secrecy and therefore invisibility. Countries can <u>publicly</u> replicate this process in the way in which data is collected, counted and reported. In this process social problems of violence against women and children can become invisible.

The question of *severity* also implies some problems: The women's movement has traditionally held an 'open door' policy and has been loathe to engage with the issue of severity. In general physical injury too often becomes the measure of severity and for women their experience and 'self definition' of the effect of abuse becomes lost.

Violence against women and child abuse are always subject to secrecy and invisibility. The context in which violence and abuse is reported determines the response and the construction (explanation) for the violence. The engagement of the statutory sector in relation to law, investigation and resources and the father's rights movement demand that we engage with the complex issues of severity.

Jørgen Lorentzen focused on issues around men and masculinities and new perspectives on prevention of violence by reflecting several Norwegian studies. Both the Oslo survey and the nationwide study show that men are exposed to more violence than women as a whole, and that men are responsible for the greatest part of the violence.

A new perspective on the discussion about prevention can be brought about by making a distinction between the obvious *abuse of women* on the one hand and *partner violence or relationship violence* on the other. The abuse of women involves women being exposed to severe violence from men, and perspectives of both gender power and powerlessness can be used to understand the violence. The fact that several studies now show that there is great reciprocity in the use of violence among younger people indicates that this violence must be understood differently from the abuse of women.

The surveys found that a lot of violence happens at the breakdown of a relationship: Violence often results from both a severe lack of experience in handling conflicts and the extensive and confused rules or processes concerning divorcing/separating from partners.

A significant and somewhat surprising result is that even if masculinity is often mentioned and given importance when the problem of violence is addressed, few studies have been conducted on the connection between types of masculinity and violence. In this the importance of and the need for change in the upbringing of boys must be taken into account.

The findings from the Norwegian studies clearly imply that efforts to prevent violence must to a greater extent build on the recognition that violence is correlated to social imbalance. A policy that aims to prevent violence must be based on a more thorough understanding of the background and life history of both the victims and the perpetrators and on the resources and culture of these groups.

Summary Issues Panel 1

Overall the papers raised three areas for further consideration:

What differentiation?

When asked to reflect on the possible uses of differentiating by types or forms of violence, it is striking that the speakers coming from the different "work spaces" of CAHRV brought forward quite different potential "subdivisions". These could be differences in "what is done" by physical, sexual and psychological types, yielding questions of their interrelationships and impact; differentiation by "who does it to whom", suggesting attention to gender, age, relationship and also life history; differences of degree of injury and damage, i.e. measures of severity and consequent questions of who defines what is more or less severe; and distinctions between patterns of violence such as abuse of women vs. sporadic reciprocal partner violence. In addition, it is possible that characteristics of the victim or the relationship (such as dependent status) may define something as violence. If a psychotherapist initiates a sexually intimate relationship with a patient, this can be called violence even (or especially) if the patient calls it mutual desire or love.

Who differentiates?

There were questions about who does the differentiation on what level and why? For example in order to reflect on gendered roots of violence and levels of what is meant by "gender", or to examine how types of masculinity might generate typical violences, or to overcome the invisibility and secrecy surrounding private violence.

The uses of differentiation

How far does specifying types of violation have uses in studying what might protect against violence? This would imply that the conditions productive of violence are specific to the types of violence produced, they might differ between severe physical abuse and repeated emotional humiliation, or between what is done to the partner and what is done to the child. These considerations may lead to aggregating multiple phenomena under the concept of violence on the one hand, or differentiating them and identifying particularly significant facets. Thus, progress may imply that rape in marriage is treated just as rape anywhere else, while recognition of the problem and naming may require treating rape in marriage as a distinct type of violation.

It was further noted that prediction should not be confused with prevention, most especially when the prediction is statistical and retrospective, but also because other prevention may deal in learning alternatives. That is, if a man who was beaten in boyhood is more likely to abuse his wife later, the best prevention may actually be changing symbolizations of masculinity, thus increasing his chances of choosing not to repeat acts of which he has been a victim as a child.

Panel 2: Situational Factors and Violence

Panelists: Maryse Jaspard, Institut de Démographie, Université Paris 1,
Keith Pringle and Jeff Hearn, University of Aalborg, Denmark/Swedish School of
Economics, Finland
Jalna Hanmer, University of Sunderland, UK
Sietske Dijkstra, Research and Advice, Bilthoven, the Netherlands

Facilitated by Corinne May-Chahal, Lancaster University UK.

When discussed at the Oslo workshop situational factors clustered around factors relevant to a violent act in the violent situation. These included:

– Internalised situation specific factors such as a history of violence or resilience;
– Context catalyst factors such as a phone call or a bad day at work;
– Wider structural factors impacting on the situation such as poverty, racism and patriarchy.

A focus on situational factors can be important for several reasons including:
• A specific 'type of violence' focus is culture and time specific – this can prevent understanding of other types of violence, for example, the history of child sexual abuse which situated sexual violence to children in the home (incest) and did not give similar importance to sexual violence outside the home to children (e.g. peer sexual assault).
• The focus on individuals, structural factors *or* types of violence may be too simplistic - is there a need to reflect complexity and connections that are to do with situational factors for prevention?

Panel 2 presented four papers on situational factors and violence that addressed the topic from the perspective of their sub networks. Maryse Jaspard (SN1) explored the link between socio-economic and cultural environments, or contexts, and personal histories as they have been measured in France. An underlying question was what is the reciprocal impact of biography and context at a particular point in time? In France reference is made to structural variables and thus structural inequalities as a means of describing contexts. A number of indicators are measured including social background and current environment (occupation, education, location), economic factors (income, social benefits), lifestyle (sexuality, birth control, abortion, health status, risk behaviour / risk avoidance, marital status, family type and size, leisure activities) and cultural environment (religion, social networks, social integration, nationality, ethnicity, or immigrant status). Biographical data add a further dimension and include first intercourse, number of partners, work history – mobility, periods of unemployment, family history – members of parental home, break-ups, stages of building of present family and migration biography.

In this way (social) context becomes classifiable and measurable. The various indicators can be combined, applied to family of origin and collected for other members of the household or family to increase the understanding of social context.

When context is measured, personal history and contextual elements cross and combine and it is difficult to distinguish which impacts on the other. The example was given of the impact of "difficulties

experienced in childhood" upon violence experienced during adult life, namely intimate partner violence, measured from the ENVEFF survey. Whilst childhood experience of serious violence represents a major risk factor in that it irredeemably weakens the resistance of some children, the majority of victims, when they become adults, do not reproduce what they have been through in childhood. Thus we can conclude that:

- On the one hand, there is an irrefutable causal link between childhood experience of maltreatment, physical violence and interpersonal violence in adulthood as 28% of such child victims suffered violence at the hands of their partners compared with only 6% of women who had not experienced such violence as a child;
- On the other hand, 72% of women having experienced such abuse and repeated beatings during childhood have not been victims of interpersonal violence as an adult.

Keith Pringle and Jeff Hearn made the preliminary point: that there is a difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of separating situational factors from both individual factors, and cultural, economic, political and social factors. From a 'roots of violence' perspective the following appear significant situational factors for violence:

(1) **Separation/divorce, and other times and places of intense and unmonitored change.** It is important to note that a particularly high likelihood of men's violence to women (and children in the household) may well occur before and/or during and/or after separation/divorce.
(2) **Lack of sanctions.** Where, for whatever reason, adults or children have greater opportunities for committing sexual, or other forms of, violence against others, with reduced risk of being found out, then sexual, and other forms of, violence are particularly likely to occur. The settings where this may happen may include employment situations, welfare settings, situations of dependency in non-formal care. Situations include, for instance, (a) where children or adults are physically and/or emotionally isolated for whatever reason; or (b) where people work and/or live in situations where others have especially "invulnerable" degrees of power and authority over them.
(3) **Ethnicity and gender:** Situations where issues of ethnicity and gender intersect in various ways may increase the likelihood of violence occurring and/or increase the likelihood of violence not being prevented or halted.
(4) **Multiple dimensions of power/disadvantage:** Situations where multiple dimensions of power/disadvantage intersect may well often be ones where violence is most likely to occur.

While there are substantial national differences in legal systems, policy, and civic actions between European countries, there are commonalities in situational factors facing women, children and men. These are primarily the result of similarities in perpetrator behaviours and in the structuring of social life through families and communities.

Jalna Hanmer suggested a major protective factor is to locate the problem of violence with the perpetrator and not the victim. This requires an acceptance that those who are victimised are entitled to live in an environment free from violence in all its various forms.

A focus on situational factors that offered protection to women and children led to civic actions almost exclusively undertaken by women. In national contexts women have made the demand that women and children should be able to live in violence free environments. Civic actions focusing on protective factors led to establishing voluntary agencies (NGOs) that provide a range of services including shelters/refuges, advice and counselling services, along with public awareness raising and demands for improvements in state services responding to physical and sexual violence, particularly criminal justice.

Sexual violence situational factors are diverse and may or may not involve prior intimacy. With non-resident family or non-family known others as perpetrators or stranger attacks the likelihood of victimisation begins to assume a random character. Preventive and protective strategies that focus on the victim's behaviour are as unhelpful as with domestic violence. Situational factors and context may lead to advice to potential victims on how to avoid victimisation, such as not to accept drinks from strangers and to watch ones own drink when out clubbing; while on one level this may be helpful, on another it draws attention away from perpetrators.

Civic activities in both domestic violence and rape/sexual assault can be seen as attempting to change the emphasis of state agencies on situational factors believed to explain men's violence, such as their wife or partner ending the relationship or the woman encouraging his sexual advances. Situational factors and context are interpreted through culture and social norms. The assessment by state agencies of

situational factors and the potential for repetition of harmful behaviours are constantly being made in ways that override the rights of women and children to live in a violence free environment.

Situational factors facing women and children experiencing home-based violence call for specific services to be offered by the state. These services can improve outcomes for victimised individuals. Achieving more effective interventions by these state based services have depended upon the provision of permanent secure housing, income support, protection from continuing violence from their perpetrator and health service assistance.

Sietske Dijkstra focused on resilience as an intrapersonal situational factor in violence. She stressed that there are considerable challenges in defining resilience underneath the apparently straightforward description of 'the ability to bounce back from adversity'.

1. Resilience has different aspects; there can be resilience in one aspect, and surviving in another. There are physical, psycho-social, moral and spiritual aspects (Garbarino, Halifax-conference, June 2005).
2. Resilience operates at different levels within and between individuals (the family, peers, intimate relationships, the community) and it is bound to social, cultural and societal contexts.
3. Resilience is used in many different ways, as both a process and an outcome, as a focus, a paradigm and even as a method.
4. Research on resilience is limited to children and adolescents; a life course and gender perspective is missing.
5. Resilience has the power to unfold or to grow in interaction. The challenge is to apply this quality to practice in improving interventions.
6. Resilience does not make the harm undone.

Summary Issues Panel 2

Context rather than situational factors could serve as a cross-cutting theme but there is a need to become more specific about what is meant by context. Situational factors were interpreted very differently by each speaker, from being a measurable 'background' factor to being an intrapersonal quality. Definitions of violence cannot be taken out of context: a harmful act may or may not be violent depending on its context. Intersubjective understandings (meanings of violence) are also located in a context. Paying attention to context means locating acts with people, and locating people within socio-cultural, spatial and temporal dimensions.

There are contexts in which certain forms of violence are considered acceptable such as war and the disciplining of children in many countries (except even here there is always contestation). Equally, there are contexts in which it is not, whether these be interpersonal agreements or policy led (and here such agreements are always available to breaking down or being ignored). A key question for CAHRV might be whether more can be learned about violence prevention by closer attention to these contexts? Is it possible (or desirable) to differentiate between 'good' and 'bad' violence according to context? Some of the questions raised here were to do with harm; is it individuals within contexts (rather than individuals) that are harmful and harmed. Harm can be viewed not just in terms of the 'seriousness' of the assaults and impacts on the individual (physical or psychological) but also the impact of and impact on contexts – including social relations – that violent acts take place within.

Panel 3: Links between Gender Equality and Violence

Panelists: Marianne Springer-Kremser, Medical University of Vienna, Austria
Gunilla Bjeren, Stockholm University, Centre for Gender Studies, Sweden
Rosa Logar, Austrian Women's Shelter
Øystein Holter, Work Research Institute, Norway.

Facilitator: Renate Klein, University of Maine, USA.

Gender equality is thought to be good for women. Current political declarations and policy making in Europe are replete with references to gender equality and related concepts like gender mainstreaming and gender democracy. Contemporary master narratives on equality are alluring and so entwined with Western ideas of democracy, human rights, and civic advancement that the worthiness of these ideals is taken for granted.

Nonetheless, critical analysis of such ideas and their implementation is important. This panel was formed to contribute to the debate and to explore from different angles the connections between gender equality and gender violence. These links are often complex and riddled with contradictions. In social and cultural reality women and men are not equal. Old forms of social stratification persist; new expressions of sexism and misogyny emerge continuously. Gender, class, and racial/ethnic hierarchies dominate the workplace and the public sphere and play out at home and in interpersonal relationships. Why?

Gender violence seems a particularly vile expression of gender inequality. Research in societies with little gender-based violence suggests that less violence is correlated with more gender equality so that gender equality appears to protect against gender violence. Yet, research on changes in the status of women relatively to men suggests that women's struggle for more gender equality can be dangerous for women and might mean more violence against them rather than less. Here, attempting more gender equality becomes a risk factor for gender violence.

Even if gender equality is good for women – and there certainly has been much progress for some women – is it also good for men? While some men embrace the idea of gender equality, uneasy contradictions remain as other men are reluctant to practice equality whether that means accepting influence from their wives, working for a female supervisor, or confronting the sexism of their male peers. In violence prevention work young men sometimes bring these contradictions to a point when they ask: What's in it for me?

The panelists were asked to address links between gender equality and gender violence from four different perspectives loosely related to the thematic focus of the four sub-networks. Cutting across these thematic divisions the panel discussion illustrated the complexity of gender equality, and the contradictions between the ideal of gender equality and the reality of gender relations in everyday life and in research.

Marianne Springer-Kremser argues that gender affects the research process on the very level of measurement. Research, despite best intentions to be neutral and objective, is also culturally situated activity, and interview protocols and survey questions are forms of texts imbued with meanings that vary across and within populations. In addition, the extent to which gender and violence are openly addressed in a population will shape people's awareness, opinions, and thinking, and in turn will influence participants' responses to survey questions. As a result empirical data such as prevalence rates reflect participants' perceptions of violence as they are filtered through cultural lenses of gender and sexuality. To what extent such issues produce different forms of collaboration with, and resistance to research is barely understood.

The challenges of collaboration and resistance are more evident in social change work. Commenting on Sweden's reputation for gender equality Gunilla Bjeren minces no words: "Being at the top does not mean we have arrived." She argues that women have been carrying gender change and that success means that now men are beginning to "feel the crunch". In Sweden over the last ten to twenty years one can notice several highly conflicting trends regarding gender equality and violence by men against women. While advances have been made in the field of gender equality, violence by men against women apparently increased.

Internationally, Sweden receives a high rank on many indices attempting to measure gender equality. Contrary to expectations this does not in any way mean that Swedish society has achieved equality between women and men. Progress has been made but much remains to be done. Improvements in the status of women have been the result of more women (and some men) with feminist convictions entering public realms that previously were dominated by men, for instance parliament and the media.

The relative success of endeavours to improve gender equality has predictably produced resistance and probably increased and/or aggravated violence against women. At first this appears to be a paradox but it can be understood as a consequence of the presence of more empowered women, and more women in new situations. One interpretation could be that when the process towards gender equality has reached a

point where many men and male institutions are beginning to feel threatened, a strongly emotional, at times violent, reaction is to be expected. In the individual sphere this translates to a situation where men have lost their bread-winner advantage, and feel pushed to change their ways in a more egalitarian direction. Women may leave when their expectations are not met and some men will feel provoked and react with violence.

In the Swedish context the connection between improved equality and increased male violence is seldom made. To be provocative one may even say that the strong equality discourse in Sweden throws a shadow over the Swedish inability to protect the bodily integrity of women, children, and "other" men.

Rosa Logar points out contradictions along the way. The roots of violence against women are seen in structural gender inequality; yet, higher status of women does not prevent violence against them (even if it makes self-protection easier). Inequality remains, not only between women and men, but among women (and among men) in intersecting hierarchies of class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other factors. While human rights proclaim the rights of all people, it took 50 years and decades of lobbying by women's organizations to have violence against women acknowledged as a human rights violation.

Øystein Gullvåg Holter presented material from two Norwegian surveys (Haaland, Clausen & Schei 2005, Pape & Stefansen 2004) showing that some violence crosses the gender line and targets men. There is more gender-balanced 'episodic' partner violence, while around 80 percent of the injury-creating violence remains men's responsibility. Such studies highlight the need to see gender violence in context (early stages of partnership, labour market insecurity, economic problems) and the need to include violence against men as part of the total picture of gender-related discrimination.

The complexity of violence is often under-communicated. Violence is seldom simply a direct result of gender discrimination, and the extent of violence is not always a good measure of the power situation in society. Models that contrast women and men as groups overlooking other factors (such as the internal discrimination among men, and also the related age hierarchy, violence against children and the elderly) should be avoided, and the empirical diversity better acknowledged. In Holter's view, this does not mean abolishing a critique of patriarchy, but developing a more open and broad understanding of the obstacles to gender equality. The 'men as group versus women as group' approach easily attributes class-like interests to the parties, while patriarchal discrimination structures in contemporary as well as historical societies are more complex, with internal gender ranking as one main element. Patriarchy is also a power structure between men (or at least, most visible among men, but also among women). It is these power structures, not women or men as groups, that primarily uphold the situation of discrimination of women in society as a whole.

Better knowledge can enhance the possibilities of creating broader alliances that go beyond current gender divides in order to reduce violence. According to several Nordic studies, violence against boys and men is an overlooked background factor of violence against girls and women, and men's loss of caring roles (e.g. custody disputes) is another probable factor. These patterns are often interlinked, and more research is needed to identify the links. For example, Norwegian survey material indicates that men who experienced violence in childhood have a significantly higher chance of being involved in partner violence later in life, and a similar higher chance of aggressive accident behaviour (contributing to traffic accidents).

Summary Issues Panel 3

What all this could mean is that the struggle for gender equality is still mostly a struggle for women's advancement up what are essentially male hierarchies, including those in the international human rights arena. Different windows of opportunity open and close over time and it is up to the ingenuity of women and their male allies to seize the moment and promote social change.

However, even if successful such change cannot be taken for granted. Resistance against gender equality is strong and sometimes violent. Both women and men are indispensable agents for change in this struggle, though it seems to be limiting to define their relationship entirely in terms of 'women versus men'. Gender equality, and the path toward it, may need to be stabilized by three sets of partly overlapping, partly separate relationships: among women, among men, and between women and men. In each set some challenges are likely to be distinct. For example, while for men the challenge may be to

accept influence from women, for women it may be to overcome internalized oppression. Research has documented differences in how women and men interact in same-sex groups and what that can mean when they interact with each other. It seems important to understand different modes of operating—not only between women and men, but among women, and among men—and their connections to power and social change.

Gender equality and gender violence are linked but they do not fully explain each other. To some extent they seem distinct social issues that require separate strategies for social change. While emerging from the panel discussion these issues also appear in Monica McWilliams's analysis of 'security', her discussion of human rights and peace, and the existence and need for different, and often deeply gendered, modes of social struggle.

Panel 4: Cultures of Violence and Cultures of Care

Panelists: Bridget Penhale, University of Sheffield, UK
Iva Smidova, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech
Daniela Gloor, Social Insight, Zurich, Switzerland
Liz Kelly and Corinna Seith, London Metropolitan University, UK

Facilitator: Anna Kwiatkowska, Warsaw School of Social Psychology, Poland

Culture is a dynamic system of rules, established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviours, shared by groups, communicated across generations, relatively stable, but with potential to change across time. In cross-cultural research on violence violent acts exist as a part of cultural traditions, as a cultural virtue, as an instrument in supporting social systems, or as a product of the interplay of cultural factors. Research on "care" concerns prosocial behaviour, helping behaviour, altruism, charity, cooperation, sympathy, trust, and support.

Bridget Penhale identified critical issues from a prevalence perspective as definition, measurement of cultural differences, and cultural specificity. Key questions would be whether there are cultures of violence, and how we measure this and differences in the use of violence, or different patterns of violence. As regards cultures of care, the following questions might be asked: do we have these kinds of cultures, and how do we differentiate among types of care, or which protective factors should we promote? If care is a central concern for all, there is a need for care and need to care. From a European perspective the issue of care should be put into political and cultural contexts.

Iva Smidova stated that hegemonic forms of masculinity are at the roots of violence. Violence reproduces in contexts and situations where it is the only perceived available technique of expressing and validating masculinity. There is a high degree of cross-national commonality in the sense that patriarchy is a global pervasive phenomenon related to men's violence, but also there are cultural differences both within and across national boundaries. Getting beyond common-sense dual categories of "violence" and "care", we can see "care" as an aspect of dominance, control, and access to power; often control is an essence of care.

Care and violence melt and co-exist in the gendered structure of society – in the symbolic realm, in the division of labour, and they also melt in individual life trajectories. Individual actors' social practices and actions blend into a mixture of "doing gender", in certain contexts as a "gender blending".

Therefore, what is care, which gender does care have? And most important: which contexts do and do not (re) produce a nurturing or violent action and environment?

Daniela Gloor asked when and why it becomes interesting, attractive or meaningful for *whom* to speak of culture, to use the culture-concept, especially in the context of the topic of violence. «Culture» at one hand is a popular concept among researchers and at the other hand «culture» is simultaneously a neglected subject matter. Three aspects of culture:

On the individual level culture functions as a **garbage bin**: in terms of those who suffer from violence as well as those who use violence – victims or perpetrators of violence – culture is mainly discussed and referred to in the sense of ethnic, religious or national culture. The cultural background of victim and of perpetrators is considered as important (but only for some individuals); in this way culture primarily serves as a negative ascription, and at the same time is rarely subject to further analysis nor thoroughly examined or differentiated.

At the institutional level culture can be viewed as a **resource**: the different agencies – statutory and civil – are involved in addressing gendered human right violations, and there is a growing consciousness that institutional cultures *are* different and that these differences are not only to be conceived as barriers but do have a potential as well. Insight into institutional cultures and differences and starting to *accept* their existence helped to focus attention on common interests – that is to integrate different institutional cultures into a more shared culture of addressing gendered violence at a multi-agency level – maybe here it is possible to speak about a turn to a "culture of care".

At a third, more general level, culture exists as **a black box,** that concerns evaluation research and studies examining responses and interventions to gendered violence for their suitability and effectiveness; a discourse of "culture" is predominantly conspicuous by its absence. In short, at present the evaluation discourse too often treats culture as a black box. For example, reports, mainly produced for local or national agents, do not contain contextual reflections that much – since evaluators and readers share a silent background knowledge. Yet as soon as we exchange findings it becomes obvious that it is exactly this silent framing that becomes significant yet not available nor discussed.

Two linked projects by Liz Kelly and Corinna Seith involved 1222 young people aged 13 to 16, attending secondary schools in England and Switzerland. The analysis investigated similarities and differences regarding knowledge and cultural notions between young people across the two countries, as well as in relation to the transnational divisions of gender and race/ethnicity. The overall conclusion from this comparative study is that similarities outweigh differences across the two countries, and especially when data is analysed with respect to gender. Both samples contained significant proportions of black and minority ethnic young people.

The study found that the majority do not support traditional woman blaming views, although young men were more likely to take these positions. However, attitudes were complex with support for both gender power analysis and psychopathological explanations for violence. Interesting national differences were found with regard to the role of alcohol and preferred interventions. Barriers to seeking help were gendered: young women were more concerned about credibility and being believed, whereas boys worried more about their public image and that of their family. In both countries, young people were overly optimistic about the ease of leaving violent relationships. Whilst the studies revealed similarities and differences across countries, for many of the items gender was the more predictive variable. Young peoples' understandings and perceptions are complex and contradictory and ideas about privacy remain a significant barrier to seeking support.

The data posed questions. Should we be seeking a common knowledge culture across the EU? Should awareness-raising campaigns target those who maintain traditional ideas (more likely to include perpetrators), or those who combine the modern and traditional (more likely to change the culture of toleration)? How can the tendency to culturalise violence be addressed and what should the contribution of research be to this? Do we need to revisit and re-think the private and public, since they still constitute barriers to both help-seeking and help-giving, as well as a barrier to doing research?

Summary Issues Panel 4

Both violence and care depend to some degree on their cultural context for interpretation. Culture is not a concept that leads itself easily to measurement and there are many definitions. There appears to be agreement that there is more cross-national comparability than difference in terms of gender based violence despite varying cultural traditions.

The aim of this session was to review the importance of culture in the production and/or prevention of violence. This is in contrast to researching culture as a context of victims or perpetrators and then only when it is different, exotic or other than the majority culture (culture as the ‚garbage bin'). Gloor noted that it is possible to speak of culture as a resource at the institutional level: integrating different institutional cultures into a more shared culture of addressing gendered violence and that this may make it possible to speak about a turn to a "culture of care". We revisit culture under cross cutting issues (Section 4) and include the UN example of a ‚culture of peace'.

Section 4: Cross Cutting Issues

Several topics were mentioned that may be used to cut across existing divisions in research and theory.

SN4 has considered the issue of cross cutting themes from three different perspectives. Cross cutting issues for:

- **Violence against women, men and children**
- **Violence and human rights violations more generally**
- **Issues that cross cut the sub-networks**

Themes were identified across panel presentations and keynotes speeches and are taken forward through discussion of specific cross-cutting aspects. Research examples, drawn from within and outside CAHRV, are selected because they provide clear illustration of theme integration.

Superiority

Monica McWilliams focused on the importance of superiority in her discussion on the security emphasis post war on unilateral disarmament: that one country who felt it was superior to another country made demands on a country to disarm. In her work in South Africa, Northern Ireland and the Lebanon she has found that these demands and the issue of superiority is something that repeatedly comes through in relation to conflict resolution. Superiority is a dimension of power, long recognised as a key issue in the violence field.

Box 1: Cultural Superiority and Violence against Women

Saroca (2002) notes that in Orientalist discourse "Asians" are exotic, inferior and backward creatures, subject to the superiority of the West (Broinowski, 1992; Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1994). Saroca (2002) identifies the intersection between cultural superiority and Filipino women's experiences of violence which were found to be misrepresented in the media in Australia;

I believe that many men who order a bride are selfish. They do it not because they really love the woman but because they want somebody to look after them and as their company and all that, but not wanting to be a responsible proper husband. I believe that these men think that just because the Filipino women came from a poor country that they will put up with anything. Many of these men think that by coming to Australia, the poor women owe them for the rest of their lives because they have been rescued. When some of these Filipino women are not prepared to put up with abuse then these men are really shocked. And I think they believed that they have the right to abuse them because they feel they have to be grateful for being able to come to Australia. (Belinda)

Saroca, N., 2002, *Violence Against Filipino Women in Australia: Theorising the Relationship between the Discursive and Nondiscursive,* Expanding Our Horizons, Understanding the Complexities of Violence Against Women, Meaning, Cultures, Difference, 18 – 22 February 2002, University of Sydney, Australia
http://www.austdvclearinghouse.unsw.edu.au/Conference%20papers/Exp-horiz/Saroca.pdf

Physical violence in childhood is most frequently underpinned by the attitude that the parent 'knows what is best' for the child (Miller, 1985). As adults children accept this meaning and are less likely to name the violence as physical abuse if they feel it was 'deserved' (Kelder et al, 1991).

Superiority is a key feature of hegemonic masculinity. Violence against women, children and against other men enables men to acquire this male dominance – it is the process as well as the output.

Mobility

Mobility is a cross cutting theme for state security, women, young boys and girls. In the former mobility restrictions were envisaged as a protective or safety device. For children restrictions on mobility are also viewed as a prevention for unsafe and violent situations, but they are also productive of violence – as they are for women – if the contexts in which their mobility is restricted (the home, the school) are themselves violent.

Thus, mobility is a theme that works both ways; it can be both protective of violence (escape or avoidance) or it can be productive of violence (restraint in violent situations). Mobility features in violence research in these contradicting ways, ranging from the impact of residential mobility on childhood violence (Haynie and South, 2005) to mobility based spatial analyses of homicide that explores how murderers travel to their victims (Tita and Griffiths, 2005), particularly serial killers whose actions begin to define areas of terror and restrictions on mobility (Warf and Waddell, 2002).

In broad terms the research shows how mobility is mediated by context as a factor in violence against women, children and men. The detrimental effects of mobility can make all groups more vulnerable to violence but mediators such as social networks can be protective. Studies also confirm the complex and contested nature of female movement (Zubia and Salway, 2005) though no parallel studies have been found on male mobility.

Box 2: Mobility and Vulnerability

Hong Kong, the Special Administrative Region of China, has currently about 200,000 women migrant workers working as domestic helps. This paper examines migrant women worker's access to AIDS-related health information and health care facilities, perceptions about vulnerability, and risk behaviour profile. Data was collected through a pre-tested questionnaire from a random sample of 2,010 women migrant workers. A majority of the migrant women workers (63.6%) have been living and working in Hong Kong for between 4-10 years. Fifty-four per cent of the respondents felt that being a female they were vulnerable to HIV infection. The study indicates that migrant women workers who experienced sexual violence (9%) in Hong Kong perceive themselves to be 'at risk' of HIV infection. Seventy per cent of the respondents reported that they have felt discriminated against in Hong Kong, of which 42% felt discriminated against in Hong Kong hospitals. Addressing discrimination in health care settings is an essential element of AIDS prevention. The discussion urges researchers and policy makers to pay more attention to the vulnerability of migrant women workers [Source: Author Abstract].

Bandyopadhyay, M., Thomas, J. (2002) Women migrant workers' vulnerability to HIV infection in Hong Kong, *AIDS Care*, Vol. 14, Issue 4, p509-521

Security

Security was a theme that cut across all forms of violence and impacted from the level of the individual to the state. States cannot be secure unless their citizens feel secure and this is an issue for the work of CAHRV. Is insecurity productive of (some forms) of violence? As Monica McWilliams asked, 'If someone who is terrifying is made to feel more insecure will they become more terrifying?' This has relevance at the level of organised violence, such as the reintegration of child and adult combatants post conflict, and at the interpersonal level in relation to 'domestic terrorism'. For example, children often fear the violent adult will become worse if they challenge or expose them in some way, women fear the consequences if they challenge their violent partners.

The promotion of security may have unintended consequences, particularly in relation to human rights. For example, in peace negotiations peace can become and end in itself without due consideration of the human rights aspects of peace keeping (see Box 3).

Box 3: Unintended consequences of security

Cock (2005) argues that contemporary South Africa is marked by the coexistence of both old and new forms of militarism. A shallow and uneven process of state demilitarisation was underway between 1990 to 1998 in the form of reductions in military expenditure, weapons holdings, force levels, employment in arms production and base closures. However, this has had contradictory consequences including providing an impetus to a 'privatised militarism' that is evident in three related processes: new forms of violence, the growth of private security firms and the proliferation of small arms. Since 1998 a process of re-militarisation is evident in the use of the military in foreign policy and a re-armament programme. Both trends illustrate how a restructured, but not transformed, post-apartheid army represents a powerful block of military interests [Source: Author Abstract].

'Guards and Guns': Towards Privatised Militarism in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Authors: Cock, Jacklyn, *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Dec2005, Vol. 31 Issue 4, p791-803.

At the level of interpersonal violence security can have unintended human rights consequences through surveillance. In the UK, following a public inquiry into the murder of Victoria Climbie (a child recently moved to England from West Africa) the government passed laws to increase the surveillance of children through a national shared database which could infringe rights to privacy.

Economic Cost

The cost of security can be high for nation states which leads to challenges from citizens, particularly when services viewed as essential in many countries, such as health and education, are also in need of funding.

At the interpersonal level debates about cost have worked in the opposite direction: emphasising costs is a method of increasing awareness of impact and promoting prevention. Violence researchers and practitioners have tried to evidence the severity of interpersonal violence through estimations of cost. The World Report on Violence and Health (WHO, 2002) cites several studies on the economic costs of interpersonal violence to women and children, such as loss of productivity (days lost at work) and costs of increased use of health and social care services (for a recent example see Box 4).

Box 4: Economic Costs of Trauma and Violence

The Lancet argues that prevention is the best way to avoid the high human and financial cost of trauma. $71.6 billion is being spent on trauma-related conditions in the U.S., as cited by the U.S. Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality. Injury is the leading cause of death worldwide for all age groups 59 and younger. Problems such as traffic accidents, war, drowning, poisoning, fire, and interpersonal violence are some of the leading causes of death among 15-29-year-olds worldwide. Improvements could be made by implementing recommendations from the World Health Organization's "Guidelines for Essential Trauma Care." Also, pre-hospital and hospital care can be improved.

An ounce of prevention is better than the best trauma care. Source: *Lancet,* 2/4/2006, Vol. 367 Issue 9508, p370-370.

Less attention has been paid directly to the issue of cost in violence against men. Although the trauma associated with such violence is generally considered to be less severe the costs may be hidden, particularly in relation to productivity and work.

Integrating Intervention

Interpersonal violence directly affects individuals who live and work within a social context. Interventions to stop or protect from violence can be at the therapeutic level, at the social and economic at the level of employment welfare and jobs and housing. Levels of intervention raise an important question in relation to human rights; that is, how to make human rights equal and central alongside political and civil rights?

Although there are exceptions, at the level of interpersonal violence and organised conflict, the intervention emphasis has been more on the removal of threats, the removal of fear rather than on the positive, on the reconstruction and transformation of an interpersonal relationship or a society. As McWilliams pointed out, we cannot focus on safety by taking away the fear and the threat if we don't look at empowerment, transformation and reconstruction. This is extremely important to a gendered analysis. Gender influences intervention and safety at the individual/interpersonal level and at the structural level but in very different ways.

To transform a conflict violations must be addressed: they cannot be ignored or forgotten. There are three different ways of looking at conflict: conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation.

How do we move from negative peace (absence of war) or negative prevention (an absence of interpersonal violence) to a positive one which focuses on peace or quality of life with justice? Negative peace or prevention will lead to an unstable resolution: you will be very peaceful but you will be very fearful. How can this be transformed? The benefits of CAHRV's theoretical work which begins from theories of interpersonal violence for women, men and children, are enabling this change in direction and will be fed into commissions and policies.

Box 5: IPV and Organised Conflict: Connections Between Violence and Vulnerability in Men

There is a high prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among veteran men and limited research on victimization in this group. This study recruited 133 male veterans with combat-related PTSD from a psychiatric inpatient unit and assessed them for lifetime physical and sexual trauma. Results indicated that 96% of the sample had experienced some form of victimization over their lifetimes; 60% reported childhood physical abuse, 41% childhood sexual abuse, 93% adulthood physical assault, and 20% adulthood sexual assault. In the preceding year alone, 46% experienced either physical or sexual assault. These findings support the need for routine inquiry into the histories of noncombat victimization in this cohort. Determining the lifetime history of trauma exposure may have implications for vulnerability to subsequent development of PTSD and the risk of future violence. [Source: Abstract from Author]

Lapp et al, Lifetime Sexual and Physical Victimization among Male Veterans with Combat-Related Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, *Military Medicine,* 2005, Vol. 170 Issue 9, p787-790.

Victim-Perpetrator vs. Gendered Roles and Relationships

A key cross cutting question for CAHRV arises from the traditional 'perpetrator-victim' dichotomy. As CAHRV attempts to integrate research on violence against men, women and children it is led to ask how constructions of perpetrators lead to constructions of victims and how these processes are gendered? In the area of childhood violence these questions are important: parents as perpetrators and children as victims of child abuse. Child abuse achieves a specific meaning because of the perpetrator relationship

(parent). A child who is violent to another child can be described as a 'bully' and the victim would be a victim of bullying, which has a different meaning. The relationship is between (unequal) peers. In each case, and often forgotten, the perpetrator and the victim (women, men, boys, girls) are relating in gendered ways (mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, boyfriends, girlfriends). It may not be helpful for understanding violence and its prevention to say men/boys are violent, women/girls are victims, but rather to focus on relationships, roles, expectations and socio-economic contexts as gendered.

Box 6: Masculinity, roles and relationships in a post conflict society

'Relationships, roles, responsibilities and the inequalities between men and women…have to be analysed rather than simply looking at oppressor and oppressed …The biggest problem we have in Northern Ireland is romanticising the war to the next generation of children. Riots now involve children aged 10 or 11 and when they are arrested they are proud to tell their friends about their involvement. There is an issue here about how to challenge certain images of masculinity and to ask what makes a 'real man' in a post conflict society. Ready for peace but prepare for war is written on many walls. There is a fear of a loss of entitlement this is what makes men hit back and they retain a strong image of combating and challenging the other side.'

Monica McWilliams, Human Security for Women, Men and Children – Integrating and Differentiating Themes from a Gender Perspective, CAHRV Paris Conference, Sept. 2005

Intersectionality

'In Northern Ireland every piece of legislation must be tested and proofed by what impact it will have on religion, age, race, disability, sexuality, political identity and marital status. In the peace negotiations it was found that those were the factors that make a difference to people in a country and particularly in relation to inequalities and human rights' (Monica McWilliams).

WHO (2002) find that within Europe in 2000 there were a total of 303,000 deaths caused by intentional injury representing 37% of all deaths due to injury. In high income groups there were 55,000 deaths and in low to middle income groups there were 248000. This is one illustration of how violence intersects with other social divisions, in this case socio-economic status.

Finding statistical correlations enables understanding of patterns of violence and vulnerability but intersectionality has profound implications for the management of violence to women, men and children. For example, in her paper to the first day of the conference Ravi Thiara noted a general silence on the intersection of gender, race and violence which has led to issues for black and minority ethnic women who experience interpersonal violence being marginalised and 'made invisible'.

Notions of intersectionality and multiple oppression have been powerful concepts that have been widely adopted by mainstream theorists and researchers in their examinations of the complex interplay of systems of dominations and control as they mark the lives of a range of subordinate groups. It has also moved us away from building hierarchies of oppression. The development of black and minority ethnic refuges and DV services has been a key part of this challenge posed by black and minority ethnic women in practice; not without its own challenges it has formed the bedrock of autonomous organising by women who have challenged patriarchal practices within their communities and the practice of racism in wider society.

 (http://www.cahrv.uni-osnabrueck.de/reddot/Ravi_Thiara.pdf).

Both Pringle and Hearn state intersectionality as a driving theme for their discussion of situational factors linked to violence. In a policy context there is some ongoing work in this area following the Beijing Declaration by the UN. Whilst CAHRV does not want to duplicate the work of others it must take account of intersectionality as a cross-cutting issue. One advancement might be to take generational divisions as a starting point and examine how human

rights violations and intersectionality might be better understood in relation to boys and girls or older men and women.

Box 7: The Centre for Women's Global Leadership Definition of Intersectionality

An intersectional approach to analyzing the disempowerment of marginalized women attempts to capture the consequences of the interaction between two or more forms of subordination. It addresses the manner in which racism, patriarchy, class oppression and other discriminatory systems create inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, races, ethnicities, classes, and the like. Moreover, intersectionality addresses the way that specific acts and policies operate together to create further disempowerment. http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/globalcenter/policy/bkgdbrfintersec.html

Culture

Culture is an important cross-cutting theme, and one that can connect well with human rights, but our thinking of culture could be expanded so that we emphasize more the dynamic aspects of cultural changes, and the importance of contradictions and debates within cultures.

Iva Smidova stated that hegemonic forms of masculinity are at the roots of violence. Violence reproduces in contexts and situations where it is the only perceived available technique of expressing and validating masculinity. There is a high degree of cross-national commonality in the sense that patriarchy is a global pervasive phenomenon related to men's violence, but also there are cultural differences, and both occur within and across national boundaries. Is it helpful to ask what is it about culture that is productive of human rights violation and can this be reframed (as in cultures of violence/cultures of care)? Care is gendered a priori. For example, in families mothers care most frequently in an interpersonal way. If care is used in connection with fathers, it still often means the responsibility for economic care even where the mother also works. Also, as Smidova points out, "care" can be an aspect of dominance, control, and access to power; often control is the essence of care. This is particularly the case for children many of whom in Europe are physically assaulted through excessive corporal punishment in the name of discipline and care (May-Chahal et al, 2006).

Along with this goes the issue of translation, broadly speaking, as the many ways in which we communicate meanings across cultures and adopt practices (not just how to translate from Danish to Spanish). This connects with human rights issues and the multiple aspects of CAHRV's work, focusing as it does on sharing best practice in measuring and addressing violence.

In terms of human rights a clear statement of these issues comes from Sally E. Merry (2006). Merry is an anthropologist and uses notions of culture that emphasize culture as dynamic, changing site of internal debate, where different actors or groups of actors promote different ideas, where there is, along with some consensus about shared practices and meanings, struggle over contested practices and meanings.

She argues that the international human rights movement against violence to women shows how new meanings of global reach emerge, how they are adapted to local circumstances, and what tensions and challenges this creates. On the one hand, human rights are phrased in ways to gain international credibility, legitimacy and support across contexts, cultures, and societies, which often involves generalizations that are removed from local issues. On the other hand, to be locally effective human rights need to be phrased in ways that make sense locally, in specific cultures and communities. To bridge this gap or deal with this tension creatively there needs to be translation from the global into the local (and maybe vice versa), or in Merry's words human rights ideas need to be 'remade in the vernacular' (p. 1), as activists, NGOs and others have been doing for a while.

We are practicing 'remaking in the vernacular' in CAHRV as we communicate meanings of research across European languages and societies. Addressing the global/European arena and the many local/European sites faces tensions similar to those Merry writes about with regard to the international human rights arena. That is we try on the one hand to reach generalizations in research and practice that are meaningful in trans-national European fora and documents, while at the same time CAHRV needs to be conscious of what is meaningful locally in specific communities across Europe where violence happens, and what occurs during the process of translation.

Improved understanding of these dynamic processes of culture, adaptation and translation matters for research and measurement, for practice, intervention, and prevention, and will move the field forward. It is clear that culture as a

catalyst for reducing violence is more complex than current work on cultures of care or peace would suggest (see Box 8)

Box 8: UN Cultures of Peace

Template for Assessing National Culture of Peace

Aspect of Culture and UN Area of Action	Objective Measures	Emotional Climate
Societal norms		
1. *Peace education:* To what extent are people educated (or socialized) to see themselves as peaceful people with norms that emphasize cooperation and the resolution of conflicts by dialogue, negotiation and non-violence?	Percentage of GDP devoted to education*	Climate of security rather than insecurity
2. *Valuing of women and nurturance:* To what extent are the voices of women as important as those of men, and to what extent are children and nurturance valued?	Percentage of seats in legislature held by women	Climate of nurturance
3. *Societal cohesion and tolerance:* To what extent do understanding, tolerance, solidarity and mutual obligation form the basis of a cohesive society (rather than the image of a common enemy or a rigid set of norms)?	Number of refugees admitted (minus refugees generated or displaced within the nation) relative to total population	Climate of trust and cooperation
How State structures achieve political stability		
4. *Democratic participation:* To what extent is there democratic participation, with a civic society that enables freedom of advocacy, so that personal needs can be met?	Vanhanen Democratization Index	Climate of confidence, as opposed to cynical alienation
5. *Open communication:* To what extent is there open communication, with transparency and accountability rather than press control and corruption?	Freedom House's Press Freedom ratings	Low climate of fear of speaking
6. *Human rights and the inclusion of all groups:* To what extent are human rights ensured by a government that includes all groups and has enough authority to ensure these rights are maintained?	Inverse of Gibney's political terror ratings of Amnesty International data	Low climate of hate and fear
Environmental characteristics		
7. *International security:* To what extent does the society encourage international security rather than compete for power and sell arms?	Military expenditure as a percentage of GDP	Low climate of nationalism
8. *Equitable and sustainable development:* To what extent is there equitable and sustainable development so that needs are met in ways that are in harmony with the environment?	GDP per capita Gini index on inequality and homicide rate, CO_2 emissions per capita**	Low climate of insecurity and anger

Rivera, 2005, Assessing Cultures of Peace, UN Chronicle, No 2, p53-55

Recognition

It is commonplace to suggest that recognition of different forms of interpersonal violence depend on a shared level of awareness. Violence against children, men and women has been known about since the beginning of human civilization but it has not been recognised in the same way across time and place.

Are there spaces in violence research relating to all groups (women, men and children) and would the identification of these spaces enable development of new knowledge about violence and its prevention? The term spaces here refers to gaps in knowledge but this kind of space must be recognised. Some gaps are already known about, for example, researchers in the German prevalence of violence against men study suggested that that some forms of violence to men were 'unspeakable'.

It is also important to consider gaps in terms of emphasis and equivalence. There have been discourses and representations of violent women for many decades, and some forms of violence to men have been documented in all national victimisation studies. Thus, to identify and understand gaps it is important to a) ensure specificity and accuracy about precisely what is claimed to be silenced and b) that the issue of scale is considered. For example, Lucy Berliner in a workshop on perpetrators once said that she would allocate the proportion of time to females that they represent in the data, which then was 4%. There is a difference between silence and emphasis. Other gaps might be described as 'absolute silences', where we have yet to become aware of the space because it has not been identified. Examples here are forms of violence that have previously been an acceptable part of a culture but become recognised or re-branded as violence, such as corporal punishment to children as a form of socialization.

New technologies bring new forms of violence that are under researched. For example, gang violence recorded on mobile phones and rapes of girls and boys forced into webcam sex. Are these new forms of violence or extensions of existing forms?

Box 9: Changing Recognition of Violence against Women in Hungary

A grounded theory model of feminist-activist identity development was constructed from semistructured interviews with volunteers of the first Women's Rights Association (NANE) in Hungary. This research focused on NANE volunteers' feminist identity development, which emerged through interpersonal solidarity with Western women; the development of self-confidence and an assertive "voice" in their relationships; and an increased awareness of the violence and oppression against women. A grounded theory approach was used to analyze the interviews. The core category, "Internalizing Western Feminist-Activism: Importing an External Culture to Revolutionize One's Own," describes volunteers' conceptualization that their feminist-activist beliefs emerged from imported ideologies gained through exposure to Western ideas and the international women's movement, which were then adapted to make changes in Hungary. [Source: Author Abstract]

Matthews et al, 2005, Feminism Across Borders: A Hungarian Adaptation of Western Feminism, **Sex Roles**, Vol. 53 Issue 1/2, p89-103

Masculinities and Femininities

The data on violence against men is accumulating and there is now considerable evidence on violence by men and on violence against men. What is lacking, however, is a gender/power analysis of such data. Men and masculinities were seen as a cross cutting theme in Paris but constructions of femininity were not mentioned explicitly. Efforts to make the gender analysis more nuanced could prove cross-cutting.

Violence can be a method of 'doing masculinity' (see Box 10) or a response to gender threats. Hegemonic masculinity is closely linked to labour and power. Gender hierarchies can be understood as a cultural hegemony of the male gender which is reproduced continuously by men and women in professional and private life. When men are no longer secured by this hegemony, the chance of violence can rise.

Femininity is often referred to in terms of victimisation. It has been argued that men encourage the performance of femininity in their victims through performance of violent masculinity (Anderson and Umberson, 2001), reinforced in a recent South African study found that, in their explanations and descriptions of interpersonal violence, men drew upon hegemonic gendered discourses scripting standards of male authority and female submission (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004).

Media coverage of violence uses feminine stereotypes to accentuate victimisation (Wilcox, 2006) and issues of sexuality and masculinity are highlighted in media coverage of sexual violence. In relation to child sexual abuse, male perpetrators are often represented as 'unmanly', and there are asymmetries in reporting; when a man attacks a girl this is not represented as a heterosexual assault but when a boy is attacked it is often identified as a homosexual act (Kitzinger, 2004).

Historically, violent women were perceived to be harshly treated within the law by appearing to offend both against the law and the conventions of femininity (Godfrey et al, 2005).

Box 10: Doing Gender: Macho Behaviour and Alcohol Related Violence

Victor: *Some drunk kid came over to me, pushed me, and took off my hat and threw it in the garbage. It wasn't like I was gonna do anything, but you know, when guys get around each other, when it's just guys, they start to have these testosterone surges, and they feel like they just have to act like macho guys.*

Erik: *Females [when drinking]—they are sloppy, obnoxious and, uh, it is a turnoff. I think that if a female is tanked [drunk], like I don't think that she is at all attractive. I'm not being sexist, but there is something about a woman chugging back a beer that looks so masculine, you know what I mean? [There is] something about a woman being all rough, smoking a cigarette or smoking weed or something. Just like, why doesn't she just burp or fart in front of everybody or something? Men drink. They get violent, rape. When women drink, that is really masculine. It looks really masculine.*

Source: Peralta, R & Cruz, J, 2006, Conferring Meaning onto Alcohol- Related *Violence*: An Analysis of Alcohol Use and Gender in a Sample of College Youth, **Journal of Men's Studies**, Vol. 14 Issue 1, p109-125.

Resilience

This concept is particularly important for the development of protective factors (SN4). It is well known in the arena of childhood violence but less known and applied in violence to men and women? What are the implications of resilience to adult violence (does it move towards 'victim blaming' for example, or reinforcing stereotypes that can perpetuate violence e.g. 'hard men'). What are the implications of work on violence resilience for other human rights violations?

Summing up and moving forward

The conference covered a wide field of research knowledge, reflection, and cross-cutting issues. The opening public "French day" presented a rich array of prevalence data, comparative analysis, and detailed examination of aspects of intervention, health impact of violence, diversity and social exclusion. The panels brought difficult and controversial issues into sharper focus. Discussion time after the panels could not begin to explore all of the questions that were brought up, and much was carried forth into the informal discussions.

The closing discussion session also raised some issues that called for further thought. The complexities of protecting children's rights to freedom from violence, while securing women's safety, and pressing for men's involvement in family caring as an ingredient of gender equality are difficult to address in a consistent way. Children, in particular, still have very little to say in decisions that affect their sense of safety and well-being. Another challenge emerges when data point to higher levels of interpersonal

violence, and specifically violence against women and/or against children, in some cultures than in others; this is especially difficult to interpret against a background of social exclusion or insecurity (migration status for example). Both with respect to children and to black and minority ethnic groups, as well as others who are marginalized or excluded (for example, the homeless), the challenge to research and practice in addressing violence is to give disempowered groups a voice and let them be heard in defining what they experience as violence, and as supportive. Finally, there is a need to develop practical knowledge that can empower (potential) victims and enable them to assess the risk of violence and make informed choices.

The concerns of this closing discussion, incomplete as it necessarily must be at the end of a conference, thus defined an implicit overall theme of empowerment, and in a sense closed the circle back to the keynote speech on gendering human rights. The debate will be continued in depth at the cross-cutting workshop scheduled for June 2006 in Valencia.

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