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# **FROM VIOLENCE TO CARING**

Gendered and Sexualised Violence  
as the Challenge on the Life-span

## **CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS**

Edited by

Vappu Sunnari, Suvi Pihkala, Mervi Heikkinen,  
Tuija Huuki & Sari Manninen

2008



**FROM VIOLENCE TO CARING**  
**Gendered and Sexualized Violence as the Challenge on the Life-span**  
**Conference Proceedings**

**Editorial board**

Vappu Sunnari  
Suvi Pihkala  
Mervi Heikkinen  
Tuija Huuki  
Sari Manninen

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[www.oulu.fi/naistutkimus/](http://www.oulu.fi/naistutkimus/)

**Contact person:**

Senior Lecturer, Dr. Vappu Sunnari  
Women's and Gender Studies  
Dept. of Educational Sciences and Teacher Education  
University of Oulu  
P.O.Box 2000  
90014 University Oulu, FINLAND  
tel. +358 8 553 3720  
[vappu.sunnari@oulu.fi](mailto:vappu.sunnari@oulu.fi)

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Annakaisa Paukkeri

**Poem in the back cover**

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## Introduction

The multidisciplinary conference “From Violence to Caring”, took place in Oulu Finland on the 4th and 5th of December 2008, bringing together researchers, students, activists and practitioners from 20 countries. The coordinator of the conference was the unit of Women’s Studies at the University of Oulu with three ongoing projects: APROPOS – Multisectoral and Multidisciplinary Professional Specialisation programme and network for violence prevention; GVEI – Gender Violence Effects Indicators; and the research project “From violence to caring - A Longitudinal Study on School Violence and Development of Safe School Cultures.” These projects and the research and development work done in the field of gendered and sexualised violence in Women’s Studies in the University of Oulu during recent years formed the background for the inspiration of this international conference.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of the conference was to discuss methodological and theoretical issues of research, the various dimensions of violence, the prevention of violence and the preconditions for creating the culture and practices of non-violence in schools, in other educational environments, in workplaces and during leisure time.

As the studies confirm, violence affects a vast number of people around the globe. Gender and sexualised violence includes women who suffer intimate partner violence, marital rape, rape by other men known to them and by strangers, incest, sexual harassment, trafficking for the purposes of forced labour or prostitution, dowry-related violence, honour killing, other forms of femicide, acid attacks, and female genital mutilation. (Johnson *et al.* 2008, Terry & Hoare 2007, WHO 2005, UNIFEM 1999, Heise 1997, Heiskanen & Piispa 1998, Levinson 1989.) Public discussion and awareness of gender and sexual violence have increased during the last two decades, and this has played a large role in breaking the walls of silence around the issues, and in developing legislation. However, the steps towards preventing violence in practice, helping the victims and changing the offensive environments into safe environments, have yet not been as successful. It is even difficult to say that violence against women in global sense has decreased,

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1. Women’s Studies, part of the Faculty of Education at the University of Oulu, and granted the status of an independent subject in 1989, defines itself as a multi and interdisciplinary field of teaching and research which challenges traditional academic paradigms. It has the aim of investigating the historical, political, cultural and social position of women and issues of gender. Education and research on gender and sexual violence the unit has practiced since 1990s.

especially because of the rapidly increasing trafficking-based business (Johnson *et al.* 2008).

Some research results indicate that violence against women increases in intensity also where gender relations are being transformed and male privileges are challenged (e.g. Rowlands 1997, Timmerman & Bajema 1999). These results are in line, for example, with the statistics that violence against women has increased in working life in Finland during the last decades. For example, the percentage of violence in working life of all violence against women was 13 percent in 1980. By 1998, it had risen to 32 percent. (Koskinen 1998.)

This is not to say that women do not abuse other human beings, or that men do not suffer violence. Men are actually more often victims of violence than women (Heiskanen & Piispa 1998, Kivivuori 1999, Kauffman 1999). However, both qualitative and quantitative research repeatedly indicates that the vast majority of violence experienced by men and women is caused by men. With regard to violence against women, men are mainly responsible. Usually the perpetrator of violence against a woman is – or has been – in an intimate relationship with the victim, and the assault occurs at home<sup>2</sup> (Maynard & Winn 1997, Heise 1997, Bachman & Saltzman 1995, Heiskanen & Piispa 1998, Kivivuori 1999, Johnson *et al.* 2008).

There is a huge and continuous need to combat gender and sexual violence which are clearly identified as obstacles, and structural and procedural barriers, standing in the way of gender equality and human rights. But there is no single model for different environments and cultural contexts which would solve the violence problems. So, instead of trying to establish just one model, we have to tackle the challenges by dealing with them in multidimensional ways, looking for new creative solutions and being persistent. Professionals need know-how to identify the individual and contextual consequences of violence, and the continuum of violence. They need tools to prevent violence as well as know-how, courage and support from colleagues to act successfully in violent situations. Multiprofessional and multifaceted collaboration is essential for these efforts.

Current legislation on gender equality and equal opportunities challenge workplaces and educational establishments to improve organisational gender equality and to develop more efficient equal opportunity policies. These are important steps towards equal relationships within organisations. Gender mainstreaming

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2. In Finland, the majority of women who are killed knew their assailant, and in most cases it is the ex-male partner (Kivivuori 1999). In cases where men are the victims, the offender is most often a man, too, but typically the victim did not know him, or did not know him well.



of educational contents and educational practices over a life-span should be ensured. Zero tolerance for violence in close relationships, conflict handling skills and non-violent respecting relationships in different educational settings are part of the preventive work. Knowledge and awareness are some of the key elements to deconstructing our own prejudices and stereotypes.

It is also important to learn to see and value other cultures and to change perspectives. This can mean for example that we aim to see things from the other person's perspective. We also need courage to face challenges, to seek alternative ways of healing, possibilities for understanding hidden nuances of our experience and emotions. We need conscious efforts to become more alert, to learn to hear, see and pay more attention to issues that are not always in the foreground, or which are only vaguely visible, and realise that violence is often related to culture and the pursuit of power and control over the other. In addition to the individual level, changes are also needed on cultural, organisational, and interactional levels as well.

The papers selected for the conference proceedings provide a broad-ranging picture of the ongoing discussions from the practical, theoretical and political aspects of the conference theme, i.e. *from violence to caring*. Ceri Hayes (2007) a senior programmer and policy manager at WOMANKIND Worldwide<sup>3</sup>, in the UK, contends that the prevalence of violence against women can only be reduced through a combination of sustained, strategic and comprehensive measures to address both the short-term requirements of individual survivors, bring the perpetrators to justice, and create the longer-term cultural and attitudinal changes required to challenge the acceptance of violence against women.

Human life is characterised by *fundamental inevitable interdependency*. Judith Butler argues an awareness of the interdependency should be acknowledged as the basis for a global political community instead of trying to work in the direction of creating a final control because no final control can be secured nor can it be an ultimate value. What is needed is an understanding of how easily human life is annulled. (Butler 2004: XIII.) In conclusion, *fundamental inevitable interdependency* should also be acknowledged as the basis of organising any social environment.

We have divided the papers into three sections that are: (1) Gendered and sexualised violence, and legal and organisational measures and recommendations against gendered and sexualised violence; (2) Gendered and sexualised violence in

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3. WOMANKIND Worldwide is an international women's human rights and development organisation, established in 1989. It works with partner organisations around the world to promote women's rights and tackle gender inequality.

educational environments; and measures and recommendations against it; and (3) Pedagogical and ethical means for knowing, empowering and healing.

On the eve of the conference,

Professor Vappu Sunnari

The Chair of the conference organizing committee

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## **Greetings from the State Provincial Office of Oulu**

TYTTI TUULOS

State Provincial Office of Oulu, Finland

Dear international conference guests, researchers, lectures, students and You all, who are interested in working with welfare, preventing violence and promoting health. Welcome to the capital of Northern Finland, to the city which is very well known of the development work in the fields of technology, sciences and culture.

I am bringing a greeting from the government, from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health and above of all from the social- and health department of the state provincial office of Oulu, to this very important multi-disciplinary seminar.

The state provincial office of Oulu and its social and health department are controlling, supervising and estimating the local progress of the social and health services. In addition to the legislative policies the council is stressing the facts considering the human rights and equality. The department is emphasising the caring as a moral aspect. The violence is not acceptable in any conditions.

We have also actively participated in two national development programmes for the prevention of violence. Between 1997 and 2002 there was a programme for the Preventing violence against women and that programme continued from 2004 to 2007 as a national programme for the Prevention of Interpersonal and Domestic Violence. During these last ten years there has been collaboration between different establishments of the government to actively work for the prevention of violence.

There is still much work left to be done for this problem which is serious concerning national public health, even though during this multi-disciplinary and extensive development work there has been great progress. Although Finnish people are aware of the violence that occurs in their immediate surroundings they don't know how to deal with it. Even though the social services are constantly developing the system is still lacking sufficient and safe support for victims.

Finnish health promotion thinking and government welfare and health promoting politics and policies have stressed out that welfare and health promotion work belongs to us all, it should be taken care of in all municipal policies and strategies. This is what "Health in all Policies" means in practice.

Social security legislation in Finland changes. The municipalities are playing a more important role in doing the follow-up studies on peoples' health and welfare. Personally, I hope that in this national follow-up work and health promotion work

the violence will be included and the relevant measuring models for violence will be found.

At the national level the prevention of interpersonal and domestic violence is guided and assessed in cooperation by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities, The National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (Stakes) and the State Provincial Offices.

There are some published guidelines supporting developmental work: One from the year 2005 “To whom the strikes belong?” A handbook for municipalities for the prevention of interpersonal and domestic violence and year 2007 “Recognise, protect and act”. These recommendations stress the importance of strategic planning, and they give recommendations how to guide and lead local and regional activities in social and health care services for the prevention of interpersonal and domestic violence.

State Provincial Office of Oulu has published the results of the development programme and you can find them on the internet by name of “Justice and Moderation – good conscience” ([www.laaninhallitus.fi/oulu/julkaisut](http://www.laaninhallitus.fi/oulu/julkaisut)).

With the help of these programmes we have been able to raise awareness and make violence more visible. We have been able to develop the collaboration between the organisations, municipalities and cities for helping the victims. We have trained professionals from different professional backgrounds to recognise and deal with the violence in their own practical work. We have influenced discussions and attitudes towards violence in order to reinforce the prevention work. Although a lot of work has been done patiently by taking the violence as a multi-dimensional phenomenon as well as the legislative system into consideration, there is still much more work to do at the local social services and primary health care.

Currently the work is going on through supporting and educating people with the co-operation between municipality and the multi-professional working groups. Despite the limited resources for development work about 50 percent of the municipalities in Finland and about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the municipalities in province of Oulu have established work groups, named partners to the violence work and planned models for local activities. The development work is continuing as a part of health promotion work by the enthusiastic people and with the help of new national programmes.

National mission is that “Finland should be the safest country in Europe 2010”

Ministry of the interior is leading an initiative development programme of internal security with other ministries. One goal of the programme is safety in everyday life and the prevention of violence. This security programme is a joint effort between police, rescue workers, education and social- and healthcare personnel. This collaboration hopefully raises the awareness of violence as a phenomena in education and research field as well as the decision makers in the municipality.

Preventing violence is globally important work and it should be seriously noticed worldwide. World Health Organization (WHO) has raised the issue of the prevention work of violence detailed in “Violence and Health 2002” Violence should be treated as a serious national public health problem.

In the end, it is very important to improve the professional skills of the staff both to intervene in violence and to increase research and development in this area. For that reason I wish in this conference the atmosphere will be open and caring. I hope that during the workshops there will be a curious approach and authentic dialog between practice and theory for fighting the violence worldwide.

Caring is soft weapon against violence – thank you!



## Opening Words

VAPPU SUNNARI

Luleå University of Technology, Sweden

University of Oulu, Finland

Senior Planning Officer of the *State provincial office* of Oulu, Vice-Rector of the University of Oulu, and Vice-Director of the Department of Educational Sciences and Teacher Education, University of Oulu, international conference quests, colleagues and students: on behalf of our unit of Women's studies at the university of Oulu, and on behalf of the organising committee of the conference, it is my great pleasure to welcome you all to our conference entitled From Violence to caring.

Women's Studies at the University of Oulu is a teaching and research unit, and a part of the Faculty of Education. Our general task is to provide high-level education, based on research on gender and gender sensitivity in different areas of life, gender in education, and gender and sexual violence. These topics have also been – and are – at the core of several development projects conducted at the unit. The conference “From Violence to caring” is built around three such projects, namely: APROPOS – Multisectoral and Multidisciplinary Professional Specialisation programme and network for violence prevention, and GVEI – Gender Violence Effects Indicators –project. A third project, organizing the conference, is the research project entitled: From violence to caring.

The conference “From violence to caring” deals with gendered and sexualised violence, and the prevention of violence. The conference is multidisciplinary, and it brings together researchers, students, activists and professionals from different corners of the globe. We are from twenty countries, and more than 150 persons will participate in this conference.

During these two days we will discuss violence, prevention of violence and the preconditions for creating cultures and practices of non-violence. In other words, establishing a shared joy of life, which I would like to extend to schools, other educational environments, home, workplaces and leisure time. This gives a lifespan perspective to the issues.

Studies confirm that violence affects a vast number of people around the globe. Sexual and gender violence refers to people – especially women – who suffer intimate partner violence, marital rape, rape by other men known to them and by strangers, it also includes incest, sexual harassment, trafficking for the purposes of forced labour or prostitution, dowry-related violence, honour killing, other

forms of femicide, and genital mutilation. Public discussion and awareness of gender and sexual violence have increased during the last two decades, and this has played a large role in breaking the walls of silence around the issues, and developing legislation. But the steps towards preventing violence, helping the victims and changing offensive environments into safe and joyful environments for all, have not yet been as successful. There is a continuous need to combat violence, and to combat gender and sexual violence which are clearly identified as obstacles and structural and procedural barriers that stand in the way of gender equality and human rights.

Judith Butler takes a worldwide perspective and asserts that we should start by understanding how easily human life is annulled, and the fundamental inevitable interdependency of human life. The interdependency should be acknowledged as the basis for global political community, and for human relationships. The awareness of the fundamental inevitable interdependency does not challenge us to fight against each other nor to try to solve the problems of human relationships through increasing systems of control or violence, but through working for us all. Life on earth requires preservation and human beings need to get and to give care – not only at the dawn of life but during the whole life span.

The keynote presentations and the conference workshops reflect a multifaceted picture of the ongoing discussion of the practical, theoretical and political aspects of our theme – from violence to caring. I invite each one of us to take part in the discussions and work to combat violence, and to challenge violence by creating cultures of non-violence and caring.

I wish you all intellectually, emotionally and socially rewarding conference days!

Thank you.



## **Keynote:**

### **Gender and Sexual Violence in Life-span Revisited – Locating Ourselves through a Dialogue between Africa and Arctic**

There are many manifestations of gender and sexual violence both in Africa and the Arctic. This keynote speech addresses the continuum of gender and sexual violence from a lifespan perspective. Our aim is to gain new insights by revisiting gender and sexual violence not just in a life span continuum but also by considering cultural diversity in between and within the defined geographic areas. In taking two remote areas such as these, our aim is to locate and give voice to the existing gaps in the knowledge e.g. the issues that would also need further consideration by the researchers, policy-makers, practitioners, and activists to develop a more accurate conceptualisation and understanding of the topic.

#### **Rethinking Violence and Socialization: Reflections from Kenya**

**NUNGARI SALIM & MUMBI MACHERA**

University of Nairobi, Kenya

Violence in intimate relationships in Kenya is pervasive. Women are majority of the victims while men are perpetrators. The Kenya demographic and health survey (KDHS 2003) established that half of all women have experienced violence since they were 15 and one in four experienced violence in the 12 months preceding the survey. In addition over half of all women in their thirties have experienced violence since age 15, with one-quarter experiencing violence in the 12-month preceding the survey. Those aged 15-19 have the lowest proportions of women who ever experienced violence (42 percent).

The linkages between constructions of masculinity as a driver for perpetration of violence has been established through research globally and also through studies conducted locally. Overly, men tend to perpetrate violence because violence and dominance are tendencies, which are encapsulated in the definitions of masculinity by different socializers including the family, school and religious institutions among others. In most Kenyan families male socialization is linked to values that glorify aggressiveness and intolerance for males while females are socialized to be submissive and tolerant.

In this paper, I will argue that changing the values inculcated in children during the process of socialization is one of the more effective means of dealing with violence in later years of such socializees. The arguments postulated in this paper recognize the fact that most interventions that have so far been implemented in my country tend to use a top- bottom approach whereby relief is provided to victims or survivors of gender based violence (GBV) in the form of court redress, counseling and financial support.

In this paper a number of issues will be addressed/ interrogated.

- Is socialization and resocialization in Kenyan communities a possibility?
- Would getting boys and men out of the “masculine box” lead to a systematic decline in Sexualized and Gender based violence in intimate relationships? To what extent would resocialization lead to empowerment of women and girls?

## **Gender Violence from a Life Span Perspective in a Nordic Welfare State**

MERVI HEIKKINEN

University of Oulu, Finland

### **Introduction**

In global campaigns, the definition of violence against women is a crucial milestone. Recognising violence against women is an important political and practical step towards combating multiple manifestations of violence just because a person is a girl or a woman. The majority of the violence takes the form of men’s violence against other men. In my speech, I am not going to concentrate on that aspect of violence, but rather talk about gender and sexual violence in the Nordic welfare context. The Nordic countries have gained a certain reputation because of the perceived widespread societal gender equality. In fact, research carried out in schools, educational institutions and workplaces shows gender equality in Nordic countries to be an illusion. According to the research carried out by the Women’s Studies in Oulu University during the last ten years, sexual harassment is prevalent in schools, universities and in work places. Even in the Nordic countries, gender and sexuality need more research and development.

The topic of gender and sexual violence came to the fore in the Finnish media in autumn 2008, with topics such as violence in school, especially school shoo-

tings, intimate partner violence – for example, a father killing the whole family, violence in the work place has increased and the numbers are already higher than other European countries; and sexual harassment in the Finnish parliament and the ministries.

Finland received concluding observations of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in July 2008. I will just mention the main issues with regard to Violence Against Women and Education. The committee highlighted the high incidence of violence against women, including the high number of women killed in domestic violence and sexual harassment in Finland. The committee urged the Government to create legislation to criminalize sexual harassment. (CEDAW/C/FIN/CO/6.) This would be an interesting development since sexual harassment has even been a problem within the Finnish parliament.

With regard to education, the committee noted the high rate of girls experiencing sexual harassment in school, and the lack of adequate training for teachers to address such events. It requested that gender issues and sensitivity training should be made an integral and substantive component of teacher training. (CEDAW/C/FIN/CO/6.) In Women's Studies we have been working on these challenges for the past decade e.g. the research project From Violence to Caring deals with the challenges of a pedagogy of care and non-violence in schools. Under these projects, several courses have been piloted with the aim of including them eventually in teacher education curricula. For example, is a 25 ects e-learning study programme on gender and sexual violence has been successfully piloted in the Apropos project.

Recent developments in the 21st century which has globalised the North, and elsewhere, bring new challenges through multicultural issues, welfare, employment, education, equal opportunities and gender equality. As a part of the globalisation process, new financial and political formations take decision-making beyond the national boundaries. And the question arises: what kind of access do women have to education, decision making or expert positions in a seemingly gender equal Nordic welfare state?

Pnina Werbner and Nira Yuval –Davis (1999) show that, despite its gendered history, it is possible to recast citizenship from the feminist and plural perspective to being an important political tool in the fight for human, democratic, civil and social rights. The UN's attempt through the CEDAW convention, and its monitoring, has produced instruments for developing equality between women and men in various countries. The Beijing platform for action defined issues for girls' and

women's human rights. These international conventions are important steps forward but more are needed. For example, we should consider what our next steps will be and how we can cooperate better and network more with those who dedicate themselves to these topics on different governmental, institutional, communal or individual levels.

Thorgerdur Einarsdóttir (2003) rightly asks why we do not see more progress in gender equality with all the knowledge we already have. Gender equality development has taken three identifiable steps. 1) Equal rights – with its corollary liberal feminist ideology, which had its greatest impact in the 19th century women's movement. 2) Affirmative action – which aims to accommodate women in the existing system and is influenced by radical feminism in that it recognizes women's disadvantages in a world made by men. 3) Mainstreaming – which corresponds to the most recent emphasis in academic feminism, recognizing the notion of diversity and multiculturalism, by addressing the different, and often intersectional types of oppression, that women (and in fact men) may experience. So, why don't we see more progress in gender equality with all the institutionalized, governmental, national, international gender equality machinery available to pursue our goals?

In response to the challenge, Einarsdóttir (2003) identifies the configuration of a three pillar model whose parts are: 1) The institutionalized gender equality policy machinery, 2) Women's studies and gender research in Academia and 3) The women's movement. The concept of the velvet triangle refers to this collaboration which brings together civil servants, researchers and grass root women's organizations. The function and the aim of this triangle is to create visible channels for communication and societal impact. Einarsdóttir contributes by identifying concrete political practices which I see as producing new forms and procedures of political accountability to ensure gender equality in line with the understanding of Yuval and Werbner (1999).

### Gender violence hinders women's citizenship globally and agency within various organisations

Gender violence in its various forms has been identified as a specific issue which hinders women's full citizenship globally. The first wave of the feminist agenda was suffrage and the second wave included personal and political aspects? - The third wave of feminism has been targeting violence against women (Saarinen, 2004). Movements that are genuinely international at the grassroots level have

been producing important results e.g. women's crisis centres networks that Aino Saarinen has importantly contributed. Also new innovative measures are needed for instance in aim measure the effects of gender violence, which has been the goal of the GVEI – gender violence effect indicators – project coordinated by SURT, Women's Association for Labour Insertion located in Barcelona.

Many feminist researchers consider sexual harassment as one form of gendered and sexualised violence. Several feminist researchers, since Liz Kelly (1987), have considered sexual harassment as one of the most common forms in the continuum of sexual violence (Sunnari *et al.* 2003). According to Sue Wise and Liz Stanley (1989), it is important to notice that most sexual harassment cases are what we call small, mundane, accumulating and common, but it is important to name them as sexual harassment since it is limiting, oppressing and ethically wrong behaviour attempting to disempower. Sexual harassment can be seen as one mechanism through which men exert power over women and through which heteropatriarchal power is sustained and reinforced (Thomas and Kitzinger 1997). Also Debbie Epstein (1997) sees heterosexist harassment also as a production of a normative gender and as the central reason for the existence of harassment. Therefore it would be important to question organisational heteronormativity in which men and women are placed in hierarchical power positions.

The various forms of sexual and sexist harassment were recently divided into three different types: verbal (remarks about figure/look, sexual jokes, verbal sexual advances), non-verbal ("staring and whistling") or visual, and physical (from unsolicited physical contact to assault). According to the research conducted in various countries, most girls, women, but also several men, encounter harassment. The harasser is usually a man, but some women and girls are also sexually harassing.

On the one hand, sexual harassment remains mostly invisible. The main difficulties with the invisibility of sexual harassment are the cultural and political issues. The forms of harassment are often normalised, for instance by comments like "it was just a joke" or "don't be so over-sensitive", and as a consequence produce a silence about their harassing experiences. In order to be able to share experiences about sexual harassment a person first needs to be aware of it. First of all, the person must define the 'encountered harassment' as an exceptional behaviour, to name it as gender and sexual harassment and coercion, and also, while reporting it, admit it as a problem at least at some level (e.g. Piispa & Heiskanen, 2000). According to Cairns (1997), women rather keep silent and blame themselves about gender and sexual harassment. The silence and self-blame should not be encounte-

red as a 'personal' problem, but as a matter of fact produced by the systemic discrimination that is a production of the androcentric norms of patriarchal society, resulting in fragmented selfhood for women and limited understanding about personal agency. But the silence could also be resistance: a person won't tell unless she is heard and taken seriously. There is reason to think that there are many cases that have been silenced. In contemporary discussion, harassment has been viewed as especially shameful for the harassed person. The reason for harassment has often been sought in the harassed person's provocative behaviour.

According to the gender equality law in Finland, workplaces and educational institutions are responsible for protecting their workers, students and pupils from harassment in the workplace and educational institutions. Organisations are supposed to ensure harassment-free educational and working environments for everybody. Harassment is a social and cultural phenomenon and it needs to be socially and culturally handled. More focus is needed on gendered divisions in the cultural deep structures that produce inequality.

#### For the end

Sexual harassment concerns the whole organisation, including victims, perpetrators, and those ignorant of the phenomenon. At the moment, the emphasis is on after-care of harassment, but more proactive measures should be taken. It is obvious that schools, universities and workplaces need to put effort into preventive action and intervening in the continuum of violence that appears as sexual harassment throughout the life span.

Multidisciplinary research on gendered and sexualised violence has raised the question of the cumulative effect of violence. Violence is not just a phenomenon that coincides in some part of life but it may re-appear in various forms in a different organisation e.g. in school, university and work place and by new actors. More nuanced approaches are needed to deal with the various intersections – for example, in addition to gender, the areas of disability, cultural background, age, sexual orientation and conviction should be covered. This creates a challenge to take an interdisciplinary approach to studying violence and to developing measures for its prevention.

At the end of the day, it is essential to understand the extent of violence and its various forms in order to develop non-violent agencies and forms of culture. This has been the main focus of the research and development projects in Women's Studies in the University of Oulu. We will discuss more about these alternative choi-

ces from the perspective of gender equality and non-violent environment in the following workshops. I encourage you all to contribute to the theoretically, methodologically and practically connecting discussions.

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## **Keynote:**

# **Patterns of Violence and Caring across Three Social Sites – Young People in the School, the Community and the Nation State**

MARY JANE KEHILY

Open University, UK

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The paper will focus upon patterns of violence and caring across three social sites: the school, the community and the nation state. I want to argue that these three sites exist relationally – one gives shape to the other, each site is given meaning by its relationship to the other sites – to define one site necessarily involves invoking the others. I want to argue that the interrelationship, the point of integration and connection between the sites exists biographically, in the lives of young people moving within and between these spaces.

The paper draws upon different aspects of my work from different points in time:

- *Sexuality, Gender and Schooling* (2002) an ethnography of two schools in the West Midlands, UK;
- *Gender, Youth and Culture* (2008), co-authored with Anoop Nayak, revisiting earlier work in light of global themes, international studies and social change;
- *The Making of Modern Motherhoods*, (2005 – present), an intergenerational longitudinal research project with Rachel Thomson, Lucy Hadfield and Sue Sharpe

## **The school**

Schools are not egalitarian spaces, despite the discourse of equality to be found in most school based policies, school are hierarchically structured and struggles for power and privilege are an endemic feature of school life – for teachers and for students. Teacher hierarchies rely upon social position: head, senior staff, classroom teachers, support staff/ hard subject teachers v. soft subject teachers; liberals v. authoritarians; career teachers v. committed practitioners. Symbolic hierarchies

also exist – where you sit in the staffroom; having the ear of the headteacher; myths, survival stories, tales of resilience form part of teacher culture as well as pupil culture. Student hierarchies exist in various forms: boy/girl; age based hierarchies; popular/unpopular; conformist/rebel; lads/ear'oles. Structural inequalities embedded in the school site become interwoven into the feelings and practices of the institution, documented by successive generations of school-based ethnographers. Thirty years ago Paul Willis spoke of the 'caged resentment' pupils felt as a response to being subject to the authority of teachers. John Beynon captured the resentment of the student body in the term 'symbolic violence' - referring to the door slamming, under the breath insolence, infringements in the wearing of uniforms and other regulatory measures. Symbolic violence and caged resentment both capture the routine and everyday conflict between teachers and students, the basic injustices that create a 'them and us' battleground between teachers and pupils.

Patterns of violence and caring are conveyed in three ways:

- Feelings – the affective domain in school generates powerful feelings often translated into attitudes or action;
- Embodiment – feelings, actions, attitude are all embodied experiences, the bodily nature of school dynamics needs to be kept in mind as a significant feature of school life;
- Social practices – routines that establish a culture, value systems, seemingly commonsense arrangements and ways of operating.

Recognising the school a site of structural inequality may suggest a top down approach to power in which students are always bottom of the pile. Following Foucault, I'd like to suggest a different power dynamic. The idea of power-as-everywhere, a dynamic that may be structured in particular ways but within local practices power is constantly reworked and renegotiated. Foucault in his later work remarked that people are 'freer than they feel'. Observing students in school it is possible to see this freedom being realised in everyday actions that reconfigure or turn the tables on existing power structures. It is not always obvious how conflict will be played out.

Conflict between teachers and pupils is not the only form of violence taking shape in school. Intra group conflict between pupils remains a key feature of school experience. Unlike teacher-student interactions, pupil conflict is not readily marked by clear battle-lines and open warfare. In this context interactions may be

styled by a range of more subtle strategies and resources. I would suggest the use of humour as a generative and pliable resource drawn upon by students to express patterns of conflict and care. At the risk of sounding tautological, I'd say it's important to take humour seriously because it's doing some serious work. Willis on humour:

'the laff is a multi-faceted implement of extraordinary importance in the counter school culture... the ability to produce it is one of the defining characteristics of being one of the lads – 'we can make them laff but they can't make us laff. But it is also used in many other contexts: to defeat boredom and fear, to overcome hardship and problems – as a way out of almost anything. In many respects the laff is the privileged instrument of the informal as the command is of the formal' (Willis 1977: 29).

Peter Woods (1976) anticipated Willis' themes, identifying laughter as a coping strategy and a survival mechanism in the face of the drudgery of school routines. Writing twenty years after Willis and doing research in the same geographical location, Kehily and Nayak (1997) also found the lads having a laff at the expense of the ear'oles. The manufacturing base had gone, boys were no longer learning to labour as Willis claimed but the cultural tropes and masculine identities were clearly discernable. If the lads are no longer learning to labour what are they doing? We argued that humour was a way of establishing a masculine identity within school-based heterosexual hierarchies. Humour gives young men access to the in-group of high status males that remains important to masculine selfhood – and possibly more important in the face of the emasculating experience of unemployment and the decline of manual labour as a domain for the exercise of masculinity.

### Gender and schooling: continuities and change

In keeping with many other educationalist and feminist researchers I am working with the idea of gender as relational – defined in relation to each other and forged in particular social contexts. Versions of masculinity and femininity in the school are well documented in research based accounts. Normative femininity is dominated by the notion of reputation, consolidated in female friendship groups, drawing upon popular culture as a resource for talking and thinking. Homophobia remains central to the structuring of normative masculinities in school, masculine hierarchies involved constant display and performance of pumped up masculinity, fri-

endship groups provide a performative space while also demonstrating the fragility of masculinities, having to be constantly re-enacted and re-established. Girls and boys may be involved and invested in preserving gender difference, however, that does not necessarily produce gender based forms of solidarity. Schools are imbued in intra-gender conflict – boys lads and ear'oles hierarchies (Willis 1977). Girls sociability and caring is assumed but conflict among girls is well documented. Hey (1997) provides a rich account of the bitching, rivalry, gossip, rumour, falling out, patterns of exclusion and sometimes open conflict characteristic of girls friendship.

Continuities: gender polarities and gender hierarchies; defining notions for girls and boys, place of popular culture.

Changes: changing gender relations – some evidence that boys are losing confidence and old style hegemonies are breaking down, more equitable gender relations? Gay a general term of abuse – candles and pastel colours are gay. Big changes in popular culture re sexuality – gay more mainstream, soft porn now a part of everyday culture as described by McNair (2002) in his book *Striptease Culture*. Use of new media reveals emergent patterns of conflict and care in young people's lives – 'happy slapping', social networking sites; virtual boasting and posing re friendship and experience form part of this virtual environment. School restructuring – more centralised curriculum. Forms of assessment and testing, young people and teachers more accountable, more streamlined experience of school – individualising culture – records of achievement, work experience, exams portfolio.

Student cultures are commonly marked by conservatism despite widespread social change effecting sexuality; gender relations and schooling. Why do student cultures remain so conservative? For students, gender and sexuality remain important sites for the exercise of autonomy and agency within the confined space of the school. Within the disempowering environment of education imperatives and external control, student sexual cultures become imbued with significance as adult free and education free zones where students can negotiate what is acceptable and desirable on their own terms (Kehily 2002). The collective activity of young people exists in tension with the individualising culture of contemporary education practice – asserts the power of the collective and challenges adult notions about sexuality as a preserve of adulthood. Student sexual cultures can also be seen as a protest against egalitarian structures and middle class sensibilities.

## The community

What happens when we look beyond the school? Can school-based status and patterns of dominance extend beyond the school? There's a story to be told young people's presence in the community largely documented in youth studies literature. The gendered use of public space is recognised in boys presence on the street: hanging out; 'doing nothing' – the street as male territory to be used by groups of boys. The alternative for girls of course is the domestic – the home and the bedroom. Within youth subcultures violence is interwoven in their formation - usually encapsulating an angry comment on wider social concerns: skinhead culture – protest against the erosion of white spaces and the loss of jobs, Hebdige notes that skinheads look like workers but usually haven't got work. Punk and rave but protests against Thatcherism – Redhead refers to rave as 'hedonism in hard times'. By contrast, a self conscious irony can be found in contemporary subcultures:

How to be emo: 'Attitude is everything. Typically you will be expected to be depressed and insecure. But it's more important to be sensitive and quiet. Avoid confrontation; you have to be introverted and too wrapped up in your own emotions to care about the opinions of others. But you can defend your opinions viva the internet provided you get very emotional about doing so' (web guide to emo culture).

Deindustrialisation and the regeneration of city centres in the UK have produced new ways of inhabiting space for young people. A key shift has been identified by Robert Hollands (1995) – the shift from production to consumption. Young people no longer define themselves through work and the labour market. Rather their identities are organised round 'going out', living it up, consuming. Friday night and Saturday night pubbing and clubbing become the cornerstone of weekly experience. This new way of relating to public space includes young women and the emergence of 'ladette' culture in which young women emulate the behaviour and practices of young men by getting drunk, being loud, having one night stands and boasting to your mates afterwards.

Alongside this exists a mundane youth culture – "we're all mainstream now". The demise of subcultural spaces is a subject of debate but most young people may not belong to any subcultural grouping – they are looking for recognition within the locale.

Two studies point to revealing differences in the experiences of young women and young men in the local context. Salo's (2003) study of gender and personhood

in the new South Africa offers a closely observed and richly nuanced account of the ways in which cultural flows may be incorporated into local practices and given new meaning. The focus of her study is Manenberg township, Cape Town, a predominantly coloured neighbourhood where motherhood was regarded as the epitome of femininity. Under apartheid, adult women exercised moral authority over young people's position in the community and their transition to adulthood. In the post-apartheid era the influence of adult women was in decline and young people were looking to other sources for a developing sense of personhood. Salo demonstrates that the media and public transportation offered young people access to a cosmopolitan style that had a transformative effect upon their lives. Watching television "transformed these domestic locales into transgressive hybrid spaces from which new ideas and practices of divergent new feminine identities emerged" (2003: 356). In a locality where male violence remained a routine feature of sexual relationships, television offered young women alternative images of gender relations based upon pleasure, desire and mutual respect. Through televisual portrayals, young women "imagined gender relations beyond the narrow choices their mothers proscribed" (2003: 358). Television programmes such as soaps placed emphasis upon individuality, connections with peer group and the dismantling of older, apartheid-styled signifiers of race. Watching these programmes gave young women a glimpse of new forms of cultural capital, inspiring some to seek cosmopolitan experiences in other parts of the city – an agentic move that usually brought both new forms of freedom and constraint. Salo cites the example of Chantel, a 17-year-old respondent who traded upon her good looks and fashionable style in order to gain access to cosmopolitan spaces and social experience beyond her local community. Her mobility was made possible through the exchange value of youthful femininity suggesting that, in her case, working-class femininity/sexuality can carry symbolic value and may not necessarily exist as a barrier to cosmopolitan citizenship.

McGrellis (2005) reports a similar pattern in her study of youth transitions in Northern Ireland. Young women appeared able and willing to access cosmopolitan culture in urban spaces beyond the local, while young men remained rooted in sectarian structures that harnessed them within local boundaries.

For young women cosmopolitan spaces open up their world. Often reliant upon physical capital – the ability to trade on beauty, desirability, style and sex.

## Young motherhood

An identifiable theme in Skeggs' work is a concern with the negative associations surrounding working-class femininity. Femininity can be understood as a class-based property premised upon appearance – what you look like serves as shorthand for who you are, defining at a glance feminine identity, behaviour and morality. Skeggs argues that appearance operates as a condensed signifier of class in which negative value is attributed to working-class forms of embodiment and adornment. Seen from this perspective, class exists as a process that works through evaluation, moral attribution and authorization. Within the symbolic economy working-class women are commonly assumed to embody a style of feminine excess, denoting an overly abundant and unruly sexuality that places them dangerously close to the reviled figure of the prostitute. The fecundity of young working-class women, particularly, is viewed as excessive and morally reprehensible. Skeggs claims that the respectable/unrespectable binary that served to evaluate the working class in industrial times now works in different ways to construct certain vices as marketable and desirable while others retain no exchange value. Young working-class mothers provide a striking illustration of a group who's embodied vice is not recoupable for exchange. 'Even in the local context her reproductive use value is limited and limits her movements...white working-class women are yet again becoming the abject of the nation' (2004:23). In contrast to theories of individualization, Skeggs suggests that mobility exists as an unequal resource, offering different points of access to different social groups. In Skeggs' analysis mobility becomes a classed and gendered affair that confines working-class femininity to the local, offering little opportunity for movement.

Comedic excess is one of the way in which class disgust is expressed – as in the Vicky Pollard and Kate Moss charity event. *Little Britain* excessive comic characters: the adult male who is still breastfed by his mother, the wheelchair bound male who is really able bodied, the teenage mum, Vicky Pollard embodies an aggressive caricature of working class femininity - drinking, shoplifting and fighting are strong features of her repertoire. Key features of young motherhood:

- Defined in relation to other mothers
- Class embedded in age category, mobilising economies of affect;
- Part of biographical project of self
- Part of an intergenerational story, magical thinking, recuperation

## The nation state

It is important to understand the nation state in relation to the other two sites, the national is subject to 'global flows' and these have an impact on young lives and gender relations. Globalisation – the shrinking of time of time and space and the compression of world relations into a single market – the big picture framing young lives. The idea of global citizenship conjures up a planet of possibilities for young people as they work, play and learn across all three social sites. Global citizenship however, is not available to all – for some young people nation state boundaries are permeable – think 'gap year' students off to India or South America to join a Western initiated charity venture and build their CVs. For others nation state boundaries are insurmountable – think refugees and asylum seekers who as Doreen Massey points out, exercise mobility but not through choice – for this group global space may be closed down and mobility is regulated. Processes of individualisation suggest that young people are free to create 'choice biographies' and to see their life as 'project of the self' - unshackled from family ties, commitments and regional affiliations. The idea of choice again refers to and applies to a particular socio-economic group. A third feature of change manifest at the national level is the knowledge economy – the intensification of contagious competition to meet the demands of global capitalism. This of course has a particular impact on schools and higher education as they are called on to make learning relevant to the wider world of work. A final feature of the national landscape, often overlooked by educationalists is the presence of geo-political conflict. What does it mean for schools to call for equality and justice when the nation state is engaged in aggressive forms of conflict and warfare in other parts of the world? In the UK there are many contemporary examples: post conflict Northern Ireland, presence of troops in Afghanistan, war in Iraq that spill into everyday life. The generation of anti Muslim feelings in schools and communities has a direct relationship with the national political stage. To come back to the point where I stated the three sites – school, community and nation state can be seen as linked and integrated biographical through the lives and trajectories of individuals as they struggle to give shape to their lives in difficult circumstances.

### Case study example: Kim

Born 1989, brought up in Zimbabwe until age 10 with older stepbrother, younger sister. Father dies when she is 8 though he is already estranged from



the family. Her mother remarries, they all move to England following death threats and political turbulence. Kim has trouble adjusting to life in the UK. She is consistently bullied at school, leaves 2 schools due to bullying, then joins a home schooling programme, age 15. The nephew of her stepfather comes to stay at this time and shortly after Kim becomes pregnant. Her mother claims the young man bullied her and coerced her into sex. Kim has consistently refused to talk about it. Kim gives up formal schooling and loses contact with father of her baby. She has the baby age 16 and continues to live at home. Health profile: suffered post natal depression, developed eating disorder since the birth of her daughter also has recurring anxieties about her health – Mother calls her ‘my little hypochondriac’.

Kim’s mother explains why the family left Zimbabwe: “I got mixed up in politics, well it wasn’t so much me as the company I worked for ... the ruling party decided that I was a threat so they started threatening me. They tried to petrol bomb my car, they were coming to the house threatening the kids, they kidnapped my security guards and threatened them. I got phone calls in the middle of the night saying ‘Mrs Thompson, if you don’t leave the country we’re going to cut up the bodies of your children and send them back to you in pieces’”. Seen within this intergenerational perspective Kim’s early pregnancy can be seen as an attempt to recuperate that love and security she lost through enforced migration.

#### How do things change?

- Importance of seeing school dynamics with broader socio-cultural structures: family, community, nation state, global processes;
- Limitations of policy
- Establishing a common agenda
- Mr Carlton: organic practice, shared values, family and regional ties, emotional affiliations

“I’m from here right, from this part of the world. I grew up in this part of the world, went away and came back and taught here every since and I’ve never been to another school – which could be a mistake. But the kids here I’ve always managed to relate to and I treat them probably the way their parents treat them and I think that’s what it comes down to. They know that if I tell them something then I tell them from the heart, not from what other people are telling them. I always try to tell them the truth, even if it hurts, you know, tell them the truth”.

### Concluding points

- Interconnections between the school, the community and the nation state played out biographically
- Each site imbued with patterns of violence and caring on different scales and in different registers
- Aggression and conflict part of routine everyday practices – humour, parody, politics of affect, greed
- Importance of the locale in developing strategies for change

**Part I**  
**Gendered and Sexualised Violence and the Legal**  
**and Organisational Measures and**  
**Recommendations against it**



# **1 Border Positions of Care in Italy: Asymmetric Relations in a Local and Global Domestic Context**

GIULIA RODESCHINI  
Fondaciò SURT, Spain

## **Introduction**

This paper deals with the issue of “care” in contemporary Italian society, focusing on the care work done by immigrant women towards old people who are not self-sufficient. The main aim is to highlight the asymmetric dynamics linked to the care work field, which occupy a strange position between the reproductive and productive spheres, creating complex working relations in the family space.

The concept of care work is nowadays a key issue in the Italian social structure: it concerns all aspects of life but it is not recognised as a collective and public issue, and is still relegated to people excluded from the public sphere. In my analysis it will be considered in relation to the concept of domestic work, which comprises all management and organisational aspects of houses and families, while care work focuses on the care of individuals. It is quite difficult to completely separate the two concepts, because, as the sociologist Picchio highlights, “bodies are washed and dressed with clean clothes, and food is cooked according to uses, social and family rules” (2003: 44), and the space of the house includes also the bodies that live inside that house, bodies that cannot be considered and cared for without considering the context where they find themselves. I will focus my attention on particular characteristics of care work done by migrant women for elderly people, as work relations based on an anomalous and interesting coming together of individuals from different countries and contexts.

Starting from the concept of “work”, I will analyse the process of creation of “modern categories” – such as those of the public and the domestic sphere, productive and reproductive work – and their development during the Fordist age. In this way, I will compare modern concepts with the present situation, where, during the last few decades, many social, economic and cultural changes have occurred, transforming traditional dynamics and the social structure as a whole. I will point out that, faced with such transformations as increased flexibility of the organisation of work, the increase in women’s work participation, the ageing of the

population and the increase in demand for care, the concept of “care work” has changed and moved out of the domestic sphere into an indefinite space on the border between the public and the domestic, the productive and the reproductive.

In fact, as I will explain, the increasing of demand for care for old people coincides with the reduction of average size of family and with the prevalence of a conjugal-nuclear family model, so that nowadays to find the needed supply of care work inside families is more and more difficult. The Italian welfare state did not act enough to resolve this situation, continuing to give “cash”, i.e. monetary transfers, rather than “care”, i.e. availability of social public services, and to consider the issue of care as an “affair of the family”. So, the family has sought the solution in the “global care market” (Sassen 1994), employing immigrant women to care for the old people of the family.

Finally, I will focus on the consequences of these dynamics: the “rebirth” of paid care work and the creation of a new transnational domestic space, where immigrant women live together with old, non-self-sufficient people, also having a relationship with the rest of the family. Inside the home, the most intimate and private space, there is an every-day interaction amongst people of different origins and lives, and foreign workers play a very complex and anomalous role. I will highlight the development of asymmetric dynamics and of the processes of “substitution” and “invisibilisation” characterising this domestic/working place, underlining the contradictions at the base of this kind of “work”.

### The position of “care work” – between the public and domestic spheres

Contemporary society is experiencing a transition, which has subverted the social, cultural, economic, and political order that has characterised the last two centuries. This situation obliges us to redefine modern categories, through which it is no longer possible to interpret our society: firstly, the concept of “work”.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, classical sociological thought – in step with the Enlightenment and contractualist thought, which had already established the separation between public and domestic spheres – definitively linked the concept of “work” with productive activities and with the public sphere, contributing to the break-up of a masculine and productive sphere and a feminine and affective-reproductive one. These interpretations led to the creation of the universal modern concept of “work”: from the domestic sphere – where, until then, all activities necessary for subsistence had taken place – “work” changed its position and moved into the public sphere. This sexual division of work gave value only to

productive, public and visible activities and, therefore, disregarded care activities' fundamental contribution to the functioning of capitalist system. Paid work became a central activity in individuals' lives, establishing the modern social identity: "from an inferior dimension during pre-capitalist societies, 'work' becomes a central element in a political project in which work, identity and freedom coincide." (Barazzetti 2007: 24, my translation).

In this process, during 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Fordist model developed, considering necessary and implicit a strong and clear division between the public/productive and the family/reproductive worlds, between working and living space. This kind of productive system had many consequences for the construction of the individual and the relationship between individuals and society, and, as the sociologist Donatella Barazzetti (2007) claims, the individual is identified as a worker, the citizen as a worker, and the worker as a man. As direct effect of this, women and care work were relegated to the domestic sphere without any kind of economical and social recognition.

With the crisis of Fordism and the transition to a post-Fordist, post-modern, globalised age, there were a lot of changes in the structure of society, and, inevitably, these led to a new kind of work organisation and relationship between domestic and public spheres. The forms and the meanings of work changed, and from the central dimension of social order and job security, "work" became a more complex and fluid category, characterised by insecurity and flexibility (Bologna 2007), and regarding all parts of human lives. Many social, economic, and sociological analyses focus on the necessity of deconstructing the modern category of "work", "re-modernizing" and adjusting it to this historical period. In particular, feminist theorists highlight gender, class and race discriminations at the basis of the modern model of work, proposing a new kind of conceptualisation of it.

An important change in the post-Fordist organisation was the so-called "feminisation" of work. Besides an increasing of the participation of women in the working world, this phenomenon leads to new questions about the present-day social and economic structure: does it give more opportunities and spaces to women, or does it force women to work continuing to be responsible for all domestic and care activities? Does it allow women to be an active subject in society, or does it force women to be a "perfect woman" being wife, mother and worker at the same time? Does the post-Fordism give the possibility of reconciling a "feminine" life – in a social and not biological sense – with a working life thanks to social and working flexibility, or does it force women into a double role or "double presence" (Balbo 1978) in the domestic and in the public sphere?

A high participation of women in the labour market always seems to represent a development in the system and an opening of the public sphere to women, but this interpretation hides the price women have to pay to become the “working woman” without changing the modern organisation of work. The symbolic construction of the “working woman” falls within a process that since the 1970s – with the increasing need for skilled feminine labour for care society – sees an ever-greater mass involvement of women, above all young women, in a labour sector placing no importance on individual and social needs, without guarantees, and with insecure job conditions. Thus, post-Fordism calls borders between public and domestic sphere into question, without resolving the contradiction – which in the past was “resolved” with a specific sexual division of work – between reproductive and productive relations.

With the end of Fordism, transformations that took place in the productive field also led to big changes in the reproductive field. According to the anthropologist Sara Ongaro (2003), this process subverts the traditional relations of production, transforming the production of goods – typical of industrial capitalism – into a “productive re-production”, i.e. a “movement of the reproductive dimension” towards the productive sphere, considered until now as closed to “feminine activities”. With the ageing of the population and the reduction of the care work offered in the family, biological aspects of life are transformed into a productive resource, and the care dimension is commercialised and externalised up to move from the “prison” of domestic sphere to an indefinite space on the border between the public and the domestic, the productive and the reproductive, the masculine and the feminine. Thus, the recognition of reproductive activities takes place through the transformation of life into a productive resource, rather than through the recognition of the value of care: productive work is no longer based on production of goods, but rather becomes the supply of services and of care to clients. In this way, care work remains part of the world of family ties, but it is more and more integrated into the public sphere, without any recognition. Care work occupies a border position, an area of tensions, in which different forms of inequality and asymmetric relations of power reaffirm and develop.

Clearly, this phenomenon highlights the contradictions of our system: the increasing participation of women in the labour market does not lead to new forms of conciliation – in which all society should be responsible for domestic and care activities – but, on the contrary, to a solution which is the commercialisation of all kinds of domestic activities and the creation of new forms of subordination. This



includes the delegation of all domestic responsibilities to people outside family, above all to immigrant women, without any kind of public (or, often, private) recognition.

#### The increase in demand, and decrease of family supply of care work

In the last decade, the Italian social structure has faced profound changes, which have revolutionised the world of care. Besides factors linked to economic changes and to new consumption models, a lot of different causes have contributed to the transformation: the sexual revolution, a different position of women in society, the intersection between the domestic and the work sphere, the changing *status* of children as part of the family unit. These changes have led to a reduction of average family size and to a conjugal-nuclear family model across all social classes and no longer based on productive need, but on a private choice of the couple (Saraceno 2003). Amongst the numerous changes, I want to focus my attention on the phenomena of the ageing of population and of the reduction of supply of care work from within Italian families.

As known, during recent years there has been a big increase of elderly people with respect to the growth of population. This situation is due to phenomena of great importance – such as the decrease of the birth rate, the decrease of the death rate, and the increased life-expectancy – leading scholars of demography to talk about a “demographic transition” (Bagnasco, Barbagli, Cavalli 1997). Corresponding to this increase in demand of care from old people there is a decrease in supply – i.e. the number of people potentially available to care for them – because the decrease in the number of multigenerational families, and the other factors I already mentioned prevent the “traditional”, informal, care provision that was always done by women for their family members. This “crisis” of the intersection between demand and supply of care work inside the family is aggravated (and originally caused) by a strongly “family-based” welfare state, built on a traditional Catholic rhetoric, which considers the “family”, and therefore in reality the women inside family, to be the established nucleus of society and the manager of reproductive sphere. Consequently, family networks represent the main form of care to non-self-sufficient people and Italy is still now characterised by a lack of public services.

Although in the last decade in Italy there has been more political and social attention to, and a wider recognition of, care work – in particular through the development of social markets –, there is still now a kind of “family-based”

perspective, and therefore the majority of social public care services consist of monetary transfer rather than in availability of services. Italy is biased towards supply of “cash”, rather than of “care” and transfers are not distributed in a specific way, but exclusively with criteria based on the income and on the level of disability of the subject, without any control of the ways funding is used and with the consequence that they are often used to accede to private, irregular, free market supply (Ranci 2001). During recent years the volume of monetary transfers granted to old people or to their care givers increased considerably compared to the supply of services, because they are more easily manageable, imply a lower intervention of the State and offer the State a bigger saving. In delegating the satisfaction of activities connected to daily reproduction to the family structure, and in allocating a relevant part of resources to families, the Italian State has not been able to provide an answer to new needs of care, and continues to consider the issue of the care as an “affair of the family”. So, in the absence of sufficient support in the public services and with a lack of the collective means of taking charge of care needs, the family has sought the answer in the “global care market” (Sassen 1997), in which more and more foreign women offer care work within Italian families. An intrinsic contradiction in the Italian welfare state appears: from a family-based welfare state, we have now come to a “family-based welfare requiring extra-family help”, which still has a traditional and Catholic rhetoric, but which needs resources from outside the family (and often from outside Italy).

#### The “rebirth” of paid domestic and care work

Paid domestic and care work has been considered for a long time an activity destined to disappear because of the development of industrial and post industrial economies, but in the last decades there has been a sort of “rebirth” (Andall e Sarti 2004) and a diffusion of this kind of job in a wider and more capillary form than in the past and with the involvement of new social actors. The increase in demand for care, the “gender immobility” – that is the non-existence of a transfer of part of care and domestic activities to the male partners –, and the lack of response from a contradictory welfare state, are the most relevant phenomena leading to a strong diffusion of paid domestic and care work and to a strong presence of foreign women employed in this field. Therefore, our society shows a need for quota of “care women” higher than that which we can offer on a local level. The purchase of care work supplied by other women, coming from other countries, puts into discussion the rhetoric on our family: we are continually wrapped in a “family

based” rhetoric, but we need to import affection to answer to our care needs (Balsamo 2007).

In the present-day Italy, paid care work has particular characteristics, which differentiate it from the paid domestic and care work of the past. Significant changes are due by new global and local dynamics that have lead up two main consequences. The first change is in the characteristics of the persons offering care and domestic work: increasing demand of care work is filled by a global socio-economic situation making available many women coming from non-European States to replace Italian women in the care work sector. So, immigrant women are the new protagonists of this working context. Secondly, as the historian Raffaella Sarti (2004) explains, in the past the employment of domestic and care staff concerned only well-off people, whereas now there is a turnaround. In the last decade, the employment of domestic staff is no longer a luxury only for well-to-do families, but is becoming a necessity for middle and lower middle classes, who until a few years ago were not able to afford this service. In particular, in the temporal space of one generation, Italian society saw the rebirth of co-resident domestic and care work, that until the 1980s was a strong sign of class distinction (Scrinzi 2004). Lastly, another new phenomenon is the belonging of “new” care workers and of their employers to similar social classes. In fact, many migrant women in their country are part of the middle class, because normally people of lower class are not able to afford the costs of migration. So, many care workers experiment what Sarti (2004: 21) defines “contradictory mobility class”: in Italy they do a job offering less recognition but which is more economically profitable than the job they did in their own country. About this, Rachel Salazar Parreñas (2001) raises the issue of contradiction in social mobility and of the care workers’ status imbalance: on the one hand there is an ascending mobility on the economic profile, whereas, on the other hand, there is a descending mobility on the social and prestige profile.

#### A new transnational domestic space

A consequence of these phenomena is the creation of a new domestic space, where there is a foreign woman, an elderly person and, in an “off stage” position, the family, almost always represented by another woman, who is the elderly person’s daughter or, more rarely, daughter-in-law. But the relationships are not only amongst local subjects: the care worker is also in relation with her own family and with people that in turn take care of her children and her parents. These persons are

in Italy invisible subjects, because of the ego-ethno-centric construction of domestic space, limited by a local perspective. Changing our point of view, the “other” domestic sphere appears significant, because it is at the same moment very far, from a geographic perspective, and very close on the level of care worker’s affective relationships.

Foreign workers play a very complex and anomalous role. Beyond the so-called “double presence” – about which Laura Balbo started to talk in the far 1978 – characterising the majority of worker women, foreign feminine workers are marked by two other kinds of presence: a “multiple presence”, and which one the sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad (2002) defines “double absence”. Foreign care workers have a “multiple presence” because are involved in two or more families, inside a transnational space, no longer definable by national borders. Moreover, they can suffer the “double absence” typical of emigrant people, who always run the risk of being “invisible” both in the emigrant society and in the immigrant one. The sum of these different forms of presence/absence rarely permits an equilibrium to exist in the care workers’ lives, because they are inside a sort of a “cobweb of relationships”.

In this job, there is not a clear division between the professional and the non-professional space: the care worker’s working place coincides with the employer’s home, which is the most intimate and family place, traditionally precluded to unknown people, to the “other”. As the anthropologist Barbara Sorgoni explains:

“(…) home – private sphere *par excellence* – becomes a strategic place where delicate equilibriums are played, in an every-day and intimate interaction amongst different classes, genders and races. (...) Inside a domestic place where there is a care worker, productive and reproductive issues are mixed, and the interaction amongst different classes, genders and races contributes to the construction of identity and of the relationships amongst the subjects” (2000: 78)

This job is still linked to the reproductive sphere, in which it seems impossible to apply the categories of “traditional” jobs, because it appears “unnatural” to quantify precisely the hours of work, of free time and the duties included in the contract. Therefore:

“(…) paid domestic and care work is often a submerged/black-market job, done illegally, offering the opportunity of irregular employment to someone whom, for different reasons, cannot or does not want to work legally (...) and

at the same time – really for this reason – there may exist conditions of severe exploitation or even a relation of slavery” (Sarti 2004: 7)

Francesca Scrinzi underlines this, saying: “a care worker can be considered as a member of the family when the employer asks her to work during the weekends, but she becomes an employee again when she arrives late” (2004: 122), or when she does something “wrong”. It is in this ambiguity that the power in the working relationship is consolidated. The care worker is in a position – mid-way between the professional and the family world – which contributes to the border between waged work and free favours more blurred, creating rich soil for exploitation.

Control modalities and the disparities being created towards care workers are due to the dynamics that have always distinguished domestic and care work, but now they are also deeply linked to the migrant *status* characterising these workers. As early as 1988, the anthropologist Henrietta Moore identified the most important reason to study domestic work “in the possibility this kind of job offers to analyse interconnections of gender, class and race” (cit. Sorgoni 2000: 82). Mechanisms of depersonalisation typical of a servile relationship and of domestic work combine with these characterising migrants’ social illegitimacy. Derived relations are based on the idea of the care worker being “absolutely available”, linked to the idea of a lower value of “third world” people. In this way, care workers appear to the employers as “objective” human being, whose identity coincides in all aspects with their working activities (Dal Lago 1999). It is a sort of process of “inferiorisation”, created through the reduction of foreign women into a “thing” and which implies a behaviour of control and an absolute power on the part of the employers.

The wishes of the families has led to the development of two other, almost contrary, processes, characterising this domestic/working place: the process of “substitution” and that of “invisibilization”. On the one hand, care worker is expected to have with the patient a family relationship based on affective sentiment, substituting the partner or the daughter. But on the other hand, the care worker has to be discreet to not modify family dynamics, being able to disappear and to become invisible when her presence is not useful for family organisation.

Firstly, care worker is protagonist of a “process of substitution” (Scrinzi 2004), which puts a person (the care worker) in the place of another one (the employer), forcing the worker to do, for a fee, all the activities always delegated to women. This process shows the double discrimination inside this job: respect to gender relations between men and women and to class and race between Italian

women and foreign women. The care worker risks becoming a sort of body double of the “women of the family”.

Secondly, the care worker's invisibility is an important aspect because its aim is to “defend” the occidental and catholic idea of the self sufficiency of the family, which should appear to be able to meet the needs of its members. The best care workers are those whose presence is just perceivable, so that the community can continue to deny the problem of assistance and the need to modify social organisation. This form of invisibility concerns both the role the care worker assumes inside the family and her condition in the social context. In fact, the majority of care workers live together with their patient and have very little free time – care workers rarely have more than one day off per week –, so they remain invisible to the external world. The working place of care workers does not generate social process that normally involve foreign workers in other working fields, like a factory. Although typical social network of care workers exists and gives the opportunity to have relationships outside the family context, the isolation at work impedes the development of a collective identity that would enable the claiming of rights and of recognition.

## Conclusion

The “rebirth” of paid domestic and care work reflects deep social tensions, particularly concerning three macro-structural factors that have weighed upon changes in this context: the increase in care demand and the decrease of care supply within the family; the “immobility” of gender; and the presence of a contradictory welfare state that has not been able to respond to the new population's needs. So, the family is in a more and more difficult position: it is used as a reference point for welfare politics at a moment when it has lost its cohesion, and in this way, it is no longer able to perform the role of care giving. To consider the family as (almost) the only reference point of the welfare state and an instrument through which to ration/divide public goods/money (Saraceno 2002) means to demotivate women's work participation and the autonomy of the family's members, creating a “welfare trap” (Ferrera 2006), and worsening the problem, instead of resolving it. The management of non-self-sufficiency has always been considered a private issue, one which has to be led on a personal and family level, but today “care” needs to be recognised on a collective and “multi gender” level, because it is no longer possible to delegate it to only one gender and to family networks that are already submerged by too many responsibilities.

Nowadays, female migrant work is an important care resource, which compensates the lack of social politics, showing all the contradictions of traditional family based rhetoric, and which creates new forms of cohabitation and a “family workshop where new dynamics of space and time control and new forms of negotiation of power are experimented” (Balsamo 2007: 144). In this context, family routines are put into crisis and new relationships emerge. If sometimes these “new families” show interesting solutions and a mixing of Italian families and care workers’ families, traditions and customs, normally this job context presents particular characteristics, leading to the creation of very dangerous relational and professional dynamics. There is no clear border between the family and the professional space, and processes of “substitution” and “invisibilization” rise. Care work hides asymmetric relations moving along the axes of gender, race, and class, and it represents a very complex and ambiguous working relationship, where inevitably a big contradiction emerges: a working contract, which should imply an exclusively professional involvement, mixes with a form of forced “familiarisation” of the care worker. In fact, there is an overlapping between a personal and affectionate level and a contractual professional one, although these ideas are completely opposed, which gives to family the opportunity to refer alternately to the professional relation and to the family relation in according to their own needs. It is a complex problem, because on the one hand the informal relation exposes the care workers to forms of exploitation and ambiguity, with the risk of an increase of working hours without the corresponding increase of salary, but on the other hand, care workers themselves often appreciate personal relationships with their employers.

In Italy the sector of care has always been considered a marginal job sector, both in terms of working conditions and on a legislative level, and it exists in a space – i.e. the “house” – which is closed and hidden to external viewers and is not accessible for public control. Nowadays, care activities have to be recognised and faced by the community on a personal and public level. Starting from the “care” it is necessary to rethink the concept of “work”, bringing into discussion its definition, its structure and its value. At present, care activities are entering, through their commercialisation, in the productive sphere, while, conversely, in trying to resolve the problem of care, we should bring into discussion the concept of “work” and all the traditional categories upon which it is constructed. There are still many theoretical constructions that divide production from the reproduction, public from private space, the work and the domestic worlds. These categories have to be deconstructed, re-analysed and re-thought: these divisions no longer

correspond to a society where women are involved outside the domestic sphere, and which is characterised by a strong break in the traditional “equilibrium” based on the public-private/men-woman model and on gender discrimination. The solution is not to create new forms of subordination and of race and class discrimination, but rather it would be necessary to recognise, at a political level, the importance of the issue of care, and to study new politics aimed at conciliating working and living times.

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## 2 Is it Time for Women's Health in Italy?

FRANCA GARREFFA & ROSARIO MARSICO

University of Calabria, Italy

In contemporary States, the concept of social equity in public health care is an universal issue among citizens. Nowadays, welfare state's positive effects, which assures the health for its citizens, are finally estimated on female life expectancy which is, actually, about of 80 years old (Bimbi 1994: 272, our translation). This is actually their point of reference.

The formal assumption that a country has a health care is not a sufficient sign; in order to be recognized as equal, it has to guarantee, as consequence, a concrete realization and an effective enjoyment of health rights for everybody. For instance, the increasing of life expectancies is, usually, a result promoted by public policies in order to realize important social issues. If "to be fit" is more than "not to be sick" (Ingrosso 1994: 82-113, our translation) health is an equilibrium that has to be searched, preserved, protected day after day by social actors, by society and by State. Moreover, the citizen cannot easily benefit from a good health defense because not everybody can virtually enjoy the same rights. For instance, among women, the disparity for the health issue is huge<sup>1</sup>. The different roles and responsibilities for women and men, their unbalanced social status, the different access to many resources produce inequality in the enjoyment of the rights and, furthermore, it creates effects on their health and on social welfare. Women have a lower status than men, they have lower levels at work. They have major responsibility of care but a lesser presence in the decision-makings. Within this gap of power between women and men, the problem of gender violence has a crucial relevance. For long time, the owners of the rights were considered people without a sexual distinction. This assumption did not allow to express how sexual difference is an essential requirement to be considered for the single social actor, especially, from the legal point of view. The concept of equality relies on the principle that the individuals are not identical: so, it is also necessary a different approach in social sphere in order not to compromise the legal equality. This difference, inspired by the idea that the effective enjoyment of rights for both genders are connected to the social *status*, introduces the following problem: even health and diseases depend on poverty, loneliness, lack of opportunity, *burst out*.<sup>2</sup>

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1. In this article, we will treat the disparity referred to the women leaving the others differences.

In this article, we try to underline if and how women live more than men: we start from idea that they live worst also, because of the effects of gender violence on their health.

The contribution of this article underlines the fragile presence of a gender prospective in the medical and health field whose lack is justified by the pre-eminence of a neutral and universal approach in welfare policies. Besides, today in Italy the unification of the Ministry of the Public Health, of the Work, of Welfare and Social Policies into one *Dicastero*, makes the situation worst as it denies the “relevance” of sexual difference (but is the same for other differences). In fact, this new Dicastero’s policy argues how the effective enjoyment of the above mentioned rights represents the “effective measure and concretization” of the concept of equality. In this, government, the enjoyment of rights becomes the quantitative measure of equity. Our question is based on the assumption that, nowadays, a gender medicine has many more difficulties because of the weak interest in welfare policies and in health defense of all citizens. Quantitative and qualitative studies show how the health defense for women is an ineluctable way to be passed; a request that should find a better space in multiprofessionals skills and offices in a better performed coordination among doctors, anthropologists, sociologists and movement for the women. In order to guarantee the same conditions for everybody, the starting point has not to be discriminatory. By assuming a neutral approach on health of women and of men as if they were identical, it does not imply necessarily a health rights for everybody. It is fundamentally a differentiated guarantee.

### The health between state and regions

In Italy, the law 833/78 called “Institution of National Health System” is one of the most important reforms in its history. The National Health System was based on universal and solidarity values and on the aims to offer health care for every citizen without distinction of race, residence, age, income and work. Nevertheless, in 1992 when the decree-law n. 502 “Reorganization of discipline on health matter” was approved (this law was embedded on the reorganization of old articles in health sector which previously were in the law n. 421), it was the beginning of a sort of health public deregulation.

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2. The word *burst out* expresses a strong weakening of psychological and physical forces whose suffer above all people taking care of others.

The new law was embedded on principles imported from the USA, such as the regulation of the concurrence of the wholesalers-distributors, the equalizing of supplying between the public and private sectors, the payment of the services now conceived as privatized, the transformation of old Health System into private companies give a huge power at the single Italian region in health matters. This decree-law, known as *Reform of De Lorenzo*<sup>3</sup>, represents the counter-reform of the law n.833 created by the SSN<sup>4</sup> which conceived the fees from health as dependent from and proportional on the expressed needs from citizenship. By *De Lorenzo reform*, the fees and taxes became a variable independent from the social needs expressed by citizens and they were established every year by the Govern in a proportional relationship to economic and financial availability from the country. In a word, today, the needs of citizens in health sphere depend on the State's capability to pay for public services, so that even fees are subordinated to the specific wealth of the social phase. The financial resources of the National Health Fund are defined *ex ante* and, in relation to it, they are stressed by the LEA (Level of Essential Assistance charged to the SSN). This kind of approach determines a reduction of the funds, causing a public financial undervalue of health services in relation to the citizens' concrete needs. The counter-reform De Lorenzo marks a further step; from a health defense whose rights are guaranteed by National Constitution it leads to a financial point of view, considered as the basis to defend the above mentioned rights. It seems not to be an evident recall to principles of equality: the people with a worse state of health or with most urgent and primary needs are likely to be treated in a less favored way.

### Female emancipation and women health

Studies from women's world show how a gender perspective is a fundamental parameter to guarantee a good health state for subjects, historically included within an "interrupted or incomplete" citizenship. According to Zincone, a fragile or weakened citizenship

"is not explained only by a lower level of social resources but, especially, by a inferior and congruent relation between activities and resources of the underprivileged, in one hand, and by rules and organization, both from

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3. From the name of the Ministry of the Health of period.

4. In Italian government, the National Health Service is a whole of functions and of activities done by the regional system for the health, by institutions of a national importance and, at last, by the State.

political sphere and from the welfare one, on the other hand. The exclusion works before at a previous pre-political level rather than in a mere political one. Then, as final step, it works not only through a limitation of resources, but also through the chosen rules which, within a politic market, undervalue the capability by the weak people to purchase the primary resources” (Zincone 1992: 187-189, our translation).

In Italy, the battles for the women emancipation are intertwined with the battle for the health. Women protested for their right to abort, rejected as a medical and scientific phenomena and process, which furthermore was denounced by the dominant moral and by the Church. The abortion law was connected with the citizens’ demand to create consulting offices<sup>5</sup> whose self-management rose spontaneously in many parts of Italy, in order to manage better health diseases and disorders pursuing a more social dimension. The approach was the opposite to the gynecologic ambulatory where women’s illnesses were treated in strictly biological terms (such as a reproductive apparatus). The birth of consulting areas was supported by the idea that the social and work conditions influence the risks for the abort and the mother mortality. There was, moreover, the need to realize new consulting rooms, to emancipate the women from their domestic works, to create free kindergarten and pre-schools places in an adequate number to suffice the real requests. In 1970’s, in political and health sphere, “the female problem” emphasizes the basic difference between men and women and, above all, it marks it in terms of prevention, of chance to be taken in care, of social benefits from their treatments. The problem starts as an initial discussion about “social differentials” in mortality and in illness, based on risk factor coming from the gender commonality. Women and men respond to pathogenic agents in a different way, not only as a result from the biologic differences, but also from different life style and roles. The way how to manage the health system and the pathology is different, too. In the same way, proportionally, the answers from society and health structures in the female diseases have the same specified approach. The capability to perceive existing differences and to promote strategies/actions where gender is an essential element, health included, was faced by the United States, by the Department of the Women Health. In Italy, a similar attempt was in 2007 when the Commission Health Women aimed at considering the gender as a determinant health factor in the process of SSN’s data detection, in the evaluation of the results,

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5. The consulting office deals with the woman’s health through work of psychologists, social and sanitary assistants, gynecologists and pediatricians. It offers psychological and social counseling, psycho-social aid for pregnancy, counseling for sexually transmitted illnesses.

in the prevention programs, in workers' formation on the health issues and, finally, in the organization of new services.

### The health politics in the new millennium

In 2001, Italian Government approved the decree-law n. 347 (called *Urgent intervention in matter of expenses for the health assistance*) whose dual aim was at cutting the public expenses in health system and at transforming the national system into a federal one, based on privatization of public policies and services. The year 2001 is recalled as "the year zero" because the State stopped from financing the deficit from weak regions which, forced to a quick re-organization, started to reduce, to privatize and to tax the previous service in their territories. The final purpose was to shape a kind of new insurance system; all this was possible, especially, considering that the 60% of the whole expenses came from the financial contributions collected by dependent workers on illness. Until 2004, the national expenses were insufficient and the poor regions from the South were forced to manage the deficit of public administration by recovering the negative gap in health expenses through the tickets and/or the alternative insurances coming from citizens. Even this new financial autonomy in bureaucracy and in legislation has led Italian regions to establish and to quantify the economic deficit in a discretionary way: for instance, the link between set beds and residents, the process of company-orientation and privatization of hospitals, the possible refund from drugs, the monitoring and the penalties for inappropriate prescriptions. Every region established specific "level of basic assistance" that could be different according to the concrete financial availability from single region, giving consistent chances of intervention even to private structures and to their insurance market in the field of health care. The final portrait is actually different: regions economically stronger receive and have better solutions than the weaker ones. Final result consists in a larger inconsistency in the guarantees for a free and equal health system for everybody, also showing an interest to go far from universalistic principles. The devolution, the large decrease in public expenditure, the expansion of market's arm in the management of public services confirm the dismantling of the SSN structure. In 2008, for the first time in Italian Republic, the Ministry of the Health was grouped with other two ministries, thus risking increasing the inequality already existing among the twenty different regions, especially in health care whose reorganization had to be pursued according to some uniformity's criteria.

## The illness of the Italian women

In Italy, the formulation of the right to health, always expressed in an uncritical manner and without explicit differences, is contradicted by many practices. The research of the Istat<sup>6</sup> stresses new information about citizens' health and shows that women feel worst than men (8,3% against 5,1%). By crossing the data, it comes out that, in the largest part of classes by age, the women have many more disadvantages and these are explained as form of chronic pathologies. The 13,1% of people that were interviewed claims to suffer at least of one serious illness whilst the 13,8% complain the presence of three or more chronic pathologies. Women have a higher percentage of multi-chronic illness (17,2 % against 10,3% for the men) and, only in the older age, they are less affected than men in many chronic diseases. The chronic disorders whose prevalence is among women are: arthritis (21,8% against 14,6% ), osteoporosis (9,2 % against 1,1%), cephalic (10,5% against 4,7%). People with disabilities are 2 million 600 thousands, whose 6,1% are women and 3,3% men. The women use more easily the diagnostic checks (12,8% against the 10,0% of the men) (Istat 2007: 1–8, 37, authors' translation).

The imbalance of power between women and men influences their health. The negative effects from their lower health are underlined the Rapport “The state of the health of women in Italy”. In the section “Styles of life and risk factors”, it concludes by affirming that the two main causes of mortality are the hearth diseases and cancers, which can obviously prevented through healthy life styles, diagnostic checks and screenings. The risk factors, connected with a premature mortality, are smoke, abuse of alcohol, an unhealthy diet and lack of physical activity. 17% of Italian women are used smokers, 3,4% an even stronger smokers. The data about the consequences from unhealthy eating habits show a 26,8% of overweight women while obese women are 10%, a 47% does not have physical activity: all risk factors for heart diseases and diabetes. The medical recourse to a cancer screening (for example a mammography) is more frequent even in absence of symptoms: in fact, 56 out of 100 women over 40 years think to be at risk. Those data show how women suffer because of the so-called “big killers” that, actually, represent the primary cause of death, notwithstanding they are considered “typical male illnesses”. This means that the diagnostic checks are tested on male people so that they are less valid for the women.

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6. The National Institute of Statistics (Istat) has been working since 1926 as the main supplier of official statistical information in Italy. It collects and produces information on Italian economy and society and made it available for study and decision-making purpose.



From the same Rapport, it is suggested how, in spite of recent increase of women occupation, the unemployment of Italian women is still larger than the European average. In the health sector, it represents the 32,2% of the doctors<sup>7</sup>, and the 75,5% of the nurses. The survey is referred to 4.500.000 cases of domestic accidents whose 8.000 are mortal (Ministry of Health 2008, our translation). In the study PASSI<sup>8</sup>, whose methodology is inspired to the Report Health days Measures<sup>9</sup>, was quantified the perception of the own state of health through the percentage of days spent in a healthy way; in another section, it was explored physical activity, smoking, alimentation, use of alcohol, level of blood pressure and cholesterol, screening of the tumor in the breast, the uterus and colon recto; their questions are oriented to disclose the days lived in a bad health in one month, because of physical and psychic disorders and, as well, the limiting days in the daily activities.

This methodology, based on the perception of the health and, especially, of bad health, was tested in a town in Calabria; it puts a reciprocal relation between the bad health, the age, sex and level of education. According to data elaborated in Cosenza by the local Health Center n. 4, it emerges that the days spent in a bad health, increase by the increasing age and, furthermore, they are more related with the female dimension; for women, the psychological disorders are more disabling than the physical problems, while for men it happens the opposite. The analysis about the average days by having a bad health or limiting days for daily activities is composed and structured by sex and age; it confirms the higher negative perception of the own state of health by the senior classes and, besides, by the women. A limited activity, caused by a bad state of health, is mainly referred to women of the 50-69 years age group. This implies that the rules for the treatment and the preservation of their health should firstly start from the gender differences. When a patient is sick and a diagnosis is done by controlling some factors, the therapy should be the final result of a first phase where the specific gender is at the bottom. The results achieved from many Italian researches suggest the particular need to integrate healthy policies with other kind of social policies, by using inter-sectors actions for the defense and promotion of women's health. A neutral medicine that does not take care of the gender differences or that faces the sexual

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7. The data come from the "Annual Accounting Reports of State" in 2005.

8. It is an acronym of Progress in the Health Centers for the Health in Italy.

9. This method was adopted by the Department of Health and Human Services and it has an important function of control and the prevention for the Illness; it is an important body of control for the public health in the United States of America whose main purpose is in preventing and in suggesting the more appropriate solutions in case of an epidemic.

differences as a mere reproductive fact, risks to be conditioned by prejudices, both in daily practices and in planning many empirical researches, as well.

### The gender violence in Daphne project

In research called Daphne GVEI, whose central bottom dealt with the gender violence made by men against women, were heard and interviewed 60 women which, besides, communicate the health problems caused by the suffered violence. The right of health can change in the Countries, but the health problems of the women tend not to change. Nevertheless the extension of gender violence, it is not still faced by the Govern as a priority whilst the analysis of this phenomenon is not a basic skill in curricula of the health operators. In United States, the problem was inserted in the list of good practices, so that the specific matters of gender violence are included in the anamnesis of women who will be asked if they have suffered violence<sup>10</sup>. In Italian samples, women talk about a sensation of becoming crazy, to have sleep disorders, depression, sadness, fear, anxiety, anguish, loss of self-estimation and confidence. The investigation also analyses the illness in a physical, sexual, reproductive, psychological sense as a consequence of the gender violence. Especially the physical diseases are referred to women who have suffered violence at home, at work and, besides, who are victims of an implicit offensive behaviour made of gestures, allusive or explicit tones, directed to slowly destroy the woman without dirtying their own hands.

The sexual violence suffered by wives seems to be a mix of domination and subjection in order to define the belonging of a woman to a man and to reaffirm the power of the latter. Women also claim eating disorders, headaches, lack of love for herself: “situations in which I vomited”, says Paola, aged 39<sup>11</sup> who was suffering of bulimia and adds “there were moments in which I used to eat a lot and I vomited”. During her marriage, she had often headache, insomnia and after her separation she did not have the same symptoms. Also today she has health problems which are treated by doctors as stress caused by separation. After seven years, she tells:

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10. Some people think that a so delicate problem cannot be expressed by women because of their discouragement, differently they could feel better if somebody asks them to talk about; generally, they could feel more relaxed in expressing about the received violence.

11. To guarantee the privacy of the women, we indicate with “Paola” all women suffering domestic violence, and “Violetta” all women suffering violence in the workplaces. After the two names, there is a number indicating their ages.

“also during my marriage, I feel bad but I did not have the chance to visit a psychologist for two reasons, an economic one, but also because I was afraid to be considered crazy and, at the end, because my husband could use the situation in order to have the child custody. I suffered stomach disorders, I was nervous and I used to eat so much until to vomit, I often suffered of food poisoning because I did not digest good”.

This woman complaints also sleep disorders:

“Sometimes I cannot sleep during the night because I feel a tremor. Now I am taking some drugs to relax the colon and to relax me. My gastroenterologist explained me that the colon is like a second brain and everything that happens in my mind has an effect on my stomach. After my separation, I thought to become crazy. I went through a period in which I spent my time crying. I wished to die! I used to pray God to take me, I could not do it because I did not have the courage and I heard in my mind ‘the suicide is a sin’, then I had another thought and I asked myself ‘How can I leave my son alone with this man?’”.

Paola, 50 years, confesses to belittle herself. She has been taking drugs for 15 years in order to sleep and she suffers of headache. From the physical violence she remembered her contusions on head and many bruises. When she was 25 years, after her third child, she had no menstruations for four years. She was always tired; she suffered of the chronic fatigue syndrome.

Paola, aged 38, defines her physical status “dramatic, without considering the fact that I am diabetic. This story brings me to have an inconstancy in my mood, not to rest during the night, to be afraid that something can happen to me or to the child in the night, I cannot have a calm sleeping. I have headaches, disorders to my stomach. I am always nervous, always tense”. Paola, 22, affirms “her chronic tiredness”, she does not sleep even if she needs to rest, and when she suffered the violence she took 20 kg more of weight.

According to Paola, 39, the psychological violence can be found “in the working place”, while within the domestic walls where there is no control “it can arrive to extreme acts”. This is her description:

“I noted how he became more and more violent because I did not want to have sex with him because it was (absurd) meaningless to (for) me, it was difficult to have sexual contacts after he hit (beat) me and so he became more rude, more violent against me and in order to protect myself I let him to have sex

with me”. This woman tells “he never tied me to bed, but it was violence because I was afraid of his behavior and, in order to avoid further violence, I had a sexual relation”.

Paola was victim of stalking. She also says “other kinds of violence were beginning” that is: “I went out and often I felt followed, when the phone rang I felt anxious, he went in front of our house to take the child”. Paola, 50, moves from region after the separation and she lives like a clandestine. Paola, 22, suffers of stalking too, she receives up to six letters every day: “he called every five minutes, maximum every ten minutes”.

For the women there was not only the desire to hurt themselves, but there was also the desire to die; in particular, Paola 39 often wanted this. Paola, 50, thought many times she was crazy and “also the wish to end”. Paola 22 declares: “I did not want live”, her boyfriend wrote for her a vademecum of rules to be observed: “do not lie to me, do not leave me, do not betray me, do not go out alone”. Fear, panic attacks, stress, abuse of drugs to sleep, Violetta 23, bargirl immigrated from the Romaine, claims to accept some works conditions (difference of payment in relation to her colleagues doing the same work) only because she feels good with her colleagues, but as she has not a regular condition of employment, she cannot have a family doctor “I can be sick but nobody cares. Last week I have had a bad cold, I went with a friend to visit a doctor but only to know the medicines to assume because I have had to buy them”.

This interview introduces another aspect, the differentials based on the citizenship. The foreigner in Italy has the right to health care only if they have a regular work. In Violetta’s words, 30, (she is a researcher working at university), there are the symptoms of stomachache, swelling, stress and the use of drugs to sleep. Violetta 28, geometrician, says: “there was a specific year where I was anxious, I used drugs, I did not do well my work, I could go further at work, I could not realize my projects, I could not finish my programs per day, because I felt upset. Sometimes I am still unmotivated, I feel upset”. Violetta 46, Polish moved in Italy, did not want go to bed with her boss and this caused negative consequences as she was frequently accused: “If there was some mistake in the kitchen or if the chef or the waitress did some mistake, he always blamed me for the damage”.

Violetta 46 is not in her Country, she feels foreigner and she feels a foreigner in relation to everything happening around her, she is frightened, she is terrified, she reacts being sick in spite her strong personality. When the communism failed

in her country, she remained without work and, in order to take care of her son, she said to herself: “I go to Italy”. This strength does not preserve this woman to fall sick. She talks about her stress, about her weak results in the work:

“then I arrived at home and I began to cry, in three months I lost seven kilos, I did not eat, I always cried, because everything worried me, some glances from normal people was misunderstood and I thought they wanted to violent me; for this the psychiatry told me that it was better for me not to work, I had fear when I was driving in a roundabout I did not know what to do, it became dangerous for me because I always thought ‘If I go to work he began to shout against me’, I had fear to arrive at work. At the end of the working day I was the first to go away, avoiding to remain the last, I was afraid to make me up because some men could look at me and it could happen some other harassment, I preferred to remain at home without going out”.

Violetta 46 claims:

“I am always a tired person, I went through a period of a huge stress in which I could not stay for example in a square or where there was a crowded situation, I felt stomachache and I felt faint and I had to return home.”

Violetta communicates her fears and her anguish, she says “with the harassments of the owner at work, I could not work peacefully, I was due to be recovered by a psychiatry because I was depressed and I took drugs; anyway, now I have been dismissed”.

### The gender establishes the health

From Italian study-cases in our research, a large part of empirical results on the link between gender approach and health tends to underline both the presence of lower guarantees for the citizens and an increasing process of concealment in gender differences. It is not possible to discuss about women’s rights without promoting concrete policies: the influence of psycho-social aspects and of environmental conditions is crucial within the concept of “overall health”. The promotion of women health should be considered as a priority in public policies, basically strengthened through specific political actions in the social system.

Actually, there are many social prejudices, political delays and legislative confusions whilst cultural and scientific resistances should be contrasted by a stronger engagement and by a more responsive acting from public policies. This

new political path on the way of women health's defense should become a strategic promotion for the entire population. The intersectoral and multi professionals work, in the process of health's promotion, is a particular recommendation coming from the European Union. The document of the OMS Europe and of European Union of the Finnish Presidency recommend the governments to build a stronger coordination in the promotion both of women health and of other social issues.

Women in Italy are discriminated in many forms and live in many fragile conditions. In Italy women are still thought of as specific above all in their relation to the reproductive capability and to their biological function in pregnancy. It is a common thinking that produces a sort of prejudice about "a reproductive destiny", as if it was an exclusive women's feature. Nevertheless, the body - because of its complexity and multidimensionality (social, sexual, ethnic, of class) - fall ill according to differential risk factors. And the doctors are not absolved from facing the patient's problems according to the biological, physical, psychological and environmental characteristics in order to apply properly a therapy. In research plans and in their therapeutic initiatives, it would be helpful to have a legislation defining the "gender difference" trough detailed plans on health for the whole population whose specificity is not only linked to gender but also to age, to race, to geographical origin and to life-style too.

A concept of health, by gender differences at its core, is essential for a better medical approach. It also lets evident signs of knowledge, of prevention and it helps programming new health strategies in terms of cure and prevention. There are some illnesses that can be different in gender, and moreover, men and women can respond in a different way at the therapy. The woman body reacts in a different way from the male's one even at work place they react differently to harmful expositions. In the same way, it is undervalued the risk of psychical stress and physical fatigue in housework. The weak attention on gender difference is connected to a reductive vision of the medicine that considers the man as the only first actor: his specific style of life seems to be the only reference, thus diminishing the female body to the male one and causing problems of a scarce efficiency in health-medical procedures, a reduction that can be even harmful. In the European Community, the World Health Organization has created an institute called "Health and Gender Mainstreaming" whose main aim is that to stress the different point of views within social debates on gender's health. Every nation should have the same awareness of the gender's forms.

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### 3 Gender Violence in Italy and Spain: Law and Politics

LETIZIA PALUMBO

University of Palermo, Italy

In Italy as well as Spain, there is a profound split between the perspectives and strategies adopted by institutional political forces in confronting the phenomenon of gender violence and the experiences and theoretical reflections of women's political movements. This fracture emerges from the inability of institutional initiatives to reflect, mainly through legal discourse, the structural inequality of power between men and women.

With this premise as a starting point, this paper will examine the problem of gender violence in Italy and in Spain, addressing the complicated ties between gender and law. In this sense, the central question of the study will be: "Are laws effective instruments for contrasting the phenomenon of gender violence?"

Retracing the main steps that have characterized legal measures and policies on violence against women in Italy and in Spain, I will investigate the limits of legal discourse by focusing on the common understandings of the concept of gender violence in law and the paradigm of security.

Far from advocating a withdrawal from the field of law, particularly from the area of rights, this paper aims to demonstrate that in confronting the problem of gender violence, legal discourse needs the support of a cultural politics aimed at deconstructing gender inequalities through the active engagement of women, as well as men.

#### Politics for contrasting gender violence in Italy

##### *Violence and the women's political movement*

In Italy, as in Spain, women's political movements have played a crucial role in recognizing the problem of violence against women as a social issue.

It was in 1975, when two young women were beaten, tortured and sexual abused in the Circeo Park in Rome, that in Italy the attention of institutions and civil society focused on the phenomenon of sexual violence. Only one of the two victims survived. The Circeo crime marked a historical stage in the collective awareness and public consciousness of the problem of sexual violence. From that point

on, demonstrations and the civil and political mobilization of the women's movement exploded. The political strategy prevalently adopted by the movement focused on the symbolic role of the state and, in particular, criminal law as a means to materialize the phenomenon of sexual violence and to make it recognizable.

In 1979, the first draft of a bill on violence against women was submitted to parliament by citizens' groups and, after 17 years of political activism and mobilization, in 1996 the law on sexual violence was approved: sexual violence was defined as a crime against "the person" and no longer a crime against "morals, good customs and the family order." As Maria Virgilio comments, the law on sexual violence passed thanks to a "pink package," in which harsher punishment was necessary to create transversal institutional alliances (Virgilio 1996).

At that time, an interesting and articulate debate arose between women's groups and civil society on the limits and contradictions of legal discourse, as well as other central issues for women's politics, such as the concept of representation (Libreria delle donne di Milano 1982, Dominijanni 1992, Pitch 1989). Unfortunately it is not possible here to go into detail on this debate, but I think it is important to underline that, as many feminist authors maintain, the strategy adopted in that period by women's movement contributed to identifying the issue of violence against women with sexual violence perpetrated by strangers, and to the pigeonholing of sexually abused women in the role of victims as defined by criminal law (Pitch 1998).

From the late 1980s on, women's movements distanced themselves from the use of legal discourse and policies of equal opportunity to focus on the practice of the relationship between women, considered not only as the need to rebuild women's genealogies that sexist culture had deleted, but also as an ethical-political paradigm towards a different view of justice and morals (Botti 1997: 23)

This practice finds its theoretical basis in feminist thought of sexual difference, which centers on the construction of a language and a practice able to reflect woman's subjectivity, stressing her sexual existence. In this sense, the attention is on the subjective dimension of desire, and ties between women, in terms that are not altered by a sexist and patriarchal culture (Muraro 1991, Cingarini 1995). Law and politics of equal opportunity, thus, are criticized because they do not encompass "sexual difference," and are aimed at the idea of rights without questioning norms and its subjects.

The birth of anti-violence centers and women's houses in the 1980s is strongly interlaced with the specificities of the feminism of sexual difference. The activity of these centers and houses, which include women's shelters, is not based on mere

solidarity among the oppressed or on an attempt to fill the gaps of the welfare state, but is based on the realization of women's projectuality. From this perspective, the initiatives of anti-violence centers moves on two levels: on the one hand, they are aimed at supporting and helping women by focusing on professional consultancy, and creating an environment in which women are together and can safely relate to one another; on the other hand, they carry out political, social and cultural research on violence that goes beyond police reports and reparation of damages to focus on women's needs and desires (Creazzo 2003). In this sense, the paradigm of victimhood is open to debate, because no woman can be reduced to an act of violence suffered, and the relationship with other women becomes a tool to emasculate the omnipotence of the perpetrator.

### *Law on violence against women*

In Italy, anti-violence centers and women's houses constitute the first social answer to the problem of violence against women. By conjugating an activity aimed at supporting women who have suffered violence with a political and cultural analysis of the phenomenon of violence, they have no doubt played a crucial role in the process that has led to the recognition of the structural and transversal character of violence and, consequently, to the diffusion of the concept of "violence against women," "sexist and sexual violence" and "gender violence" to indicate different forms of violence suffered by women. However, despite their intense activism, it is only in the last few years, after many warnings from international bodies, that Italian national policies have started to consider the phenomenon of violence against women.

In 1997, after the worldwide resonance of the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, a directive of the Italian government mentioned explicitly the problem of violence, paying particular attention to the issue of trafficking, forced prostitution and domestic violence. In 2001, the Italian Parliament passed Law n. 154, "Measures on domestic violence restraining orders," which introduced penal and civil measures to prevent this kind of violence. More precisely, in penal terms, the law provides for the precautionary measure of violence restraining orders, while in civil terms, it provides for orders of protection to safeguard victims, even in the absence of a real crime. In 2003, Law n. 228 on the trafficking of people was approved.

From 1996 to 2005, different projects and research on violence against women were carried out within the framework of the URBAN Program. These activities

were important antecedents of Draft Bill n. 2169/2005, the first legislative bill to underscore the importance of an integrated strategy to address the issue of violence against women, and aimed at realizing a “plan of action against gender violence.”

Draft Bill n. 2169/2005 was presented by Barbara Pollastrini, minister of equal opportunity in Romano Prodi’s Government, and proposed three levels of action: 1) awareness campaigns, preventive measures against domestic and gender violence and discrimination; 2) the recognition of rights for victims of violence; and 3) the penal guardianship of victims of violence, and the extension of procedural guardianship, both penal and civil. Prodi’s Government fell before the bill was presented to parliament.

Affirming the importance of an integrated national strategy to contrast violence against women, Draft Bill n. 2169/2005 certainly marked a relevant point for public awareness of the phenomenon. However, despite the fact that it recognizes the relevance of the work and activities carried out by women’s associations, specifically anti-violence centers, the bill does not reflect the women’s movement’s approaches and proposals, and does not pay attention to suggestions and criticism advanced by the National Coordination of Anti-violence Centers.

The phenomenon of violence against women is presented in Draft Bill n. 2169/2005 as a problem that affects weak subjects (women, children and homosexuals) who live in common conditions of inequality in terms of power relationships, and need protection and assistance. The absence of a clear definition of “gender violence,” and its contiguous association with concepts such as “family violence,” empties the meaning of the category of gender and, consequently, fragments the notion of “gender violence” that has been promoted by the women’s movement and adopted by many international bodies.

“Gender violence” emerged as a concept in the Anglo-American political and theoretical literature to challenge and criticize the notion of “family violence.” While “family violence” assumes the issue of violence against women as gender neutral, the concept of “gender violence” throws light on the multiple forms of violence against women that exist, and on the inequality of power, including domination and subordination, as a common denominator in all acts of violence (Caprioli 2004).

In this sense, Draft Bill 2169/2005 does not fully and clearly recognize the structural inequality between women and men, especially in the context of family violence. This approach also emerged in Law 154/2001, “Measures on domestic violence restraining orders,” which provides for an appeal to a family mediation

center in cases of acknowledged violence, and for which there is a domestic violence restraining order (Romito 2006).

The limit of Draft Bill 2169/2005 is not only its terminological and conceptual definition of violence, but also the instruments adopted to face it. Indeed, the document talks in a neutral way about victims of violence for whom programs of assistance and protection are provided. It does not mention the initiative of the single woman, her autonomy and need for self-determination in relation to the modalities and timing of her escape from violence. Generally, measures of help and support are conditioned by the objectives, needs and times as defined by public services. For example, the condition for housing support is to denounce the aggressor. The draft also introduces harsher punishment, which, as I will show in the following pages, is an instrument that is strongly criticized by women's movements.

## Politics for contrasting gender violence in Spain

### *Violence and the women's political movement*

In Spain the first formulation of the problem of violence was inscribed, in the general context of the anti-Francoist struggle, in terms of institutional violence against the population, and specifically against women. The patriarchy is seen through the lens of Francoism (Vega 2008).

However, starting from the late 1970s, the feminist movement, on the wave of radical feminism, turned its attention to the phenomenon of sexist violence. At that time, the feminist movement focused its energies on legal reforms, particularly penal reforms. The principal result of this struggle was the modification of the Penal Code in 1989: violence against women was defined as "a crime against sexual freedom," and no longer as "a crime against honesty," and for the first time, the term "sexual aggression" was used. From that point on, commissions on sexual aggression began to emerge.

In 1983, after the Socialist Party's landslide victory, the creation of the *Instituto del la Mujer* (The Women's Institute) marked a new relationship between the feminist movement and the State. A number of feminist militants, who questioned the institutional transition and parliamentary representation, decided to strengthen the feminist movement by acting independently of the Institute.

However, with the national Penal Reform in 1995 and the international focus on gender violence, the activities of feminist groups, women's associations and centers, and anti-aggression commissions led to the creation, in 2000, of the *Red*

*Feminista Contra la Violencia* (The Anti-violence Feminist Network), and to the proposal of the *Ley Integral contra la Violencia de Género* (The Law against Gender Violence).

### *Public policies on gender violence*

Beginning in the late 1990s, a number of national and regional plans for confronting gender violence were approved. These were important for raising awareness of the problem of violence against women (Bodelón, 2005), even if they defined the phenomenon of violence against women as demonstrations of social inequalities between men and women, proposed measures that were focused on domestic violence, and were characterized by a welfare approach and not by actions aimed at addressing the structural causes of gendered violence. This is particularly evident in the Second Plan against Domestic Violence (2001-2004): the Plan deals only with assistance for victims (and not women's rights), penal sanctions without mentioning social sanctions, and prevention of violent acts and not the elimination of cultural violence (Bodelón 2005).

In 2002 and in 2003 different criminal laws on domestic violence were approved. One of the most important was Organic Law 11/2003, "Concrete measures against domestic violence, migration and the security of citizens," which was part of "The Plan for the Security of the City." Generally speaking, in Spain and Italy, recent public policies have confronted the thorny issues of gendered violence from the perspective of "security," giving priority to penal measures instead of looking at the systemic structural inequalities that breed violence against women. These policies, which do not take into account the theoretic contributions of feminist's movements, rest on a notion of security that is "presumed to be gender neutral, with women and men assuming the same political freedoms and [...] rights" (Caprioli 2004: 411).

### *Limits of the "Ley Integral contra la violencia de género"*

In 2004, the announcement of the approval of *Ley Integral contra la violencia de género* (The Law against Gender Violence) was received with great enthusiasm in Spain and was widely admired in Europe. The Law defines violence against women as a fundamental issue for democracy and offers a comprehensive way of confronting it, establishing different measures of prevention, sanctions and assistance.

Among the main dispositions in Law n. 1/2004 are: the incorporation of the concept of “gender violence” defined as an expression of the historically unequal relations of power between men and women; the adoption of an integrated and multidisciplinary perspective; the definition of different rights (in juridical, economic, social, health and labor terms) for female victims of violence; the introduction of sensitisation and intervention measures in the education and health sphere; the creation of specific Violence against Women Courts that examine and, where necessary, rule on criminal cases involving gendered violence, as well as any related civil causes.

Incorporating a number of suggestions forwarded by the Spanish women’s movement, the innovations introduced by Law n.1/2004 are considered an authentic break with past legal measures. However, as many feminist authors point out, the Law does not seem to profoundly emasculate the patriarchal mechanisms of legal discourse.

The principal critique is that Law n.1/2004 does not reflect the concept of gender violence as defined by international women’s movements and such international bodies as the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and the European Union. Although it addresses inequalities of power between men and women, Law n°1, 2004 still clings to an idea of gendered violence as “family violence”: the form of violence considered in this document is that one occurs against women and children in the context of life as a couple (Bodelón 2005, Laurenzo 2005, Maqueda 2006, Larrauri 2007). Article 1 of Law n. 1/2004 states, “the purpose of the act is to combat the violence exercised against women by their present or former spouses or by men with whom they maintain or have maintained analogous affective relations, with or without cohabitation.”

Emptying the notion of gender violence of meaning, in addition to causing conceptual inconsistencies in the Law, especially with respect to the concept of equality, distorts the specificity of the actions that are necessary to contrast different forms of violence. In fact, the implementation of various measures, directed at education, health, work and economic contexts, is limited to only one aspect of gender violence, that of intra-family violence.

According to Patricia Laurenzo, the will to confront the issue of gender violence in the family context reveals a worrying incapacity to understand the phenomenon or, perhaps, a lack of interest in understanding the ultimate causes that produce it (Laurenzo, 2005: 85). From this perspective, it is not surprising that today many Spanish jurists who have come into contact with the concept of gendered violence only in recent years, use it as a synonym for “domestic violence.”

Certainly, one of the principal successes of Law n.1/2004, (after years of policies characterized by a welfare-type approach to confront the problem of gender violence), is the drawing up of a list of rights for women who are victims of violence. However, even in this respect, it is possible to advance some critiques.

Focusing its attention on acts of intra-family violence, law n.1/2004 does not look at the violation of rights by other forms of gender violence, for example the phenomenon of sexual harassment. However, national statistics show that most women do not have access to the rights covered by the Law. The recognition of these rights is conditioned and limited, in conceptual and practical terms, by the request for protection measures and/or penal denunciation. It is well known that, for various reasons, not all women report violence or ask for protection measures, and even those who decide to often do not obtain protection. These limits also cause practical problems for migrant women without residence permits, who, because they cannot have access to the instruments of legal protection for fear of expulsion, are often forced to suffer violent situations.

In this sense Law n.1/2004, like many other Spanish and Italian laws, reveals its limits in addressing the differences between women, in terms of race, class, culture, and sexual preference, and the differences in the various contexts in which they face violence acts.

### Criminal law and feminist critiques

Another problematic aspect of Law n.1/2004 is the use of the concept of “victim,” a concept that, as we have seen, also appears in the Italian Draft Bill 2169/2005. Harshly criticized by a number of feminist theories, the notion of “victim” tends to reduce the issue of gender violence to the juridical context of interpersonal penal conflict and, consequently, to the frame of reference of the other forms of violence taken into consideration by legal discourse. In this way, the problem of gender violence is emptied of its complexity, and female subjectivities are defined through the categories of “licit/illicit,” and “perpetrator/victim” that characterize criminal law. These are categories that, often conveying a rational and exemplificatory conception of relationships, flatten the phenomenon of gender violence by describing it as a precise and singular event: “Ambivalence, ambiguity of any interpersonal relationship disappear, guilt and innocence are clearly attributed” (Pitch 1998: 180).

Starting in the late 1980s, feminist theoretic reflections in Italy and Spain started to question the use of criminal law and penal instruments with respect to



gender violence (Pitch 1998, Lorenzo 2003, Maqueda 2006, Larrauri 2007). This debate has prompted women's movements in both countries to abandon the strategy that considers criminal law and harsher punishments the main symbolic terrain in which to obtain social change.

At the base of this change of view there is the assumption that a strategy strongly focused on the criminalization process leads to a consideration of female subjectivities only in terms of oppression, so much so as to negate any possibility of autonomy and freedom for women, and to define men's social responsibility only in terms of criminalization (Pitch 1998).

This does not mean that the problem of security is not addressed by Italian and Spanish women's movements. In Italy, in the anti-violence centers, the opportunity of penal denunciation is evaluated in concrete terms with women and is then faced by constructing new procedures of action with bodies that have the competence to intervene, such as the police (Creazzo 2003). To this end, lawyers of the National Network of Women Lawyers for Anti-violence Centers have proposed the introduction in the Italian legal system of a judicial order of protection as a civil measure, not bound to the presentation of penal denunciation.

## Conclusion

An analysis of Spanish and Italian legislation on violence against women, despite the fact that it constitutes a limited sample, highlights the limits of legal discourse in reflecting the complexity of an issue like gender violence, and, in general, the inadequacy of law to encompass the structural inequality of power between men and women.

As is known, feminist analysis, from different perspectives, has examined the thorny relationship between gender and legal discourse, opening to debate the abstract, neutral, and universal character of the law (and rights). Feminist authors have criticized the male nature of the law and consequently its incapacity to fully comprehend the complex subjectivities of women (Mackinnon 1987, Smart 1989, Williams 1991). In this sense, the law inhibits the ambiguous "play of meanings" concerning gender, sexuality and power, and is incapable of understanding the complexity of feminist issues (Smart 1989, Butler 1990, Menon 2004).

As several feminist critiques point out, the language of rights tends also to reproduce the logic of law (Minow 1990, Brown 1995, Menon 2004). From this perspective, Indian theorist Nivedita Menon holds that "rights" are socially constructed and contextualized within particular moral universes, yet they lose

their transformative potential when institutionalized by the law, which is an exacting, universalizing discourse that fixes meanings and identities (Menon 2004).

Unfortunately, I cannot analyze in depth here the issue arising from these reflections, in particular the problem of the relation between the abstract and universal character of rights and concrete and particular identities of women, problems widely studied by feminist theories on a transnational level (Grewal & Kaplan 1994, Peters & Wopler 1995, Bartolini 2002).

However, despite sharing many of the perplexities and critiques advanced by feminist theorists on the relationship between law and gender, I think that rights discourse is a necessary precondition for the improvement of women's conditions, especially for contrasting the issue of gender violence. Rights, even if they are not the ultimate object of feminist politics, can constitute an important instrument for women, if, that is, the foundation on which they rest is modified (Pitch 2004).

Feminist reflections, in my opinion, should work productively on the paradox and potentiality of rights discourse through critical analysis, rather than abandon it or harbour illusions about the potential of rights. Rights discourse, if reconsidered through new categories, can become the fertile basis for the possibility of dialogues and political solidarity between different women (Benhabib 2002, Mohanty 2003, Baritono 2007).

From this perspective, the struggle to prevent and contrast the phenomenon of gender violence needs rights, but it cannot exhaust itself with these. It also requires action on cultural levels, through new political initiatives that have both women and men as promoters and receivers. These political actions, in Italy and Spain, should, in my opinion, start revisiting concepts such as "security" and "existential precariousness."

Today the problem of gender violence should be reconsidered in the light of a social life that is characterized by precariousness and fragmentation (Morini 2008). For women, the condition of "existential precariousness" reflects exploitation, instability and uncertainty for the future, but also evokes new possibilities of mobility and freedom, in opposition to the traditional values that societies impose on women (Fantone 2008).

The freedom of women and, consequently, the anxiety that women can no longer be the repository of cultural and national identity, leads men to exercise their power and control over women. In this sense, violence against women is the demonstration of the male fear of women's freedom and, consequently, fear of the future in increasingly multicultural societies. Violence against women is, thus, the sign of men's fragility and not of their legitimated authority.

In light of this, the concept of security cannot be considered to be gender neutral, as the media and political institutions presume it is. Security and perception of security are not the same for men and women. It is the structural inequality of power that creates the condition for the social control of women and undermines women's security (Sideris 2001: 142). This awareness should prompt new political initiatives by women, and by men, most of whom, unfortunately, remain silent.

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## **4 The Potentials and Pitfalls of Human Rights in Italy: Gendering the Law**

CESARINA MANASSERO

University of Turin, Italy

### **Introduction**

According to Kofi Annan, General Secretary of the United Nations, “The violence against women is perhaps the worst and the most shameful violation of human rights. It does not know any borders, geography, culture or wealth. If it lasts, we won’t be able to claim that we have made real progress in equality, development and peace” (8<sup>th</sup> March 1993).

His successor, Ban Ki-Moon, stated that “Violence against women and daughters persists in every continent, country and culture. It is the high price that women must pay during their lives. Many societies prohibit this form of violence; even though the reality is that this crime is hidden and tacitly accepted” (8th March 2008).

Laws can be conceptualized either as symbolic acts setting parameters for environmental and social changes or as practical deterrents and means of punishing wrong-doers (or both). It is not always clear what laws against “gender violence” or “domestic violence” are understood to mean. They may be understood differently by the lobby groups that work for them, the legislators that pass them, the institutions charged with their implementation and the general public.

Frequently, the discussion of new laws follows an imaginary scenario, defining domestic violence as a crime described as leading to police intervention, arrest, prosecution, conviction and freedom from violence for the woman. The reality almost never corresponds to that scenario. Is it good to have laws that follow such an ideal scenario, or should laws be pragmatic and adjust to what is likely to be the average outcome in reality? How does the normative function of law interact with the provisions for its implementation?

Legal reforms specifically claiming to reduce gender violence may sound good on paper, but in fact be difficult to implement, irregularly or not at all. In Italy the story of the legal framework concerning gender violence is rather grim.

## Italian legal framework against gender violence from 1948 to 2008

Gender violence, perpetrated with physical, psychological and economic abuses, often connected with sexual violence, has recently been recognized as a violation of the woman's fundamental human right to physical and psychological integrity. The different kinds of violence could be isolated but are very often combined, so one form of public protection of the victim opens the doors for protection against other forms of violence. This is particularly true for the cases where the person who uses violence is related by an emotional relationship to the person who suffers that violence.

To check the progress of this phenomenon the Italian Government has produced many laws, especially during recent years. Here's a brief but complete summary of these measures.

### *Constitution*

The Italian Constitution (drafted in 1948) rules the principle of gender equality (paragraph 3), with equal treatment for men and women, recognising equal social dignity and equal fundamental rights for every citizen. Paragraphs 4 and par. 37 rule equality for men and women in the working sphere. Paragraph 29 rules the moral and juridical equality of husband-and-wife relationships within the family.

The constitutional framework has been very useful and crucial for the development of the jurisprudence and of new laws. The point is that only after fifty years Parliament has issued these special laws.

### *History*

It was actually in 1975, with the general reform of the family law system that the husband's authority was abolished, that is to say the lawful possibility for a husband to use "corrective measures" against his wife.

Afterwards, only in 1981, the *delitto d'onore* (i.e. a crime committed to vindicate one's honour) was abolished. This crime was perpetrated when a husband killed his wife to vindicate her infidelity or when a man who committed a sexual abuse married his victim to "restore" her honour. According to earlier criminal code provisions, in both these cases, crime was not prosecutable with trial and punishment. The sanction was marriage. This was due to the fact that violence was considered a pathology. In short, men could appear as deviant and women as

jointly responsible for the violence. It is only after the Seventies, with the women's liberation movements, that we can find a new definition of violence connected with gender perspective.

#### *Recent national laws*

- a) Law n. 66/1996 (known as the "rape law") which was the product of many struggles, discussions and demonstrations, was passed twelve years ago. This law labelled sexual violence as a crime against the *person and her/his personal freedom*. The previous formulation of the rule of law considered this crime a crime against morality. It is easy to understand that this law marked an important turning point for women's rights in Italy, because laws are the mirror of the social and cultural processes behind the phenomenon, and foster a way of considering and representing it. In this law, a woman is seen as a *subject*, a strong person, capable of protecting herself and her children too. She is not a mere weak and fragile victim. This crime is now punished with detention from 5 to 10 years.

In 1997, the Italian Government enacted the *Prodi-Finocchiaro* directive, based on a platform of action taken in Beijing in 1995. The Government undertook to prevent and fight every form of violence against women and children. What tools could be used to reach this goal? New investigation methods, new rules for the criminal trial, specific for these cases, gender data collections about sexual violence and sexual abuses either in the domestic sphere or at workplaces, monitoring of the data and yearly reports about them and the creation of a new legal framework for domestic violence.

- b) Law n. 269/1998, which contains specific rules against the exploitation of prostitution and pornography, against sexual tourism and sexual abuses towards children (in the majority of cases the victims are of the female sex). The sanctions against the perpetrators are particularly strong: it rules a prison sentence from 14 to 16 years for a person who commits sexual abuses to a 14- to 16-year-old child and imprisonment from 6 to 12 years for a person who exploits prostitution and sexual abuses to a 16- to 18-year-old child.
- c) Law n. 154/2001 which opened a new perspective of protection against sexual abuses not only inside the families based on a marriage relationship but also inside families created by common-law partners. There is a big

hole: how about the cases where a relationship is broken up by divorce?

There is no protection against the threats of an ex-husband or ex-partner.

Precautionary measures could only be applied after a criminal or a civil trial in the form of an injunction from the judge towards the violent partner, who will be removed from the common home or receive orders not to go to places where the victim works or lives. The analysis of the jurisprudence permits me to highlight that a problem arises when the victim and the persecutor work in the same place, in which case this law is not applicable. The judge can also press the social welfare services to give their help and order the violence perpetrator to pay alimony for supporting the family and the partner during the period of the cautionary measures. Another big shortcoming of this law was due to the fact that there was no prevision to restore the existential damage suffered by the victim.

### *Regional laws*

In Italy many Regions (e.g. Lazio 1993, Basilicata 1999, Friuli *et al.* 2005) enacted specific rules, valid inside the territory of the Region. They are specifically devoted to guarantee a stronger protection of victims. Piedmont, the Region I come from, has recently enacted Law n.11/2008 to establish the creation and the economic support of secret homes and shelters for women who suffered abuses, psychological, economic and physical violence or exploitation for prostitution, with no distinction as regards race, sex, ethnicity, religion, ideology, social or economic conditions.

### *Organizations*

It seems to me that these regional provisions are the most significant rules to consider in the legal framework, because they contain practical means of protection of the victims. They create an important barrier against all forms of discrimination from the points of view of ethnicity, race, sex and gender, unifying women of different nationalities. Moreover, they have got financial rules to support the creation and the development of some private organizations, who are an important instrument to fight gender violence.



### A very recent legal tool: the crime of “stalking”

Getting back to the legal framework, we cannot forget to discuss an important and very recent tool of our legal system: the crime of stalking. At the time of writing, the discussion of this law project is being developed by the Justice Commission of the Italian Parliament. It is not easy to make any forecasts about the passage of this rule. I can only point out that there is a huge consensus among the political parties on all sides.

If we look at the criminal code, we still find two important rules, article n. 660 for sexual molestation and sexual harassment (the worst cases) and article 612 for the less relevant threats. Judges, barristers and lawyers have not had any tools to safeguard victims in case of persistent persecutions and reiterated intimidations and threats (50% of the cases), physical acts of violence (20% of the cases), shadowing or persistent and undesired telephone calls, letters, ambushes, murder (only 7% of the cases) and also discriminatory treatments determined by sexual orientation and gender identity. To go beyond these obstacles, article 612 bis will be introduced into the criminal code among the crimes against moral freedom as a habitual crime of danger.

The conduct of the stalker (it is funny to note that this word comes from the area of hunting; it is not by chance, but there is an exact reason) is described as “the behaviour of a person who creates psychical suffering or a well-founded fear for the personal safety or a considerable and appreciable prejudice to the personal life habits of another person”. The victim becomes like a clawed prey, who loses her/his fundamental right of self-determination. If we consider our constitutional system, we can easily uphold this point of view: the victim is deprived of her/his essential and fundamental freedom rights (articles 2 and 13 of the Constitution).

It is very interesting to study the profile of a potential stalker. This research has been carried out by the National Observatory for the Crime of Stalkings. The researchers have seen that in 80% of the cases (2 000 000 cases since June 2008), the stalker is a male, partner or husband of the victim, aged from 35 to 40, very often divorced from the victim or rejected by her. The victim is usually a woman, who has lived with the stalker or who was an intimate friend.

If we read the diaries written by stalkers, who are following a psychological therapy, it is often possible to read that “my victim has ruined my life”. The stalker is a person who wants to live in symbiosis with his victim, who wants to recreate a narcissistic relationship which often can no longer be.

If we remember the myth of Narcissus, it is possible to draw an analogy. A stalker is like a dead vampire, with a dead part inside, with emotional traumas, negative experiences related to the family of origin. He is usually looking for a person who is capable to offer protection, motherhood and care. A stalker sinks his teeth into the space, the silence, the desires, the home and the privacy of the victim, to incorporate the life of the Other and to come back to a new dimension of life. On the opposite side, we find the victim. She begins to suffer anxiety, phobias, insomnia, fear, distress, loss of power of concentration and confusion. In short, she is damaged in her existential sphere.

The predicted sanctions are arrest and detention from six months to four years (if we consider the maximum, we see that the sanction is the same as the sanction indicated for the crime of private violence); the terms of imprisonment become stronger and longer if the stalker is a partner of the victim or the husband or if the victim is a child.

The most important and new aspect is that the prosecution is not related to the presentation of the victim's reporting of it. This crime is prosecutable *ex officio*. According to my personal experience as a barrister, I can affirm that this profile is the most important. Often victims of gender violence do not bring any action to the courts, because they are afraid of their persecutors during the investigations of the crime and of the long duration and the slowness of the trials.

#### Youth in Action Programme and perspectives of interventions

The European Commission, as of March 2008, has set up the Youth Action Programme (valid for 2008 and 2009), which represents a synthesis of the possible lines of intervention and projects fighting violence against women.

The Commission has highlighted that "heavy stereotypes about men and women, fostering discriminatory behaviours and thinking are still lively in society and among young people [...]". This form of violence intends to establish or reinforce gender hierarchies and perpetuate gender inequalities. Violence against women appears to be both a cause and a consequence of gender perceptions. Gender violence affects men's perceptions of women, women's perceptions of men, and men's and women's perceptions of themselves.

Fighting violence against women is a major concern at the Italian legal level as a product of the Law of Nations and the European Law which have contributed to underline that gender violence is the most serious violation of constitutional and

human rights. A question arises from the debate: how to integrate this priority into the legal system and measures?

This priority can be dealt with in relation to lots of different themes, for instance: gender awareness on the issue of gender, femininity, masculinity and violence among judges, barristers, prison workers, policemen and legal workers (especially young workers), vocational training of experts in this field, drafting of new laws and substantial measures to protect the victims with a special attention to the pitfalls of the law, awareness-raising on gender equality in sexual life and in the ordinary life reflected in the juridical tools, conferences and round-table discussions about the image of women in the national law, with a specific interest for constitutional law and international law, sustaining partnerships and networking between public bodies and all relevant stakeholders that contribute to the development of more coherent policies and practice about violence against women, working groups on legal aspects, on cases of violence decided by the courts, on management of Anti-Violence Centres, collection and further development of different methods and approaches to raise awareness of gender mainstreaming in the legal system, promotional campaign about the urgent need for a new language use in juridical documents, in order to respect gender equality.

To close, I'd like to emphasize the importance of this aspect, because I am deeply convinced that another form of gender violence occurs when the language use goes against the respect of the gender equality principle.

## Conclusions

As we have seen in the former and older laws connected with women's protection, there are some funny but very sad aspects of gender inequality inside these rules. Only many years of fighting against this phenomenon both at the social level and at the legal level have now produced a new conscience among legal workers to better define some behaviours and conducts with precise details. Judith Butler (1993: 38) wrote that "our identity of women is conditioned by this fact, that is to say we need a legal and a social recognition of our existence". The fact that behaviour is repeated and constantly settled in the society and that it appears as "legally accepted" is not necessary to consider it legitimate and welcome among the fundamental rights of freedom.

The legal effect to give the right name to the reality and to the identity of every woman with proper definitions means "producing the contours of these women and to recognize them as visible citizens".

Gendering human rights is situated within a process of global change; as a concept, it responds to the key role of gender in threats to human rights around the world. Indeed, the very conceptual framing of human rights as universal is today most frequently called into question by claims to legitimate the introduction of new rules with a holistic approach. Overcoming fragmentation in research is an essential step towards understanding how and why it is continuing. A crucial point of entry for gender awareness in human rights and legal systems has been offered by opening up private life and informal interactions to scrutiny as potential sites of violence. Working together on these issues, thinking of new legal frameworks and their implementation through agencies, organizations and plans of actions is an interesting challenge that every legal worker must try to face up to.

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## 5 Sexual crimes in Estonia in 2008: Profiles of Rapist and Victims and Rape Scenarios

MERLI KLEIN

Estonian Police Board, Estonia

Estonian Police Board conducted a study to analyze sexual crimes, main focus rapes, in 2008. we analyzed statistics from 2002–2008 to find out if sexual crimes had increased and especially we wanted to find out what kind of rapes had happened in 2008, who were those rapist and who were the victims.

Different studies in the world show that sexual crimes in the worlds are the most under registered crimes. Some studies say that only 60% sexual assaults are registered at the police.

It is usual that people imagine that sexual criminals are strangers to victims, who attack victims on some abandoned dark place. Police data shows that these are only minority of cases. Usually the rapist is someone, whom the victims know and trust; very often rapist could be victim's partner or a boyfriend. Even strangers try to make acquaintance with victims before they attack.

Studies have shown, that almost 2/3 of rapes have been committed by persons, who know the victim:

- 73% of the sexual assaults have been committed by acquaintance of victims;
- 38% of rapist are the friends and good acquaintances of victims;
- 28% are intimate partners of victims;
- 7% are the relatives of victims.<sup>1</sup>

Based on different research, Estonian Police Board Analysis and Planning Department team started to find out: 1) the nature and prevalence of sexual crimes, including here the motives on sexual criminals, the types of rapes, alcohol, drugs and risky behavior as factors of falling victim of sexual crimes and also risk groups of victims; 2) rape level in Estonia 1993–2008, including here general characteristics and rape typology in 2008 and finally 3) conclusion and suggestions about research results and how to improve the sexual crime investigation procedures.

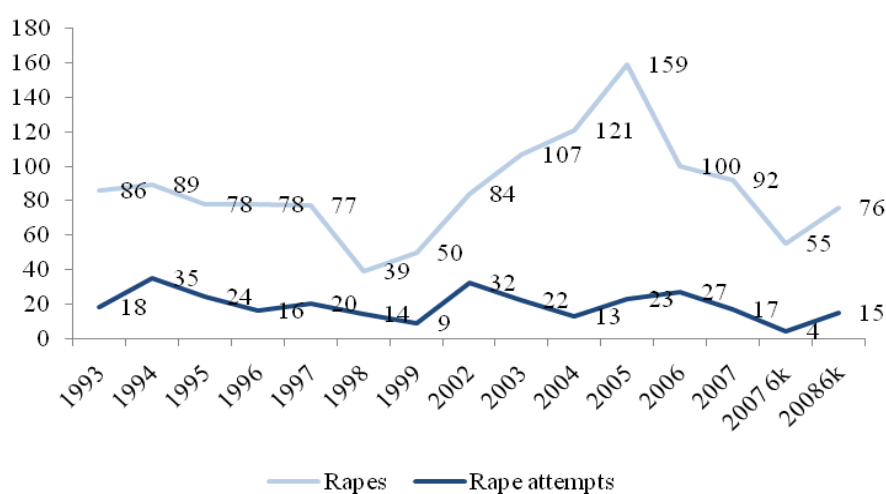
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1. <http://www.rainn.org/statistics>

## Rape level in Estonia 1993–2008

Family violence researches in Estonia (2001) showed that in 285 women at age of 15–74 experience physical or sexual violence every day. Every year experiences physical violence 9% of women and sexual violence 2% of women.<sup>2</sup>

Police statistics revealed that in 1993–2002 police registered 678 rapes, which makes average 68 rapes in a year. Rape attempts were registered at the same period 168 cases, which make average 20 rapes attempts in a year. In 2002 a new Penal Code came into force. This affected how we qualify sexual crimes, which also affect statistics.



**Fig. 1. Rapes and rape attempts in Estonia 1993–2008**

As we see from figure 1, since the 1993 the rapes and the rape attempts have been constantly decreasing, the hardest year was 1994, when there were registered 89 rape cases and 35 rape attempts. But since the 2002 with the new Penal Code the rapes have increased. 2003–2007 have been in average 116 rapes in a year. 2003 there were 107 rape cases, 2004 there were 121 rape cases and in 2005 there were already 159 rape cases, which were the highest figures in recent years. In 2006 the rapes decreased again at the level of 100 cases and in 2007 there were registered 92 cases, which are the lowest in recent years.

2002–2003 Estonian Open Society Institute conducted a research about violence against women in society and people started more to talk about violence

2. Kase, H. Naistevastase vägivalda definitsioonid.



against women and children in society. The problem was highly discussed in public. This was one factor, which could have increased the registration of sexual violence cases in police.

If in 2007 in 6 months there were registered 55 rapes and 4 rape attempts, but in 2008 in 6 months there were registered already 76 rapes and 15 rape attempts, so rape level increased at first 6 months of 2008 +38,2% and rape attempts from 4th case to 15 cases (increasing +275%). We can say that rapes have increasing in Estonia this year, but it is too early to say that the rape cases will continue constantly to grow. Long way tendencies and prognoses can be made in few years time.

Positive tendency is that in first 6 months at 2008 there has been solved 56 cases of 76 rapes (in 2007 police solved 32 cases of 55), which means that police solved 74% cases in 6 months at 2008. This also refers that many victims know their offenders, which makes it easier to define to suspects.

In 2008 first 6 months police solved 13 rape attempts cases, compared with 2007 there was solved 3 cases, so in 2008 6 months there has been solved 58% of cases.

#### Characterization of sexual crimes in Estonia in 2008

In 2008 first 6 months there were 86 persons as suspects in criminal cases, 85 men and 1 woman (who participated in group rape). 3 persons committed rapes repeatedly and in two cases against same person.

##### *Sexual criminals*

Most sexual crime suspects were at the age of 45–55, the next group was 18–24 and the third one 30–39. Many sexual criminal were unemployed or worked unofficially. By education level, the highest group had only few years of education (34%), the second group had only basic education (31%) and high school education had only 29% suspects. There were only few people with higher education.

##### *Sexual crime victims*

Most sexual crime victims were at the age under 13, the second group was 30–39 and the third group 18–24. Our analyze results showed that most sexual crime victims knew their offenders, statistic showed that the offenders were some acquaint-

tance or family members, in few cases school mates or co-prisoners. Only 19% of offenders were strangers to the victims.

As we see from analyze results, most victims in sexual crimes were children under 13. The reason is probably children's vulnerability; because they can't struggle so strongly and sometimes don't even understand what is done to them.

If we look the victims in 2008 first 6 months, we see out of 108 victims, 92 are females and 16 males. Biggest group of victims have also only few years of education, the second biggest group have high school education and the third group has basic education.

There were few people with higher education also. The reason why so many victims had so small education is probably linked with the fact that there are so many child victims.

#### *Where rapes took place?*

Most of the rapes took place at victims' homes, in some cases also at rapist home. The second most common place was rapes at streets or in other public places, for example close to houses, close to gas stations, abandoned hangars, close to alcohol stores or at grave yard. The third place was the corridors of big houses, where drunk victims were in inadequate situation and they were raped. The rapes in public places took place at dark time, but rapes at victim's home could take place at any time. We concluded that condition of victim and the time of the crime were the main factors, which influenced the fact of getting raped. If victim is getting raped at home, then the biggest factor is victims' vulnerably, for example when the victim is a child or a wife.

#### *What kind of rapes took place?*

Most rapes and rape attempts were vaginal; in some single case the rape was oral or anal. If there were male victims, the most common rape was anal. If the victims were female, then the rapes were vaginal. If there were child victims, then there was very common imitation of rape with fingers or forcing a child to satisfy the rapist with oral sex. Police static showed that men tried to have sexual intercourse with children as small as age of six.

Most child rapist was victim's father or stepfathers. In some seldom cases the child offenders were strangers. If teenage girls were raped, then the rapists were other teenage boys or young men (age 18–20). The big factor, why teenage girls

got raped, was their risky behavior. Many girls were heavily drunk or drug intoxication while they were raped. In some cases girls were poisoned with drugs and then raped.

The typical way of rape was using physical force and violence, where victims were also threatened to kill. Rapist used children's unknowingness and lack of resistance while children were under 14, but when children over 14 year, then rapist used more often violence.

It was common that the teenage or adult rape victims themselves were drunk while they were raped, for what reason their ability to fight back was weak and they were very often good acquainted or random acquainted with rapist.

Analyzing raping attempts there was distinctive that victims managed to fight back and escape. The victims were usually sober and the attackers were stranger to them. The attack took usually place at street or in other public place.

Most of the rapes and rape attempts took place between 19.00 until 04.00, when it was dark. But when the victim was in the same family, the rape could have happened at any time.

### Rape scenarios

1. Rapes inside family usually took place at home. Victims are mostly underage children, more often girls. In some cases husband rapes his wife and wife comes to the police. There were also cases where older brother raped younger sister. The sexual attackers are in this scenario usually fathers, stepfathers or other persons, who get close to the victim. The victims are sober, but the rapist could be drunk, in some cases they have used drugs. It is common to this type of rape that it could last years. For example it starts with sexual abuse of the child and when the child grows, the attacker tries to have sexual intercourse with her.
2. Rapes at public places. They usually happen in "out of the way" places and victims are often at their way home at night time. Most of the victims are sober, but some are drunk and they are attacked very often, because they are drunk and therefore they are easy target. The rapists are strangers in this category. They are impulsive, some times drunk and they pick victims, who seem to be weaker, like young girls or older ladies, because they hope that they will fight back less or not at all.

3. Rapes at night clubs and house parties. The victims are usually young females, who consume a lot alcohol and the rapists are usually young men, who know the victim. The victims have often memory loss and they will not remember later the detail of the rapes, which makes it harder for the police to investigate these cases. In house/apartment parties very often take place also group rapes.
4. Rapes of the prostitutes. Sometimes acquaintances that start at bars or nightclubs will end up with rapes at hotel rooms. In this scenario there are two types of rapes. In first case there is disagreement with client and prostitute about the payment of the service or the man wouldn't pay and just rapes. Or the man wants that kind of sex, which the woman doesn't offer and the man decides to rape. In second case there is ordinary sexual intercourse, but the woman wants to blackmail money from the client and that is why she makes a report to the police that she was raped.
5. There is also a small group of women and men, who make up rapes. They are mostly with psychological problems and they imagine that they are raped or they consider ordinary sexual intercourse as rape. These are "repeated victims". Some teenagers also make up rape stories, because they had had sex and they are afraid to tell their parents. Some group of women, who are married or in stable relationships and happen to have love affair, make up rape stories, in order to cover up the affair.

### Criminal punishment of rapes

Estonia police work quite effectively with rape cases. In 2003 police sent to prosecutor office 51% rape cases; 2004 – 55% cases; 2005 – 53% cases; 2006 – 35% cases, 2007 – 34% cases and in 2008 6 months 47%.

Since many victims know the offender, it helps the police to identify the criminal and in addition there is important to process the crime scene, to take proper statement and to do expertise (DNA, medical examiner, forensic psychiatry etc) and also to do surveillance to catch the attackers.

In 2007 according to the punishment register, 21 rapists were imprisoned. Minimal punishment was 1 year and maximum 10 years. Most of the punishments were 1–2,5 year and then 6 years.

In 2008 6 months according to the punishment register, 15 rapists were imprisoned. Minimal punishment was 1 year and maximum 10 years. Most of the

punishments were 1–2,5 year and then second most common punishment was 6 years.

### Conclusions and suggestions

Factors that influence of becoming sexual violence victim are: age (children and older people and also vulnerable people, who can't resist), condition (alcohol and drug use), some kind of dependence of the attacker (the rapist is husband, father and so on) or one is in limited condition (in prison). Victim's situation is playing very important roll of becoming a victim and in addition young and adult women, who behave risky and recklessly.

Both underage and adult rapists choose victims, who are younger or weaker then themselves, so they could use only force or intimidation in order to rape the person. In some cases rapists use weapon, but most of the cases they use brutal violence. Threatening with knives and beating happed more often, when the victim was stranger to the attacker and they attack happed on the streets.

#### Suggestions:

1. There is a need to talk more in media, how to reduce the risky behavior of women, since many rapes happen, when there is alcohol or drugs involved and women very often know their attacker. Sometimes public campaigns, like don't drink strange drinks or take care of your self at night club, help.
2. In Estonia, there is alcohol ban no, so one can buy alcohol only from 10–22, that should also prevent very impulsive criminal acts, which are caused by overdrinking.
3. Juvenile police should work with schools and give some lections about risks of becoming the victim of sexual violence, how to avoid that and what to do, when it has happens. Very often the rape took place at some party, where young girls drink until they are in "black out" and/or the boys drink so much that they lose the sense of self control and gang rapes may took place.
4. Local authorities in communes, where there are local social and child protect officers, should work more closely with the police (juvenile constables), in order to prevent child abuse in problematic families. Police can also make suggestions to local authorities committee, how to reduce the risk of becoming crime victim and in problematic areas police can add more patrols.

5. Ministry of Social Affairs and Ministry of Education and Science should create sexual violence prevention program for schools. It is very likely that there is more rape cases then registered in police.
6. It is also important to make the police investigation more effective in rape cases: it is important that rape cases would be one of the most priority crimes, which need immediate and fast reaction, properly observed crime scene, in each cases there should be photos done of victims' injuries and forensic medial expertise. There is also necessary to form proper victim's statement and surveillance, if necessary.
7. Improve case solving. In order to carry out the previous points, which would guarantee successful police investigation, there is a need to work out common regulations, which will make the police cases successful and wouldn't traumatize the victims after the crime anymore. There is a need to train out specialized police officers, who would work only with rape cases. Sexual crime lectures are needed for juvenile police officers and family violence police officers.
8. Today we monitor the internet to find out child harming web pages. If we talk more about sexual violence in media, we get more crime report in the police. The more we work with official who work with children, the better are the odds, that they will inform the police if they have suspicions. We also do strategic supervision in society: that means police operations at night clubs, bars and at problematic places, where crimes may happen.

## **6 The Mechanisms of Fighting against the Violence towards Battered Women: An Overview.**

FATIHA SAHLI, SAÏD AGHRIB, ALI MEFTAH  
LRCID, Université Cadi Ayyad, Morocco

The recognition and the respect of the dignity of the woman require the eradication of the practices that we can qualify as torture or inhuman or degrading treatment to which women are exposed just because of their sex like physical and moral violence, rape etc.

To considering any form of violence towards women as a serious obstacle to the equality between man and woman, to deal with this violence as a problem relating to the public domain and not as a private act would certainly contribute to reduce the inequalities and injustice towards women in our society.

So far domestic/conjugal violence has remained a private or family problem which remains confined within the family circle; and for diverse reasons, this problem is relating to culture which makes the victim herself “responsible for that violence” in so far as her status “requires obedience and submission.” The women who speak or evoke the violence done to them in public are considered “second rate citizens”. Moreover, the other cultural and religious factors which seem to “allow men to beat and intimidate women” either physically or by any other means are deeply rooted in our societies.

Another reason that is as important as the previous one is relating to the economical situation of woman who very often depends financially on her husband’s income. Therefore, any form of protest or resistance against her husband may make her life and that of her children very precarious. The husband may repudiate her or chase her and her children out of the house.

This phenomenon can be found in modest socio-economical situations all around the world and it is deeply rooted in different world cultures to the extent that millions of women very often accept their lot and take for granted their husbands’ violence and even consider it as a quite normal act.

The violence against women is therefore a world phenomenon. According to Kofi Annan, the previous Secretary General of the United Nations, “violence against women is found in all parts of the world, in all cultures and at all social strata. It is perhaps the most abominable, degrading and wide spread violence...”

However, if women are victims of violence, they are also generators of movements and actions for the changes and improvements of their conditions both nationally and internationally. At the international level their fights have contributed in the elaboration and establishment of laws to protect them.

Therefore, the United Nation's convention of 1979 relating to the elimination of all forms of gender/female discrimination impels all governments who/which ratified this convention to abrogate and change "the laws/customs" which help perpetuate the ill treatments and degrading of women. In 1992, the committee in charge of the elimination of the discrimination of women considered the violence against women as a violation of their fundamental rights and a form of discrimination which "reduces to nothing their right of freedom and life security." This committee asks all members of the government to adopt national plans/laws to eradicate violence against women by initiating campaigns and, elaborating/establishing programmes and laws to eradicate violence against violence.

Unfortunately few countries have applied these laws and many of them have made only very timid progress in this domain. Morocco is one of these countries.

Since 1997, this committee has been asking the Moroccan government to fight against the violence done to women. The World Organisation against Torture has considered in a report that many Moroccan laws make women vulnerable and leave them all in all unprotected. This organisation, in collaboration with women associations put a lot of pressure on the Moroccan government to amend the laws which deprive and even bereave them of their rights of equality and freedom to decide for themselves.

It is exactly in this framework that the national strategy of the fight against the violence done to women as presented by the Ministry in charge of the women conditions, the protection of the family and the integration of the handicapped is fitted in order to establish a strategy relying on the reality of Morocco and the hardships of women.

To fulfil this, a study is carried out by experts and specialists to bring precise data on this phenomenon, its characteristics, its social, economical and health consequences. The national strategy should rely on this study to determine the ways to use to stop violence against women.

The contribution of the NGOs in this strategy is immense. Many of these organisations have put forward concrete suggestions which have contributed in the elaboration of a global strategy which have included all aspects of the issue.

Hence, and in order to meet the requirements of the organisation and organisations for the protection of women, the national strategy has set some 40 actions to



meet these requirements. These actions are set in seven axes: the fields of priority of action, the necessity of having a clearly defined way of action of the different partners/participants, the urgent needs of the target population, the weight/power of the partners and the means and ways of the application of these requirements.

In order to apply the forethought actions, a tripartite committee of control was set up. It is composed of 19 members 8 of which are representatives of the NGOs (a Unit for hearing and listening), 8 of them represent the Ministry departments of Justice, Home/Interior, Health, National Education, Social Affairs and the Family; the last three represent three University Research Groups from Kenitra, Casablanca and Settat.

The partners belonging to the different Ministries departments or associations are required to coordinate their actions at both the national and the regional levels. It is in this way that the region of Marrakech has witnessed/seen an improvement in the fight and reduction of violence against women. Reception centres were opened in the departments of Justice, the Police Station and in some bureaus of associations like Ennakhil Association for the protection of the mother and child which is ever present and accomplishes a very good job.

This report will try to shed some lights on the most important six Units to see what they have accomplished, the mechanisms they used, find out the shortages of their work if there are any, in order to try to give them some recommendations to help them carry out their jobs. In this study I will examine two centres of the Health Ministry in the hospital Ibn Tofail and Ibn Zohr, the centres of Justice and the Police Station, and the Hearing centres “Hawwa” and “El Amane”.

## Civil society centres

### *The Hearing Centre “HAWWA”*

The “HAWWA” Centre is a unit of the monitoring committee for the establishment of a national strategy to fight against the violence done to women. It has a locale for the reception of women victims of violence; a team of a qualified personnel – listeners/hearers, lawyers, psychologists, and psychiatrics – for the help of these victims.

The powerful action of this unit reveals the degree of involvement of the people implicated and of their professionalism.

The hearing centre “Hawwa” has been created by the “Ennakhil” association in their national strategy for the protection of women and children in the country.

This strategy is meant to remove and overcome all obstacles in the way of the improvement of women conditions and in order to help them get and enjoy their rights.

The fight against the violence done to women is one of the priorities of this unit. Its long term objective is the improvement of the conditions and of the laws for women and the establishment of a culture of humane laws for the respect of the equality between man and woman. To achieve this, a set of objectives has been established: “the fight against all forms of violence, the elimination of all forms of discrimination of women, the sensitisation of the population and the training of the teams working in this association.”

The hearing centre “Hawwa” adopts a positive attitude and approach in its dealing with this problem thanks to its professional team and the well equipped locale where assaulted women are received, heard, and given psychological professional team which/who are/is able to receive assaulted women and widows, to direct them, and provide them with/insure them psychological support, assure a legal consultation, and take/s in charge some of their cases. It also informs these women victims of violence of their rights and their responsibilities and ushers them towards the other centres, namely those of health services, education etc.

These actions are accompanied by the sensitisation of a large public by lawyers, judges, medical and educational services.

The team works 6 days a week to provide the necessary help at any time during permanence. The hearers dedicate 3 days permanence in courts to receive these victims in order to facilitate for them the legal procedures and usher them towards the other centres.

#### *“El Amane” Unit/Centre for the development of women*

This Unit provides women victims of violence with moral and material supports which are meant to contribute in the fulfilment of the national programme to fight the violence against women.

The Unit has ambitious objectives like the fight against all forms of violence done to women, the elimination of all kinds of gender discrimination and the reinforcement of individual and collective women’s abilities/capabilities to act for themselves. The Unit participates actively in the instalment of a culture of human rights and citizenship particularly the rights of women. The fulfilments of the objectives of this Unit are rather of a long term actions.

The action of the “Al Amane” Unit for the development of woman can be summarised in 3 main points:

1. The reception and hearing of women victims of violence, their orientation and the providing of legal and psychological help. These first actions have an immediate effect on the victims.
2. The second step is a long term process which consists in accompanying and taking in charge the victims in informing and sensitising them during organised workshops relating to the education and the teaching of women and informing them of their rights.
3. The third step is devoted to the organisation of round tables, training periods, researches and studies, seeking opinion polls, publications of the studies/ researches, and the organisations of study days for the sensitisation of the victims and all the community of the rights of women.

The adopted procedure reflects the conviction of the Unit that the fighting against the violence done to women is not only of a private concern but a societal question which has to be inserted in the global social process for the improvement and development of the whole society.

#### Authorities relating to the public domains

##### *The legal authorities*

In spite of the necessity of the establishment of a hearing Unit which should be able to face the problems of violence against women, the legal authorities (The law courts) do not have an effective Unit which is directly concerned with the fighting against the violence done women. However, this legal authority, in collaboration with the NGOs which constantly intervene in such like cases, constitutes one of the most important steps in the application of the national programme of fighting against violence towards women. It is urged by the force of circumstance to deal with these cases in a way that responds to the social obligations to set and respect the Human Rights.

The role of the prosecutor of Justice in these affairs is to quicken the procedures of the cases which have primarily been started at the police stations. In order to do this, a sample of the hearing verbal proceedings is pre-established at the court. Its objective is to apply a quick and efficient way of preliminary investigation concerning such like affairs.

The mechanisms and processes adopted by this Unit are of general and classical order except for the police committee which is meant to fight against violence towards women and which was created within the legal police by the king's prosecutor in 2004 in Marrakech. The adopted proceedings consist in establishing a sample verbal proceeding for the hearing in the court. The intended objective is to rapidly and efficiently carry out a preliminary investigation in this kind of affair.

#### *The Ibn Tofail Hospital Committee/Unit*

The committee was created within the social service of Ibn Tofail Hospital in 2001. It offers the services of a doctor as an interlocutor of the women victims of violence. This service is not necessarily autonomously structured or specially destined to women victims of violence. It can deal with other cases.

In parallel with its classical role of medical treatments and psychological support of the victim, the personnel of the social service informs the women victims of all kinds of violence of their rights and of the procedure to follow when they want to go to the court to plead for their cases. But before and in order to avoid negative impacts of this procedure, the committee directs the assaulted women, especially the married ones, towards the civil authorities which who suggest to her some solutions which could often be more efficient.

The women victims of violence receive the same treatment as the other patients: screening, the recording of the happenings, the official reporting of injuries and the production of a "certificate of incapacity" which would enable the victim to get her rights if need be. In this way, the way the committee has preceded is but a simple support which the victim is certainly in need of, but it is very often insufficient in regards to the seriousness/gravity of the phenomenon.

Being aware of the limits of this procedure, the doctor of the committee strongly advises the women victims to get in touch with the associations which are created for the protection and help of the women victims of violence in order to plead for their cases, to behave as plaintiffs and claim damages on their behalf.

#### *The Police Committee in Charge of the Women Victims of Violence*

This committee was created in the legal police headquarters of Marrakech in 2004 by the king's prosecutor in the high court. The committee is made of a chief/repre-

sentative who works in collaboration with an assistant and three police officers working in the district. This committee works hand in hand/collaboration with other committees created for the same purpose and in the same framework (Health Service, Police Department, the Justice Department and the Associations)

The objectives of this committee are the concretisation/realisation of the national strategy to fight against violence towards women. To achieve this, the committee offers a special, and even personal treatment to the women victims of violence: hearing, guiding them towards the persons or associations in charge of the problem and informing them of their rights.

The strategy of the police administration consists firstly in establishing a special Scommittee within this administration to deal with this problem.

- At the internal level and for the sake of efficiency, the committee decides to organise the hearings of women by women police
- At the external level, the committee works and coordinates with other committees created for the same purpose within the Police Institution, the Health Services, Justice and other associations which deal with the same affairs.

Further more, this committee has established a partnership with the funds of the United Nations for the Populations, and that of the Development of Women. This partnership has helped in the exchange of experiences and information for a better coordination in solving such like problems and in getting financial support to supply for their needs and to provide for necessities of the victims.

Being aware of the seriousness/gravity and the complexity of this problem, and being conscious of the limitation of the measures/actions to combat this blight and the necessity of a long term work to achieve satisfactory results, the committee organises campaigns and seminars for the sensitisation of the civil society.

#### *The Committee for the reception of assaulted women in the Ibn Zohr Hospital*

The Committee was created in January 2006 within the national programme to fight against the violence towards women. It is composed of a legal doctor and a welfare assistant. The committee has an office/building for the reception of assaulted women. The place was built by the FNUAP in collaboration with the Health Ministry. The running of this service is entirely at the charges of the hospital.

The main roles of this committee are:

- The hearing of the assaulted women in order to establish a trust between the doctor, the welfare assistant and the victim in order to provide the latter with all the needed support.
- The redirecting of the victims towards either an association (mainly that of ENNAKHIL), the legal committee or the police committee in charge of the assaulted women for the consideration of their case.

The working methods of this committee are three:

1. The medical treatment of the victim, gynaecologic, medical analysis if necessary and the prescription of medicine. The role of the welfare assistant in the help of the legal doctor is of paramount importance. She takes the victim directly to the doctor avoiding for her the queuing up and waiting with the other patients. She also takes her all around the other health services that she should see in the hospital.
2. The committee redirects the victim towards the civil organisations working in this domain to get all the necessary information that she needs.
3. This unit works in collaboration with the committees in charge of assaulted women in the Justice, the Police units/committees, and associations for the protection of assaulted women.

The consent of the victim to undertake any action is necessary for any action relating to her affair/case.

The Field Studies done in this domain have come to the conclusion that all the mechanisms adopted are archaic and therefore incapable to give/bring effective solutions to the victims. The committees for the protection and help of the assaulted women are created within the framework of the classical Public Service of the administration and are carried out by these very administrations. (The health committee deals with the medical care, the Justice committee with the recording of the oral declaration of the victim and so on.)

All the interviewed members of the different committees have insisted on the complexity of the mission regarding the socio-cultural nature of the problem. (We should mention here that the social and cultural traditions legitimate the battering of women, and the form of the traditional education perpetuates the gender and social division of work between the sexes, and the prevalent dominance of the male over the female).

All these remarks are confirmed by the results/conclusions of the investigations. These investigations have revealed the big difference between the number of the cases of assaulted women who went to see the different committees pleading for their cases and the number of these cases which have really been considered by the court. This can be explained, as the investigations show, that a reconciliation between the assaulted and the assaulting is very often achieved before taking the case to the court for judgement or because the assaulted woman refuses to take the case to the court, or she prefers to keep silent especially when she is sexually assaulted and she is a young girl.

This explains that the consideration of domestic violence as a criminal act remains only as a theoretical rather than a practical act. The dealing with the domestic violence is very often marked by the shallowness in the consideration of this act which discourages the wife to denounce her husband or her assaulting person.

This situation is more alarming among the married and illiterate women. The percentage of assaulted women is higher among married women rather than among the non-married ones. This difference impels us to reflect deeply upon the social impacts of this situation. Moreover, the level of instruction of the victims becomes an obstacle towards the people in charge of these affairs. The number of assaulted women is far greater among the illiterate women than that of the literate ones. The social milieu, the personality and the mentality of the assaulted women have also an impact on the dealing with this problem.

The slowness and the shortcomings of the court in considering these cases are also a handicap towards taking the case before a judge. The complaints of an assaulted woman receive less and quick interest from the Justice of the country than other affairs. Very often the case is considered when after a long time the scars/injuries of the assaulted/beaten woman have disappeared.

The shortcomings concern:

- a) The Orientations of the victims
- b) The non-official coordination
- c) The inflexibility

The first recommendations that can be put forward are the improvement of these shortcomings in order to establish a real strategy to quickly and efficiently help the assaulted women to get their rights, enjoy the due respect as human beings, as wives, as mothers and as complete and independent members of society. It is only

in this way that we can eliminate sexual segregation, the violence against women, and therefore establish a harmonious society.



**Part II**  
**Gendered and Sexualized Violence in Educational**  
**Environments and the Measures and**  
**Recommendations against It**



## **7 Conflict Handling and Equal Treatment in the Swedish School**

GRETA ROVA LINDBERG

Luleå University of Technology, Sweden

The school constitutes an important part of children's and young people's daily lives and networks and can be considered as a social arena. Current surveys and research show that many pupils experience degrading treatment and negative behaviour in this arena. All agents in school, professionals as well as pupils and parents, have a big responsibility to contribute to the development of supportive and healthy learning environments. A successful work with different aspects of social relations in this arena has to start in the different value and standard systems represented among the pupils as well as in the local school culture and requires the development of a common and sustainable value base. Two central aspects of value base according to Swedish school legislation and curricula are equal treatment and prevention of harassment, violations, discrimination and conflicts. Curricula and a new legislation establish that each school has to create and develop a culture that is supportive and sensitive towards questions concerning equality and violations as well as conflicts. It is important to develop sustainable methods to prevent and combat conflicts, violence and degrading treatment in general and harassment and discrimination on grounds of gender or sex, ethnic origin, religion or other faith, sexual orientation or disability in particular.

### **The school as a social arena**

The situation in the Swedish school and especially pupils', teachers' and other professionals' experiences of social life in school has been in focus for a lively discussion during the last decade. The staff in many schools experiences violence and harassment among the pupils and Åhs (2002) relates to studies showing that a relatively high proportion of the children and youth show a negative behaviour and inadequate ethical and democratic competence. A number of current surveys e.g. Hägglund (2000) in Zackari & Modig, Wrethander Bliding (2007), Schjellerup Nielsen (2006), Normell (2008), Skolverket, The National Board of Education (2007) contribute to this complex picture of social relations in this particular environment.

One of the Swedish schools commissions is to promote pupils' learning processes and education in pedagogical activities, another is to create and develop a culture and an environment that is sensitive and supportive towards questions concerning equality as well as violations and conflicts. School is thus an important social arena for pupils' ongoing growth and development. Hägglund (in Zackari & Modig 2000) states that the school and this 'social project' are vital to children and young people and that school is a very important place for the creation of relations. According to Hägglund it is significant if harassment and violations takes place in the school environments or in other contexts and that it is important to indicate the boundary between inclusion and exclusion since belonging imply power to the individual and exclusion could lead to a risk for degrading treatment.

These phenomena are integrated in different cultural and social processes and it is important to try to discern which contextual 'risk factors' that can be linked to school. Wrethander Bliding (2007) has done research on how children take part in and create relationships in school and she states that the work with relationships is far from simple. We need more knowledge about the processes concerning childrens' social everyday life and about the cultures children create in order to understand this interplay.

Schjellerup Nielsen (2006) describes the life that runs side by side with the education in which pupils constantly try to find ways to relate to the social community. She establishes that the pupils' social life in school often seems to play a more important role than the education and the teaching itself. According to Normell (2008) harassment and violations are frequent problems despite new legislation, teams and groups that support the pupils and established equal treatment and action plans. A serious fact is that teachers are responsible for a part of the discrimination, violations and harassments. A report published by Skolverket, The Swedish National Board of Education (2004) indicates deficiencies in adult support to pupils. Less than half of the children and young persons declare that they can address all or a majority of teachers in confidence. Skolverket, The National Board of Education (2007) also describes a dramatic increase of the number of announcements reporting violations and harassments between 2005 and 2006.

An increasing number of schools are criticized for inadequate work in dealing with violations and harassment. This is interpreted as an obvious consequence of the new law; *Lag (2006:67) om förbud mot diskriminering och annan kränkande behandling av barn och elever*, Act Prohibiting Discrimination and Other Degrading Treatment of Children and School Students (2006:67), see p. 7, promulgated in February 2006. The most common ground for announcements is harassments

and in 2007 they constituted approximately 40 percent of the total amount of announcements. Boys are slightly overrepresented in the figures and according to the critics from *Skolverket*, the National Board of Education, the statistics of pupils harassing other children or young people as well as adults harassing pupils have increased. Almost 40 percent of the announcements on harassments, discrimination and violations concerns assertions where an adult has harassed a pupil in school.

This circumstance is particularly serious, according to *Skolverket*, the National Board of Education, since the new law states an absolute ban for adults in school to expose children and youth to any kind of degrading treatment. The announcements contain also assertions about maltreatment and threats, exclusion and reducing statements which pupils experience as hurting and/or offending. The annual report published by *Barnombudsmannen*, the Children's Ombudsman, (*Barnombudsmannens årsrapport 2007*) establish that many pupils do not know what the school has to do when someone is discriminated or harassed and many of them consider that this fact can not be changed. The pupils in this report express that the communication between pupils and teachers needs to be improved.

The articles and reports related here are some current examples describing pupils' social situation with a focus on value base, equal treatment and conflicts. What they unambiguously show us is that the harassments and the conflicts that the pupils too often have to face must be handled much better than the professionals and pupils in school in general are capable of today. The work that continuously is developed in pedagogical environments should, to a greater extent, be preventive, focus on acute interventions, evaluate the accomplished measures and implementation of sustainable strategies on different structural and organizational levels in school (Rova Lindberg 2006).

### The concepts value base, equal treatment and conflict handling

Social relationships in school includes many aspects, but in this context I will focus on three concepts strongly related to the work to develop sustainable and non-violent strategies in order to cope with harassment, discrimination, conflicts and other forms of negative behaviour in school. These concepts are value base, equal treatment and conflict handling. The concepts are frequently used in the rhetoric concerning this area in research, in media and in school practice and they have also crystallized themselves in many of the conversations I have had with pupils, teachers, principals and teacher students concerning this subject. Defini-

tions and demarcations of the concepts vary and they are discussed both nationally and internationally by researchers as well as in school practice. Eriksson *et al.* (2002) state that a difficulty here is the want of a common international terminology.

### Value base

Pierre (2008) establishes that the school plays an important role as educator and provider of democratic values in society in cooperation with the pupils' families. The work with the implementation of the common national value base and it is this ethical and democratic perspective constitutes a base in the work in the Swedish school. The value base stated in legislation and curricula should permeate all activities and environments in school. It is a responsibility of all professionals to carry out and implement it among pupils and their parents and it involves the relations between pupils and grown-ups.

The value base should also strengthen democracy in school and society and prevent bullying, sexual harassment, violence, hostility towards foreigners and other expressions for lack of respect to equality and equal treatment. The work with the value base in school is also connected to the concept of health and a comprehensive view on pupils' learning and development, because there is a close connection between learning, value base and health. (*Myndigheten för skolutveckling, Demokrati och värdegrund*, The Swedish National Agency for School Improvement, Democracy and Value base).

The value base as a concept was introduced in Sweden around 1990 and today it is one of the foundations in current legislation, curricula and other related documents. (Zackari & Modigh 2000). *Myndigheten för skolutveckling*, The Swedish National Agency for School Improvement, (*Myndigheten för skolutveckling; Mångfald och likvärdighet*, The Swedish National Agency for School Improvement; Manifoldness and equality) describes the schools' democratic commission as divided into three parts; 1) to increase knowledge about democracy, value base and human rights, 2) to implement the value base and 3) to counteract harassment and discrimination. The concept value base in school practice is however not easy to define. According to Zackari & Modigh (2000) inquiries show that both pupils and professionals in school often give vague and general answers if asked to define the concept. This is, according to the authors, both an expression of the fact that many professionals in school do not share a professional language and that the actual curriculum is not used as a foundation in the pedagogical work. This might

also imply that the concept is political and therefore can be interpreted in different ways.

Lahdenperä (2008) states that the professionals in school must be aware of and sensitive towards the fact that pupils might have a different value base, standards and references than the ones they advocate, and that they have to be prepared for what line they are to take to this. This fact must also bear consequences for how the value base is defined and expressed in national curricula, because a value base is not fixed once and for all, it needs to be developed in cooperation with the surrounding society.

Orlenius (2005) asks if a common value base that is shared by all on the whole is realistic. He states that it is important to make the complex pedagogical reality visible in order to understand it and to be able to support pupils' moral development, otherwise the whole concept value base run the risk of becoming a rhetoric flagship. Svaleryd (2003) states that knowledge of the value base, of social competence and of relations must be integrated in education and that it is schools commission to work seriously with these questions. If we do not succeed in this work value base will be in the danger-zone to be something that pupils learn in the school-yard and if so probably not in a desired and democratic way. Schjellerup Nielsen (2006) emphasize that teachers have to be sensitive for different values and standards intermediated and pronounced in school, both the ones made public and the unspoken.

### Equal treatment

The equality perspective and the work with equal treatment are in focus in society and in school today, as well in school practice as in legislation and curricula. The work to ban physical violence in school in Sweden is completed according to Normell (2008) and now the work to eliminate psychic degrading treatment and the fact that many grown-ups still seem to accept them remains. In April 2006 the new Act Prohibiting Discriminatory and Other Degrading Treatment of Children and Pupils was promulgated and this was a clear indication of the importance of this work. According to this law it is the duty of all schools to work actively to prevent harassment and other degrading treatment including discrimination in human relations.

There are a number of concepts and definitions concerning this area and they are denominated differently in school practice, in research and in different documents and supporting materials. Common to all sorts of violations is, however, that

they stand in contrast to the principle of all human beings equal value. An important ground for decision whether it is a violation or not is that the individuals' experience is a determining factor. (Skolverket, Nyhetsbrev Nummer 1/2008, the National Board of Education, Newsletter Number 1/2008). *Jämställdhetsombudsmannen*, The Equal Ombudsman, stresses that it is the one who is exposed to the words or the activities who decides if they are accepted or experienced as violations. (Jämställdhetsombudsmannen 2000).

Violations can be defined as non-ethical activities directed against somebody else combined with a lack of respect for the integrity of the other. The transition from a conflict between two persons to a violation occurs when the conflict loses its reciprocity. (Arbetsmiljöverket; Temasida Skolan, the Swedish Work Environment Authority, School). Harassment can be defined as a behaviour that violates a pupils' dignity and which 1) is associated with ethnic affiliation (ethnic harassment), religion or other faith (harassment due to religion or other faith), sexual orientation (harassment due to sexual orientation), disability (harassment due to disability), gender or sex (sexual harassment), 2) is of a sexual nature (sexual harassment). Other degrading treatment is defined as behaviours that otherwise violate a child's or pupils' dignity. (Act Prohibiting Discriminatory and Other Degrading Treatment of Children and Pupils, 2006: 67).

Wrethander Bliding (2007) describes pupils' complex interplay and states that it can be very difficult for professionals in school to observe when a pupil runs the risk of being violated. The border between social interaction and violations can sometimes be very subtle and it is very important that grown-ups in school have knowledge of pupils' relational work in order to avoid exclusion or violations that is not defined as bullying and therefore maybe not given attention. The author emphasizes that the equal treatment plan has to be implemented and integrated in all school work, not just another document of less importance.

### Conflict handling

The word conflict derives from the Latin word *conflictus* meaning clash or opposition and the literature dealing with this concept gives many definitions and descriptions of the word (Ellmin 2008). Ellmin states that each conflict has its own special character and dynamics and that it can be conscious or unconscious, recognized or denied. It can also be more or less emotionally charged, and it can be about everything from trifles to essential things. Furthermore the persons involved in the same conflict can interpret the situation differently and according to this act quite



differently. According to Maltén (1998) there is a conflict when we have a collision between for example goals, attitudes, standards or interests.

Lennér Axelsson & Tylefors (1996) states that a conflict is a clash of interests which can be small or big, important or unimportant and De Bono (1985, in Ellmin 2008) defines a conflict as a clash between interests, values, actions or aims. The concept “conflict solution” and “conflict handling” are in use in the literature, and Burton (1990, in Lennér Axelsson & Thylefors 1996) states that conflict solution in contrast to conflict handling aims at a permanent solution to the problem. I share this point of view and prefer the concept conflict handling because the ambition to constructively work with conflicts instead of solve them at all costs is a more realistic way to deal with conflicts. (Rova Lindberg 2006).

Lahdenperä (2008) states that a school without conflicts does not exist but it is important to avoid destructive development of conflicts. The way we look at conflicts is culturally programmed and conflicts among pupils and professionals in school have different causes. They can originate from different cultural, political or religious backgrounds, different values, standards, attitudes or interpretations and behaviour connected to conflicts is a challenge for school, its pupils and professionals.

My experience from work with conflicts and from many conversations concerning conflicts and conflict handling in school is that professionals in general lack both practical and theoretical knowledge and competence as well as good strategies to carry out a successful work with conflicts. Conflict handling must also include the preventive work and I am convinced that many conflicts could have been avoided if there would have been a better understanding of the reasons for and the development of a conflict.

School on both national and local level should benefit from prioritizing the knowledge and competence to handle conflicts and other aspects of equality treatment related to research as basic knowledge in our society where the need to negotiate increase. (Rova Lindberg 2006). The directions guiding the work with the environment in school (Arbetsmiljöverket; Temasida Skolan, the Swedish Work Environment Authority; School) emphasizes the importance of the work with conflicts, and the starting point is that conflicts do not have to be destructive but that it is important to prevent them from growing. If we succeed in this we can eliminate the risk to develop serious conflicts, violations or other degrading treatment as a consequence of conflicts that are not properly taken care of.

## Harassment, other degrading treatment and conflict handling in legislation, curricula and international agreements

To create a school practice where all children's, young persons' and grown-ups' rights are respected must be highly prioritized and the actors in school are entitled to a safe and healthy learning and working environment. The commission concerning the work with the value base, equal treatment/equal rights and conflict handling is regulated in contemporary legislation and curricula and *Skolverket*, the National Agency for Education, states that the different rule systems in this area complement each other.

The commission and authority of teachers and principals are regulated in international conventions, in national legislation, curricula, in national regulations and in local agreements. These documents and acts establish that each school has to develop a culture that is supportive and sensitive towards questions concerning equal treatment, harassment and violations as well as conflicts.

The tendency during the last years has been to stop loopholes and to supplement with supportive legislation to counteract harassment and other negative behaviour in school. One example of this is the Act Prohibiting Discriminatory and Other Degrading Treatment of Children and Pupils promulgated in February 2006 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2006:67, Department of Education and Science, 2006:67). The purpose of this Act is to promote equal rights for children and pupils and to combat discrimination on grounds of sex, ethnic origin, religion and other faith, sexual orientation or disability and other degrading treatment.

This legislation is a new tool in the work with these questions and can be seen as a new attitude in these matters because the new act aims to clarify questions of responsibility and authority in the area. It is also applicable for all pupils and professionals in education activities. The act focuses on the individual experience of violations, harassment or discrimination and offers a strong protection to pupils. At the same time the post *Barn- och elevombud*, Children's - and Pupils Ombud, was created with a mission to follow up the rules (Erdis 2008). Erdis establishes that the responsible authority must act as soon as there are any signals of violations or harassment against a person in school and that it is possible to claim damages if anyone is guilty of lawbreak according to the act.

The responsible authority must work goal-orientated in order to promote the legislation and the four active measures: 1) direction towards goals, 2) to create a detailed annual equal treatment plan including an overview of planned activities,

3) an offensive preventive work to stop violations and harassment and 4) investigations of and acute interventions against negative behaviour should that occur.

A visible consequence of the importance of these matters is that this act cease to be in force 2008-12-31 and will be replaced by new provisions in the Education Act, chapter 14A, starting from 2009-01-01. The new provisions will be named *Diskrimineringslagen*, the Discrimination Act. The requirements on equal treatment remains, but the requirements on the work to promote equal and prevent degrading treatment is stronger in this new act. It also extended the grounds of discrimination, and two additional grounds are included; age and cross-sexual identity or expression.

International agreements have been important for the development of the legislation in the area. The most important are FN:s *deklaration om de mänskliga rättigheterna*, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*Regeringskansliet*, The Government Offices;) and FN:s *barnkonvention*, Convention on the Rights of the Child (Utrikesdepartementet; Mänskliga rättigheter, Konventionen om barnets rättigheter, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The UN Declaration of Human Rights states that education should aim at developing each individual's full potential and to strengthen the understanding of and respect for all nations, racial and religious groups.

The Swedish Parliament decided in 1999 about a national strategy for implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In 2008 the European Parliament assumed the resolution, Towards an EU-Strategy on the Rights of the Child, with the main aim to promote different aspects of children's rights, among other things equal opportunities and an dissociation from different types of violence towards children (European Resolution (2007/2093 (INI)).

The overall directions governing education and activities in school on a national level are found in the Skollagen, the Education Act (1985:1100), in curricula, and in regulations and decrees. The general goals are more detailed and particular in the three different curricula in the Swedish school system; pre-school, nine-year compulsory school and upper secondary school. (Utbildningsdepartementet; läroplaner, Department of Education and Science; curricula). These documents states that education among other things should be permeated with the agreed value base and that tendencies towards violations, hostility towards strangers and intolerance should actively be combatted. The Education Act also states that the school practice must be framed according to fundamental democratic valuations and each individuals' intrinsic value. These documents can be seen as a guarantee that education is equivalent in all schools the country.

All pupils as well as professionals in school are included in a systematic work concerning the work environment described in the *Arbetsmiljölagen*, Work Environment Act (Arbetsmiljölagen AFS 1993:17). This act stresses the importance of a preventive work to hinder harassments, violations and conflicts. The principal is responsible for the work, but pupils and employees have a common responsibility for the environment and the standards in the workplace. *Socialtjänstlagen*, the Social Services Act, (Socialtjänstlagen 2001:453) states that employees in school have a responsibility to report to the social welfare office immediately if they, in their work, get information or become aware of that a child or a young person is badly treated.

Possibilities and challenges in the work to develop a school culture that is sensitive, supportive and sustainable towards equal treatment, harassment, violations and conflict handling

Society today is in change and the school, an old institution which for a long time has been very influential and normative, is less influential and important. School has to adjust to current and predominant cultures with their conceptions and experiences, codes, standards, discourses and rhetoric. One consequence of this is that the knowledge related to value base, equal treatment and conflict handling slowly is developing in Swedish schools. Today we can see an increasing work focused on these matters and how the implementation of the knowledge is carried out in pedagogical activities. A number of different methods and programmes are used to counteract negative behaviour such as bullying, sexual harassment or ethnic discrimination. Research, e.g. Åhs (2002), Frånberg (2003), Lahdenperä (2008) and Normell (2008), surveys and reports have shown that an increasing part of the pupils show negative social behaviours and deficient ethical and democratic competence. At the same time a number of surveys made by two of the teacher unions, *Lärarförbundet* och *Lärarnas Riksförbund*, (*Lärarnas Riksförbund*, (2004-11-16), Ekelunds förlag (2005), *Lärarförbundet & Lärarnas Riksförbund* (2005-05-09) manifest that a majority of teachers in Sweden consider themselves to lack strategies for a successful conflict handling including preventive work, acute interventions and evaluative work.

Frånberg (2003), Thors (2008), Lahdenperä (2008), Normell (2008), Ellmin (2008) and others have suggested national as well as local in-service training and courses in order to qualify teachers and other employees to develop and implement sustainable work and strategies in this important area to find ways to cope with the

challenges. Below I list some contemporary and ongoing initiatives and activities on different levels in school practice and research to support sustainable development focused on equal treatment, value base work and conflict handling. Hopefully they will contribute to the national as well as the local development of this very important work, possibilities as well as challenges. Many of these activities are promising and it is my expectation that this work already contributes to or soon will sustain the development in a positive direction:

- To create sustainable development and sustainable strategies in pedagogical work on both a national level and local initiatives in different municipalities (see for example the National School Board and Department of Education and Science).
- Shape the future - a gender pedagogical school project for an equal society.
- Activities related to value base-work focusing multicultural aspects and ethnicity.
- In-service training on a national and a local level focused on equal treatment.
- An increasing focus on actions to evaluate and secure quality.
- The proposal for a revised teacher education (December 2008).
- The proposal for a revised education for principals.
- The newly established council *Lärarnas yrkesetiska råd* (Council for ethics in teacher profession) and the website related to ethics in teacher profession.

For further references you are welcome to contact me.

### Concluding remarks

Nearly every day we hear and read about how many pupils experience degrading treatment and negative behaviour in school. All of us, from different perspectives involved in this arena, have a big responsibility to contribute to the development of supportive and healthy learning environments. We need to develop sustainable knowledge and competence, a local strategy, supportive materials such as research based programmes as well as “toolboxes” and equal treatment plans in order to serve as guidance and support to teachers and other professionals in school in their methodical work put into practice.

Dedication for the task is an important factor for success in this work, but it is also significant to support and strengthen the professionals in developing local

models and programmes for equality/equal treatment, value base work and conflict handling. This work must be based on evidence and take it's starting point in school practice as well as in contemporary research.

I can see many challenges ahead of us, but also many possibilities with the work on promoting pupils' equal rights and on supporting the work to counteract and prevent harassment, violations, discrimination, conflicts and other degrading treatment in the school environment. One significant challenge is the understanding of the dangers of ignoring conflicts in and particularly conflicts due to discrimination on grounds of gender or sex, ethnic origin, religion or other faith, sexual orientation or disability.

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## 8 Changes and Reproduction in the Struggle for Masculine Status

SARI MANNINEN

University of Oulu, Finland

### Introduction

During the last decades plenty of research has been carried out into how schools act as institutional agents influencing the formation of masculinities (see Smith 2007, Swain 2004), paying attention also to the influences of power relations, ethnicities, age, sexualities and socio-economic class in the construction of masculinities at school (see Connolly 1998, Dalley-Trim 2007, Epstein 1997, Holland *et al* 1998, Mac an Ghaill 1994, Reay 2002, Renold 2002, 2004, 2007, Stoudt 2006). However, the current research offers only a limited view from a longitudinal perspective on the dynamics of power relations between masculinities and the resources available in pursuing social status as the boys grow up in the informal field of school<sup>1</sup>.

This article is part of a wider project funded by the Academy of Finland, dealing with gendered school violence and especially subtle mechanisms of it in producing unequal power positions in peer relations. I draw upon observation material and semi-structured interview data to demonstrate the changes and reproduction in dynamics in resources available for boys in pursuing masculine status. Because the focus of my research is on masculinities and school violence, my aim in this article is to illustrate the problematic aspects in constructing certain masculinities and power order in the social field of informal school. In the first phase of the study, the boys were in first grade (7–8 years old), and in the second phase in sixth grade (12–13 years old), the final year of primary school<sup>2</sup>. I also touch on the results of another class, in which the students were during the first phase of the study in 4<sup>th</sup> grade (10–11 years old) and during the second phase in 9th grade (14–15 years old). I have earlier examined e.g. the constructions of masculinities and hierarchi-

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1. Informal school refers to interaction among teachers, among students, and between students, teachers and other staff, including informal hierarchies. Official school refers to teaching and learning, the curriculum, formal hierarchies and pedagogy. The layers are intertwined in the everyday life of the school but they are possible to distinguish analytically. (Lahelma 2002: 296, see also Gordon, Holland and Lahelma 2000.)

2. Primary school in Finland is for pupils aged seven to twelve, and secondary school for pupils aged thirteen to fifteen, sometimes to sixteen.

cal power relations of boys in first grade (Manninen 2006), and together with Tuija Huuki, how masculinities and power positions of boys are connected with pursuing status, especially respect, in which violence plays often a significant role (Manninen, Huuki and Sunnari 2008, submitted). However, the aim of this article is to explore the changes and reproduction in the practical resources of respect as the boys grow up in fluctuating social and cultural circumstances in certain historical and local contexts, with a special emphasis on violence.

### Theorizing masculinities

“Gender is a fragile and complex practice that is forever in the making”  
(Nayak & Kehily 2008: 185)

The cultural starting point of investigating masculinities offers a possibility for change, since it does not handle masculinities as an essential characteristic, but includes the possibility for change: we create our identities and world actively in social interaction (Kimmell 1994, Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002). This paper explores the dynamics of change and reproduction on local gender regime (Connell 1987, Kessler *et al.* 1985). Following Beck's (1992: 32) and Nayak and Kehily's (2008, 22) thinking, processes of individualization and communal production of gender regime can be exist side by side in schools. Individualization can be seen, for instance, in self projects connected to resources of respect, which are under constant control and self-control. Communal production of gender regime becomes visible not only through social control, but also for example in loyalty to the group one wants to identify with, and in the hierarchical power relations in which individuals become positioned and position themselves. I consider the construction of masculinities as context-related body-reflexive practices. Therefore, I view the boys as embodied social agents, but simultaneously as objects in creating social reality (Connell 1995, Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, Nayak & Kehily 2008).

I have earlier analysed masculinities in relation to power, violence, and other resources of masculine status. Those who have the highest power position have also the power to define what kind of cultural ideals of masculinity are respected in that particular context. There is a hierarchical, but flexible power order in which hegemonic, subordinated, marginalized and complicit masculinities are positioned. Hegemonic masculinities which have been investigated in classes between tough guys and banal balancer's<sup>3</sup>, subordinated to them or sometimes in complicit posi-

tion were the silent sympathizers<sup>4</sup>; gender traitors<sup>5</sup> and in some contexts boys from ethnical minorities who have been marginalized. (Manninen 2002, 2006.) Hegemonic masculinity should not be interpreted only as a cultural ideal that is almost impossible to reach, but that cultural factors, social structures and individual level attributes are all critical to an understanding of gender (Connell 2001, Connell & Messerschmidt 2005).

The available social, cultural, bodily, intellectual and economical capitals influence a boy's position in a peer group to the extent that he is able to use them as symbolic capital, or as symbolic resources in pursuing status in a social field of school (see Adler & Adler 1998, Bourdieu 1986, Corsaro 1979, Manninen *et al.* 2008, Swain 2006, Weber 1947). Pursuing status in a peer group in the informal field of school is in this study analyzed especially from the point of view of resources of respect. As suggested in another paper (Manninen *et al.* 2008), respect is related to status and constructing local hegemonic masculinity among Finnish school boys. It is constructed and maintained through active agency and habituality, aimed at a representation of accepted, respected masculinity through a credible self project<sup>6</sup>. Respect is suggested as being connected with the power position of boys and pursuing cultural ideals of local hegemonic masculinity through different resources. In contrast to popularity<sup>7</sup> which is based on peer likeability, it is often connected with violence. Status, especially the dimension of respect, has to be earned through masculine performances and repetitions. Moreover, the masculine habitus of an agent has to be credible and in line with the agency. (Manninen *et al.* 2008, see also Swain 2006: 334.)

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3. *Banal balancer* refers to the masculinity, which is about being an 'ordinary' boy, who balances between too tough and soft masculinity. These boys have a relatively high status but also respect, because they at least use power in self protection and also subtle or normalized violence (See Manninen 2006, Manninen *et al.* 2009, submitted.)

4. *Silent sympathizers* do not use visible violence nor defend themselves against it physically, but legitimate violent practices of others as bystanders. Their position is in many occasions subordinate to hegemonic masculinities, but they are able to gain acceptance and respect through other kinds of embodiment or bodily capital, like sports.

5. Patrick Hopkins (1998: 172) uses the term 'gender traitor' of individuals, whose gender representation can be experienced as a threat to the traditional gender identities.

6. Even though the concept of 'individualization', in which the concept of 'self project' is related, allows for the creative delineation of diverse biographies, it should not be set apart from structural processes (Nayak and Kehily 2008: 21–22).

7. Vaillancourt and Hymel (2006) identify social preference, perceived popularity, and social power as components of status. Sociometric indices of status especially of boys were significantly related to the perceived popularity, and perceptions of power were more strongly linked to the perceived popularity than to social preference (see also Parkhurst and Hopmeyer 1998). It is reported elsewhere, in line with them, that popularity in the sense of being liked by others has a nexus with social preference. Furthermore, perceived popularity is more related to power and power position, similarly with respect, which is used in this study. (Manninen *et al.* 2008, submitted.)

## Methodology

The current analysis was confined to one of two working class<sup>8</sup> school classes. In the first grade in Kuparivuori school (all the names of the people and places have been changed) in 2002 there were 19 students, of which 7 were boys and 12 girls. Five years later, in 2007 the same class was examined again; this time there were still 19 pupils, of which 11 were girls and 8 boys. Another class I refer to, while examining the resources of respect, is Kivikumpu School's fourth grade with 30 students of which 9 were girls and 21 boys. Investigating the development of the social relations in this class was more complex, because five years later the students were separated into three parallel classes and ten pupils from the original class had changed school. Middle-sized working class schools are located in suburban areas in which the social and economic problems in families and crime rates are higher than the average in Finland.

White, Finnish, middle class and middle-aged female, heterosexual, feminist and ex-teacher were the lenses through which the subjective experiences of children and adolescents were filtered.

I collected the material through a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews (N=90) and observation. The material used in this article is mainly from Kuparivuori School (N=38). The semi-structured interviews, which lasted up to 45 minutes, were reflexive and conversational in nature. In addition to the semi-structured themes, the interviews were based on the questionnaire concerning relationships between students and bullying in the class. The observations put flesh on the interviews and made it possible to investigate, on a practical level, themes articulated in interviews. Furthermore, in the interviews it was also possible to ask about the student's interpretations and feelings about incidents that I had observed. Methodologically, this provided a greater spectrum of responses and a greater insight into the lives of pupils. (Fontana & Frey 2003: 83, 86.) In the end, this kind of knowledge is the researcher's interpretation of information produced together with the students and researcher.

## Analysis

The main categories of resources of respect; materiality, violence, embodiment and performativity were devised in an earlier phase of the project on the basis of

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8. The term 'working class' is not adopted here unproblematically, but used as a heuristic device to identify socio-economic, cultural backgrounds of the families living in that area.

the excerpts from the nodes concerning for instance status, hierarchy, masculinities, humour, power and violence (see Manninen, Huuki and Sunnari 2008, submitted). The categories of resources are used as an analytical tool to illustrate and structure the phenomena and they are in practice partly intertwined. For example, violence overlaps with embodiment and performativity, and from a wider perspective, for instance performativity can be seen as derived from cultural and social capital.

The dynamics of changes and reproduction in the practical resources of respect for this article unfolded in two historical situations, the observation material and N-vivo coded interviews of the students were transcribed. Moreover, the phenomena are described through the action, habituses, and materiality of everyday life, which were captured in the fieldnotes. Observation data from informal situations were needed to give more information about those issues which were not easy to capture only through interviews, e.g. masculine, embodied habituses<sup>9</sup>, and the agency of boys in interaction. The ethnographic approach enables the investigation of space, voice and body, and consideration of positioning of subjects in social relations (Skeggs 1997). This makes it possible to study the symbolic and body language. Ramazanoglu and Holland (1999) state that experiences are made meaningful through language, but only as discursive products are not enough to reach the material, cultural, social, and bodily conditions of life. Thus, I examined the contextualized practices and experiences of every day life, but also the usage of language as action, shaping the social processes and constructing social reality (see Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2000: 3–4).

### Resources of respect

Swain (2002, 2004) uses in his analysis, of resources in creating accepted masculinity, the classification open (possible), restricted (more difficult) and closed (almost impossible). My analysis suggests that the different possibilities of using the resources of respect as symbolic capital in struggling for masculine status depends on each boy's power position in the hierarchical order and that gained symbolic capital reinforces or maintains the power position. In order to change the resources as symbolic capital to gain respect, the resources must be utilized cre-

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9. Habitus can be seen as internalized ways of action and attitude, that are initially gained, but have transformed as the part of a body, appearing as a permanent disposition and predisposition. Habitus is expressed through durable ways "of standing, speaking, walking and thereby of feeling and thinking". For Bourdieu (1990: 70, 1984: 190) the key aspects of habitus are embodied; the way in which a person treats her or his body "reveals the deepest dispositions of the habitus".

dibly; the resources used have to be in line with the gendered habitus of an agent. I will illustrate in the following sections how the resources available changed along the historical circumstances, although some of them were still reproduced.

In Swain's (2002: 2004) studies, the official school restricted the possibilities for usage of certain resources and the same phenomenon was observed also in this study; for instance play fighting is not allowed during a math test. It is clear that in the field of official school the resources of creating hegemonic masculinities are more difficult to change into symbolic capital than in an informal field, although the school staff often legitimates, for instance, a banal balancer's agency through normalization. Furthermore, the possibilities to use resources are context-bound in other ways too; for example, a boy who has gained a relatively stable power position in a certain class, does not necessarily gain it with the same resources in another class or in another historical moment (see Swain 2005a: 218); being the best ice-hockey player is not a valid resource in basketball or having the best collectables like Pokemon cards (see Table 1) is not anymore a valid resource in secondary school.

Table 1, at the end of this article, describes the available practical resources through which the boys pursuing local hegemonic masculinity gained respect. Due to limited space here, I will describe the main changes and reproduction in the resources from childhood to adolescence, paying attention also to ethnicity and age. I will also illustrate some context-bound issues that are impossible to place analytically under certain resources in order to emphasize the intertwinedness of capitals and that of practical resources as well.

### Girls and boys – dating and harassment in speech and performances

Border work describes an agency through which girls and boys produce, emphasize and consolidate gender differences in social interaction (Thorne 1993).<sup>10</sup> In this study heterosexual meanings like dating increased in significance as the students grew up (see also Adler & Adler 1998, Epstein 1997, Renold 2000, Swain 2005b, Thorne 1993). Connolly (1998) notice that having a girlfriend has a status-raising significance even for boys aged 5 to 7. The first grade's tough guy, Esa, who had the highest power position in the class reported that he had had many girlfriends already, but those girls did not consider Esa as their boyfriend. Esa used

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10. Nayak and Kehily (2008, 11) note that in the study of Troyna and Hatcher (1992), in mainly white primary schools race categories were used as an exacting form of borderwork. This was the case also in this study in the first and fourth grades.



violence against one of his 'girlfriends' by showing her that the 'dating' was over by pushing the girl's head into a rubbish bin (see Manninen 2006). Girls were also targets of other kind of gendered, performative violence already in first grade when hegemonic boys, for instance, diminished the girls by parodying them (see Huuki *et al.* 2008, submitted).

It should be noted that there are many phenomena which can not be analyzed under any special category, because they are bound up with different capitals and resources, depending on context. For instance, dating can be seen as bound up with social, cultural and emotional capitals, when it is based on mutual love and caring. On the other hand, 'dating' in the meaning in which Esa used it, implies a discourse of heteronormativity (Epstein 2003) which is bound up with gendered violence and even sexist harassment and showing one's potential as a respected masculine agent. In that context, 'dating' and using girls as a resource are bound up with social and cultural, but also with bodily capital through violence, performances and embodiment.

The pupils of the sixth grade reported in the interviews how boys used to call girls, who showed interest in boys, names which were connected to the girl's appearance, like 'fat ass', 'goggle-eyed fairy', 'gap tooth', 'roughneck', 'beer gut', 'mammoth' and 'skeleton'. There was one girl called Sara, who did not seek the boys' attention and she was not called names. Some popular girls were labelled also as a bitch or whore by high status boys.

According to Debbie Epstein (1997), normative gender has been produced through heterosexist harassment, where the assumed desire for the 'opposite' gender is central. Yet, both girls and boys reported in sixth and also in ninth grade that popular girls approached hegemonic, high status boys more than vice versa. In order to gain the attention and acceptance of boys, the girls had to accept the boys' name-calling, and the verbal sexual harassment often legitimated through humour and normalization. Girls mostly legitimated boys' sexist agency as normal behavior of boys, even though it felt bad as many girls said. One girl told her teacher about whore-labelling and other rule-breaking by boys. This led to a decrease of her status among the boys, and neither did she increase her popularity among the girls (see Huuki *et al.* 2008, submitted).

In Becky Francis' (1997) study on sexism in primary school, there was some suggestions that girls may be prevented from assertive resistance due to their constructions of femininity as passive or facilitating. In this class active resistance did not decrease sexist harassment, even though it may help to stop it in that particular situation. The most common way to regard all kind of name calling, inclu-

ding gendered and racist, was passiveness and ignoring it with a humorous approach. However, Sara who did not seek boys' attention, but kept quiet and retreated from border work situations, was not a target of sexist harassment.

### Age and change

Age had a great importance in the change of resources. On the borderline of adolescence and childhood, the students searched for limits for agency considered as too childish and too mature. The sixth graders, who were considered to act older than their age, were called wannabe-teenagers. In ninth grade the border between childhood and adulthood was sought. Paying attention to looks and appearance increased along with age. For boys, balancing between maturity and immaturity in this dimension was easier than for girls, who also searched for a style considered as not too sexy and not too old-fashioned. Girls' bodies were also targets of comments from hegemonic boys in every class investigated and by defining borders for an unaccepted and accepted female body they constructed hegemonic masculinity as an opposite to feminine (see also Hird 2001, Sunnari 2008). In sixth grade girls did not wear skirts and when I asked why, they said that because some boys tried to peek under them (see Sadker and Sadker 2001). Moreover, banal balancers, high status Ahmed and Abdikan, but also a silent sympathizer Tuomas had also groped physically early-mature Elisa and Anu. This kind of action endorsed respect for those boys.

The importance of embodiment as a status resource remained throughout school time, only the forms of it changed to some extent; physical skills, such as being quick and strong, playfighting, ice hockey and football were important in primary school, while e.g. thaiboxing, strength and looks had more significance in secondary school.

In sixth grade, boys still engaged in some play fights, but they considered them as childish. Banal balancers used real fights instead if they were attacked, although the amount of them had decreased after the toughies, Esa and Abdikan, had left the class. Furthermore, sports were an important resource of respect throughout school time, especially ice-hockey, football (see also Benjamin 1998, Connolly 1998, Renold 1997, Skelton 1997) and martial arts were respected sports in this class.

The significance of certain social play (Martin 2007), especially 'BS:ing', and coolness in the habituses of hegemonic boys had increased during adolescence.

As the students grow up, sexuality had more significance in constructing masculinities (see also Eliasson 2007). From the sixth grade on, and in a few cases already in fourth grade, hanging around with girls was an important resource in endorsing hegemonic, heterosexual masculine status. The discourse of sexuality was observed also in homosexual performances from sixth grade on (see Huuki *et al.* 2008, submitted), which was an open resource for dominant, high status boys. For marginalized masculinities, homosexual performances were an impossible resource, and they became easy targets for homophobic teasing. This is an example of how some resources are possible for someone, but impossible for someone else in the status struggle, depending on the power positions.

In secondary school many toughies and banal balancers used intoxicants like alcohol (in leisure time), tobacco or snuff. In primary school, a first grader tough guy, Esa, was the only one who admitted that he smokes<sup>11</sup>. Rule breaking was in first and fourth grades more connected with teasing, fighting and being noisy, but in sixth and ninth grades also included being late for lessons, swearing and sexual harassment. The sixth grade boys also borrowed girls' property without asking first, and messed up their desks. Also stealing other pupils' school equipment was a resource of respect for some boys of this class. Nevertheless, not everyone 'gave respect' for that: the banal balancer, Jonathan, did not accept or admire this kind of action of Ahmed's, Jaakko's, Mohammad's and Tuomas'. However, he said that he had stood up for Jaakko when he had been caught stealing. Even though Jonathan knew it was wrong, the loyalty for a friend overrode the sense of conscience. Loyalty for the group one wants to identify with can not be categorised albeit it had significance as an unwritten rule in the construction of accepted masculinity throughout comprehensive school, as corroborated by other studies too.

## Ethnicity

Ethnical background can have considerable significance in social power relations and in gaining status. In this study, being a Finn was a banal nationality (Billig 1995, Gordon, Holland and Lahelma 2000). Students with ethnical minority background were secondarized and they had a lower status than Finnish students in the first phase of the study in both of the studied classes. However, the situation changed as the years went by.

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11. Additionally one girl and a tough guy Janne from the fourth grade class had tasted cigarettes.

R: Have you ever had a feeling of insecurity at school? Jaakko: Not really. Except sometimes back in the third grade when we had arguments with those foreigners and if they both, Tuomas and Jani<sup>12</sup>, were away from school, then yeah. R: Ok, but not now anymore? Jaakko: Not anymore.

Jaakko remembers how he had had feelings of insecurity when class had been divided into 'us' and 'them', into Finnish students and those with an ethnical minority background. In this class there had been a constant struggle between the 'foreigners' and 'Finns' during the third and fourth grade. In another class the 'foreigners' were marginalized especially clearly in the fourth grade (Manninen 2002).

Ethnical background is, in other studies, suggested to have an impact on constructing social hierarchies and identities (Mac Guffey & Rich 1999, Hatchell 2004). In the first grade, Mohammud, who was a Somalian origin banal balancer and, at that time, the only boy who was a representative of some ethnical minority was often marginalized from the struggle of Finnish hegemonic boys<sup>13</sup> (see Manninen 2006: 183–184, Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004, Hautaniemi 2006). In his case, ethnicity had more importance than gender in the status struggle in first grade because through using violence as a resource Esa had the power to define the status-raising criteria of different agents. Being a Finn in this class was defined as a more appreciated ethnical background than other ethnic groups.

Students reported that during fifth and sixth grades, the border between the Finnish and the immigrants had begun to vanish. As a reason for that the boys reported that they had grown up and got used to getting along with each other, and that the ethnical background no longer had much significance in social relations; behavior and personality were more important for status. That made it possible for Mohammud to gain a higher position in the hierarchical order. The situation concerning violence and ethnicity had calmed down notably when the toughies, Abdi-kan and Esa, left the class, as then there were no toughies left.

## Conclusions

The hegemony of one social group is based on legitimate relations of power, which is a key concern in investigating masculinities in power relations. There is always contestation; hegemony is not total, as Whitehead (2002) argues. There are

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12. Jani had been in the class from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> grade.

13. In fourth grade the marginalized position of students with immigrant background was shown violently, if resistance emerged (see Manninen 2002). Resistance from the margins can appear in the form of protest masculinities (Connell 1995; 2000).

degrees of legitimacy as Lusher and Robins (2007: 14) state. This article illustrates that not only gender relations change historically, but also the pattern and depth of hegemony (Connell 2002: 89). In the first phase of this study the demand for legitimization of the hegemony of the tough guys was gained through control and violence. Boys in subordinate and marginalized positions had to put up with the toughies' dominance. The positions had to be earned through respected habitus and agency which often included violent elements.

In another phase of this study, there were no toughies left in the classes and the hegemonic positions belonged to the banal balancers, boys who strove to construct a 'normal', ordinary masculinity of working class, certain aged boy in a Finnish, but multi-ethnic, school culture. Their violent and control practices were not so visible as those of the toughies. A more common way for the banal balancers to gain legitimacy from others was more persuasive than dominant (Connell 1995). For example, when they used sexist harassment as a resource in the status struggle and in constructing an ordinary boyhood, this kind of violent practice was more subtle; it was hidden through normalization, repetition and humour. In the first phase of both of the studied classes, the toughies had the power to marginalize agents on the basis of their ethnical background. However, ethnicity no longer had much significance in the status struggle in the second phase of the study, when the toughies had left the class. The students also reported that they had also learned to get along better with each other.

Boys who lacked resources for respect or did not have interest in pursuing hegemonic masculinity and status were excluded, or excluded themselves from the status struggle into the margins. High status hegemonic boys used them often as markers of difference in the status struggle in order to show others that the marginalized boys are something that they are not. One could speculate that, even though the marginalized boys did not have access to status in these classes, their different ways of constructing masculinities, such as efforts to follow formal school' values, being nice to others, and gaining academic success might have value in other fields later in life.

Connell (1995) uses a term body-reflexive practices through which a social world is formed. Particular versions of masculinities are constituted in circuits of social relations and social institutions as meaningful bodies and embodied meanings. I suggest that constructions of masculinities in the informal field of school can be seen in the light of body-reflexive practices in two ways. On the one hand, official school, with its institutionalized practices, strives to control bodies acted upon by e.g. normalization and regulation (see also Swain 2002, 94, 105), but on

the other hand the institutionalization of hegemonic masculinity affects to the boys' image of how to be a boy in the proper way in the field of informal school. Many boys tried to balance between these expectations in their constructions of embodied social agents, while they were simultaneously also objects of it (see Connell 1995: 61).

This study supports Swain's (2002: 92) suggestion that masculinity is connected to constructing oneself in, and being constructed by, the available ways and meanings of being a boy in a particular context. Same resources of respect were not equally available for everybody. For those in a ruling position certain resources were possible to achieve, while those in complicit or subordinated positions were restricted, and from a marginalized position respect was almost impossible to achieve. The next step to increase understanding about power relations in the informal field of school is to investigate legitimated forms of power. In many school classes, like in both investigated classes in this study, power was used through fear in many micropractices. Thereby, an important question to investigate would be is it possible to make room for 'fairpower'<sup>14</sup> instead of 'fearpower' in creating an equal ethos in social relations in school through the pedagogy of care and non-violence?

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14. Tuija Huuki and I define fairpower as a dimension of power, in which gained power is effectively used fairly so that it is legitimated as valued, and constructs equality. Fearpower is a dimension of power which is based on fear and the usage or threat of violence, and which thus dismantles communality.

**Table 1. 'Resources of respect' in one school class in first and sixth grade of primary school.**

	materiality	violence	embodiment	performativity
1st grade	'ordinary' clothes, sports equipments, computer games, pokemoncards, pictures of skulls and spidermans, bicycles, playstation 2, smoking (Esa)	– invasions into girl's dressing room, – pushing a girl's head into the garbage bin, lifting up girls skirts (Esa) – attacking other boys (Esa), – pushing, kicking, hitting, name-calling, exclusion on the basis of gender and ethnicity – performances with violence	– being able to defend oneself and showing potential to fight, being sporty, success in football, ice hockey and play fights – strength, speed, ruling space with body and voice – balancing acts	play fights, verbal tennis wild stories, jokes testing or irritating others, going one better, role performances or imitation, rule breakings (e.g. fighting, being noisy), hiding one's fear and shame, tolerance of pain and irritation, credible habitus 'dating'
6th grade	new 'cool' clothes, messy hairstyle, women's photos, sports equipments, horror videos, violent computer games, mobile phones, mp3-players	– fights – calling gendered, sexist and racist names, e.g. as bitch, gay, ruski – peeking under the skirts, groping – exclusion on the basis of gender (and in one case, also ethnicity)	– being able to defend oneself and showing potential to fight, being sporty, success in football, ice hockey or martial arts – strength, speed, being tall and athletic – ruling space with body and voice – heterosexuality	– social play like BS:ing – showing one's heterosexuality: e.g. hanging around with girls, dating, homosexual performances – testing or irritating others (including teacher), rulebreaking (e.g. being late for lessons, being noisy, swearing, labelling, stealing) – hiding one's fear and shame, tolerance of pain and irritation – credible habitus, coolness

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## 9 Caring, Justice and Young Hegemonic Masculinity

TUIJA HUUKI & ELINA LUUKKONEN

University of Oulu, Finland

### Introduction

Growing from Carol Gilligan's rethinking of Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development and Nel Noddings' examination of what a practice of caring might entail in her writings on caring, care theory has been discussed in the field of Education.

Gilligan's work contests the moral reasoning described by Lawrence Kohlberg. For Gilligan, Kohlberg's results were sex-biased against a moral orientation based on care. According to Gilligan, Kohlberg underrated the ethic of caring because his theory of moral reasoning limits its investigation to the ethic of justice. Through her work, Gilligan points to Kohlberg's failure to consider the moral ethic of care that could display a type of moral reasoning as mature as the one based on justice. Her aim is to supplement Kohlberg's theory with a theory of moral concern grounded in responsiveness to others that includes providing care, preventing harm and maintaining relationships. (Larrabee 1993: 4–5.)

Gilligan's theory of ethics of care is based on interaction, and the demands of the interrelations of people. (Gilligan 1993, xvi–xx) However, separateness and objectivity have traditionally represented the psychological truth in moral development, and have also been the conditionals of autonomy and mature agency in the Western philosophy (e.g., Mill 1982, 68–70; Kant 1931, 268–269; Rousseau 1905). One of the essential objectives of moral education based on Kohlberg's theory is the autonomous human being. According to Gilligan, the demand for autonomy requires the position of separateness, since in the demand for autonomy responsible caring and reciprocity cannot become materialised.

In Gilligan's (2002) thinking, the demand for separateness is allocated especially in the upbringing of boys. In order to grow up as a credible masculine agent, a boy is obliged to lay aside open expressions of certain emotions and thus the ethic of care (Gilligan 2002: 65–215). Thereby, being in relationships is not based on emotional connectedness, but, instead, on the appropriation of separateness as the basis of one's agency.

The ideas of retaliation and punishment are the conditionals of the realisation of morality in the ethic of justice. The autonomous, separate individuals are positioned hierarchically. Hierarchies generate secondarisation through superiority and inferiority. Thus, from the perspective of care, the logic of justice and moral judgement legitimate the potential of violence.<sup>1</sup>

More generally, separateness and autonomy have been considered in Western tradition as prerequisites of mature moral agency. Gilligan identifies the deficiencies of Kohlberg's theory of moral development. One of its most serious weaknesses is to condemn the orientation of care as less autonomous, and thus as a less mature level of moral development. The other deficiency is that because of the demand for separation, moral judgement has moved relations between people to a logical, distant abstraction. (Gilligan 1993).

Even though Gilligan's theory has been criticized for dichotomising women as nurturing, and men as logical, Gilligan has noted that the ethic of care is not tied to gender, but, instead represent two different orientations. (Larabee 1993: 4).

Raewyn Connell's insights on hegemonic masculinity have broken new ground in theorising masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is that which is acquired in collective cultural and institutional practices, claiming the highest status and exercising the greatest influence and authority through these practices. It is in a constant state of flux, and it constantly needs to be achieved by secondarising non-hegemonic masculinities and femininities through direct oppression or in hidden negotiation. (Connell 1995: 77, Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 839, 841, 846.) The violent dimensions of hegemonic masculinity among boys have been problematized by gender sensitive researchers (Smith 2007, Dalley-Trim 2007, Renold 2001, Swain 2004a, Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997, Connell 1995).

As recent research has shown, status, violence and construction of gender are intertwined in a complex skein. In school settings, the utilisation of different kinds of cultural, social, intellectual and economical resources include violent elements and represent key means for the dominating modes of boyhood to pursue leading positions in student communities (Swain 2006, McGuffey & Rich 1999, Huuki 2002, Manninen 2002, 2006, Adler & Adler 1998, Salmivalli 2005, Vaillancourt & Hymel 2006). We have examined the intertwinedness of status, power and violence in more detail elsewhere (Manninen *et al* 2008, submitted; Huuki *et al* 2008, forthcoming).

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1. In accordance with Sunnari and her colleagues (2002, 10), we define violence as "any action or structure that diminishes another human being, and conceive of different forms of violence as means of people to seek control over others."

To the best of our knowledge, there are no studies from the moral philosophical perspective on how the ethical orientations of care and justice are present in the construction of masculinities. Even though rationality and the demand for hiding one's feelings have been linked to hegemonic versions of masculinity, and boys' emotional empathetic, compassionate and caring orientation towards other people is often viewed more as pathological than normative (Kenway & Fitzclarence 1997), the relationships between the boys who took part in our research, were not pervasive of emotional neutrality. Feelings, emotions and caring were in some measure present in the mutual relations of young men representing hegemonic models of masculinity. We approach the relationship between justice and care through the longitudinal narrative of one school boy.

Although it can be seen in the story how the boy, Toby<sup>2</sup>, has adopted the ethic of justice, including the ideas of defence, retaliation and punishment, his speech includes also elements of the ethic of care. His story shows how he flows between the interfaces of the two orientations, collects elements of them and synchronises them into a workable combination relevant to the situation, context and the culture.

### The research questions

This paper discusses through a longitudinal narrative of one boy, how the orientation of care and justice are present in his talk, and how the talk works as a performance of masculinity. Additionally, we consider how the two ethics relate. The focus of the analysis is how the agencies of separation and connectedness are present in Toby's story, and how he is balancing between the two moral orientations of his talk.

We consider Toby's story through Gilligan's ethics of caring, and reflect it against the demand for autonomy in the ethics of justice, based on Mill's utilitarian moral theory and Kohlberg's Kantian considerations on moral development. We chose Kohlberg's theory since the Finnish ethical education is practically based on his moral theory (see Peltonen 1993, 392–393). Mill's considerations are also discussed as the idea of justice is essential in his utilitarian theory (Mill 2000, 67–83).

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2. All the names are pseudonyms.

## Methodology

### *The data collection*

This study seeks to address this oversight by drawing inspiration from recent poststructuralist and material feminist theories (Skeggs 2004, Letherby 2003, Stanley and Wise 1993, Kenway 1995) and masculinity studies (Connell 1995, 2006, Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, Swain 2004b, 2006). The research material of this study has been collected within a broader project exploring gendered violence in schools in Finland. The data was collected by Tuija Huuki in three phases in a middle-sized school in the Northern border district of Finland. A large amount of ethnographic data was collected in 2000s, among two 6<sup>th</sup> graders (N=46) during a six week field period. The data included questionnaires, observations, drawings, writings and interviews.

The first interviews, conducted in 6<sup>th</sup> grade, were loosely structured, and raised issues such as pursuing popularity, reputation, personal relationships, the atmosphere in the class and unwanted treatment of other students (see Huuki 2002: 43). Then, a smaller sample of 8 students, including Toby, were interviewed individually in-depth in 9<sup>th</sup> grade. The themes discussed in this interview covered the changes and reproduction in the usage of violence and status of the students, personal relations and the growth of self, retrospection related to the mentioned issues, as well as planning and wishes for the future. The third in-depth interview took place in the year the students turned 19 years old, the perspective was then more about life history. The framework of the interviews was laid out individually on the basis of the previous interviews. The main topic was the path of the person from the junior years up to the present, as well as to the future. Additionally, themes and incidents, considered interesting from the perspectives of power, status and violence, were picked up by the interviewer. The students were asked to look back and remember their primary and secondary school years and reflect on these themes. Each interview lasted for approximately two hours.

The data for this paper arise from the interviews with Toby. His case was picked up because the themes of caring were especially clearly present in his talk.

### *The method of analysis*

Although the interviews with Toby were not originally planned to be biographical or longitudinal, the focus sharpened during the research project, and the biographi-

cal orientation grew stronger through each phase of the study (see Erkkilä and Mäkelä 2002: 47). The biographical character of the two latter interviews constructed from two elements: firstly, the interviewer asked Toby to tell about his life, including important, sad, happy and epochal events in it; secondly, the interviewer picked up themes she considered as salient from the previous interviews, and asked Toby to readdress them and reflect upon them. The story of Toby was thus produced dialogically between the researcher and the researched, and performed as a narrative. In accordance with Riessman, we see stories as composed and received in interactional, historical, institutional and discursive contexts. Stories are social artifacts, telling us about persons, groups, but also about society and culture. (Riessman 2007: 105.)

The interviews had a biographical orientation in another sense. Kelchterman (1993, 1994) emphasizes the benefit of analysing the data after each interview. Analysing the data between the interviews provided themes for the next interview, and thus the interviews constituted cumulative sources of data. Following the construction of the research method of Erkkilä and Mäkelä, (2002: 47), my aim was also to fill the information gaps and unclear passages of the previous sessions during the later interviews. Hence, each resumption of a theme elaborated the story, shedding new light on the interrelations of events. (Erkkilä and Mäkelä 2002: 47.)

Our analysis has elements of Riessman's (2007) approach of a dialogic/performance reading of the data, while also incorporating aspects of thematic and structural methods. The attention of the analysis is on what kind of moral agency Toby is performing in his social interaction in relation to his friends, family members and other school students. Moreover, the analysis aims to read Tobys's story against the theorization of hegemonic masculinity. Although the main focus is on the moral agency Toby is constructing, our aim is also to show how, at the same time, Toby constructs his masculine identity through performing as a competent masculine agent also to the interviewer. (See Riessman 2007: 108, 113). The research data is also read thematically, locating the personal narrative in broader contexts of masculinity and moral theories, noting how moral orientations and constructions of masculinity are buried in a personal story about caring in every day life.

Drawing upon foucauldian thinking, the approach applied in this study can be seen as a late modern 'technology of the self', a type of reflexive, performative project through which people come to construct their identities and understand their place in the social world. (Foucault 1998: 18, see also Nayak and Kehily 2008: 29, Riessman 2007: 105–140)

In the next sections, we seek to complete the research tasks through the themes of separation and communality, violence, loyalty, interference and non-interference.

### Separation and connection – caring as part of peer relations

In 6<sup>th</sup> grade, Toby's speech on caring and moral judgement is largely from an egoistic perspective, in which the concern for oneself and own position is essential. Like many other students who took part in the research, Toby says that for the sake of one's own status position, the disqualification of the self as a neutral bystander in the power struggle of other students is usually wiser than defending the other.

I've noticed that almost nobody in our class has the guts to defend others. And that's 'cause everybody's scared to be bullied for that same reason or for defending others. 'Cause they'll say like 'Are you defending others, ha-ha-ha, you're really stupid!' (6)<sup>3</sup>

In Toby's talk, peer groups seem to be loosely structured communities consisting of distinctive agents, in which everyone has to take care of him/herself. It can be understood from Toby's talk that securing one's own safety comes first, and the security of others comes second.

According to Gilligan's theory, the construction of masculinities requires abandoning the connection to one's feelings, emotions and care. However, the identification and analysis of feelings, the will to orientate to the relationships and the ability for care can be seen in Toby's story. For example, a deep commitment to the friendship with Diri can be seen in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade:

I became good friends with Diri after he moved here. We've been talking about everything possible. We know so much about each other that if either of us revealed those things we'd just die thinking how badly the other could be hurt. We have had a lot of heart-to-hearts. When I have been sleeping over in Diri's home, often we just lie down there on the floor. Then we start talking about our dreams, and who we are in love with, and the things that should be better in the world. We don't have any secrets, ya know. (9)

Gilligan (1993: 74, 76) states that the ability to care, and more widely the orientation of care requires caring of self. She emphasizes the meaning and recognition of

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3. The number refers to the grade in which the interview was carried out.



the whole scale of emotions as a prerequisite of love and care (Gilligan 2002: 78). In his friendship with Diri – likewise in relation to his little brother, as we will see later – a relationship about one's feelings, and thus ethical thinking can be seen in Toby's talk. The longitudinal aspect of the study shows also some signs of the moral development<sup>4</sup> of Toby.

In contrast to 6<sup>th</sup> grade, in 9<sup>th</sup> grade communality is more present in Toby's talk in the form of tight group cohesion of his peer group. In his story he mentions how people in secondary school are more tightly in peer groups than in primary school. In those small groups, caring can consist of a wide range of actions, for example, from the sharing of secrets and soul-searching conversations to rough physical contact. On an individual level, separateness is still present when he talks of the status struggle. In 9<sup>th</sup> grade, he remembers his own status in primary school:

I beat two new guys in arm wrestling. So then I became more respected in 6<sup>th</sup> grade. And I also learned how to answer back quite well. And I still can. (9)

Here, as on many occasions, he opens the unwritten rules of the status struggle, according to which everyone has to discover how to manage the constant negotiation and preserve the hierarchy. Together with the individual level, Toby's fields of action are defined by the communality with his closest friends. Communality means the cohesion of small peer groups. The ways in which Toby tells about the action of the groups implicates how the separateness and communality of the groups are in constant flow. The peer groups seem to construct a complex set of practices and relations, in which the status of the groups defines how communal or isolated the groups are in relation to others. Among the studied students, there were no indications of communality that would encompass the whole student community.

In Mill's (2000: 48–60) theory, the kind of communal ethos Toby describes is a prerequisite of moral agency. Conversely, in the light of Gilligan's theory, the social hierarchy depicted in Toby's accounts is problematic, since it is an obstacle to the implementation of a moral development. In Gilligan's thinking, non-violence is a premise that presumes equality in the mutual relationships of the agents.

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4. Gilligan divides the ethics of care into three increasingly adequate stages. At the first stage of the ethic of care, one cares strictly for oneself in order to ensure one's own survival. At the second stage, one shifts one's focus from oneself to others. The third stage focuses on the dynamics of the relationships and the dissolution of the tension between selfishness and responsibility. (Gilligan 1986: 318, 1993: 73–76.)

In Toby's story, the personal social status is constructed through action in the youth community. In his account of helping a drunken peer, the common good and personal status are both present. He explains how moral action can promote his status connected to hegemonic masculinity. Thus, helping a peer with equal status becomes meaningful also from the point of view of Toby's own status:

The guy we took away to recover didn't recall much of what had happened that night. But anyway he remembered that we took him in and gave him some water so that he wouldn't dehydrate. The next day he said that he appreciated it a lot. He patted us on the back and then we had a coffee in the service station. It certainly changed his attitude, and definitely not negatively. (9)

In his story, Toby speaks in many occasions about status hierarchies and how the social order of the students is constructed hierarchically. In the next excerpt Toby describes the reactions of the others after he had taken care of a drunken girl with his friend. It becomes evident his moral agency would improve in the eyes of others.

Her mother has thanked me and Jake many times. Maybe the pals of the girl will think that I'm a nice and fair guy, when she tells the others how we took care of her. And also when the parents of the girl tell the other adults, the story will get out among the younger ones and also among the older who have girls and boys of similar age. One man had said to my dad how great it is that you have a son that is so well brought up that he takes care of other people. Dad had answered: 'Are you sure we are talking about the same boy?' (19)

In the excerpt, Toby makes a multi-level specification of the benefit of his action to his personal status. From the perspective of girls he is constructing an image of a nice and fair guy who respects girls. Among the younger people Toby sees himself as a role model with which they can identify. Outside the excerpt Toby gives a detailed description of how he and Jake took care of the girl. From the account a classical heroic tale of two saving a woman stands out, to which the empowerment of caring action can be safely masqueraded. To adults, who can generally be seen representing moral maturity to a teenager, he presents himself as a mature, caring person.

## Violence in caring – The dialectics of justice and caring

Throughout the interviews, Toby repeatedly comes back to the issue of defence. As a 6<sup>th</sup> grader, he seems to have a contradictory attitude towards defending his friends against others. Sometimes there is reason for taking friends side, and sometimes it is better to draw back due to a lack of courage. In Toby's conception, defence is both a moral and righteous action and the instrument of caring. According to Mill's moral theory, a feeling of punishment is sought for those who act wrongly. In this thinking, the concept of punishment is based on a feeling of affiliation, and the motive for punishment is harmony for the common good. According to the utilitarian moral theory, the common good requires punishment. (Mill 2000: 69–83).

Besides the idea of punishment, in the utilitarian theory of Mill the concept of justice includes revenge. In the concept of revenge there is also an idea of deserving. Thus, according to the idea of justice one gets what one deserves. It means that justice generates good for the good and bad for the evil. (Mill 1982: 83–87, 2000: 69–71). In line with this, in Toby's talk the concept of merit is essential in relationships between people. It seems to be linked to the construction of masculinity and determination of social status. It means that social status and position in a social structure are determined by merits and due deserts. In 6<sup>th</sup> grade, Toby describes:

It once happened that me and Simon defended Jake. You see, we all have this hobby, kick boxing. It's a cheap hobby and we liked it a lot. So they jeered at us about it. They said it's a hobby for poor assholes. So me and Simon decided 'Let's sock it to them'! (6)

In 9<sup>th</sup> grade Toby's talk does not only include rhetorical awe, but also refers to concrete retaliation on many occasions:

The boy who mocked my little brother found his head in the garbage bin. After that nobody ever said anything about my brother. (9)

The implementation of the idea of revenge requires a high status and position of power, and, at the same time reinforces them. In earlier research, we have described how status defines the fields of action of an agent, and also how the field of action reinforces status. (Huuki 2002, Manninen 2006, Manninen, Huuki and Sunnari 2008, forthcoming). Along the idea of justice in Mill's theory, Toby was obliged to intervene in the bullying in line with the principles of punishment. In Mill's

theory, non-intervention would have led to a circle of punishment. According to that idea of justice, the welfare of others is reason for intervention (Mill 1982: 18–19, 83), and the desire for punishment arises from the emotions of self-protection and sympathy towards other people (Mill 2000: 78–79).

What is significant in Toby's talk is, firstly, drawing the line between intervention and non-intervention. Toby fulfills Mill's requirement of intervention, but only among his closest persons; secondly, the requirement for loyalty that is based on hegemonic masculinity; thirdly, the dominance regarding secondary masculinity and femininity are present in his talk.

It clearly comes across from Toby's story how the hegemonic culture presumes loyalty in the peer group. When drawing the line between intervention and non-intervention, Toby must not only consider his action from the perspective of ethics but also consider its effects on his own social status.

The idea of autonomy is connected with the construction of masculinities and negotiation of social status, implying that social status is defined according to merits. Autonomous action in the position of separation represents an essential merit in Toby's story. According to Gilligan (1993: 24–38), the social structure of separation means a hierarchical ordering, with its imagery of winning and losing and the potential for violence which it contains. Transforming a hierarchy of power into a hierarchy of values, moral domain is cast as an impersonal conflict of claims. Thus, moral problems are abstracted from the interpersonal situation, finding in the logic of fairness an objective way to decide who will win the dispute. In Toby's talk, central aspects to the idea of justice are personal strength and violence, and the merits attained through them. 19 year-old Toby reports:

Maybe they started to fear me after one night in the bar. We were queuing for a taxi, and one drunken idiot came and started to bash my father, mother and brother, so I got pissed off with him. I punched him so that he did not lose his consciousness but couldn't stand up either. Then I threw him in a big container. So everybody thinks I'm terribly strong. That's not true at all. But somehow they've got that impression. But actually, I don't mind. (19)

Direct revenge and punishment, due to insulting the family members, appear as a spontaneous reaction in Toby's story. According to Mill (1982: 83), the violation of other people's rights is punishable, but in the name of morality the action is justifiable. Then, the primary motive of action is not necessarily violence or gaining status. However, violence as a means of subordination is also present in Toby's talk:

But if it ends up in a situation that guys start shuttling here and there (in status hierarchies), it would mean a status chaos. If some pathetic loser tries to pick up a high status girl, we will definitely smack him back into his box.(19)

Domination is a way to ascend in the social hierarchy and also maintain it. It becomes apparent from Toby's comments that negotiation, connected to social hierarchy, is a salient determinant of action. Toby's story shows how caring has to be sacrificed on the altar of hegemony when one's own position is threatened. At the interface between intervention and non-intervention – which both take place in the name of justice and caring – loyalty towards a peer group and caring collide. The requirement for loyalty constructs a barrier to relationships based on caring. At the same time, loyalty becomes a definer of the ways of caring. However, a need to be loyal is directed towards those who are high in the status hierarchy, and the prevailing regime prohibits its members from showing loyalty to those with marginal position in the hierarchy. Loyalty becomes an important element in constructing and reproducing a hierarchy (see also Kaufman 1994: 151, McGuffey and Rich 1999, Manninen *et al.* 2008, submitted). The fear of descension in the hierarchy features in Toby's talk about intervention. A position in a hierarchy is not a stable achievement. Instead, according to Toby, the structure is dynamic and requires continuous evidence of proof from its members.

Even though loyalty towards hegemonic masculinity seems to be a salient of social norms, Toby's talk about caring changes when the conversation turns to his closest family members. Sensitive and responsible orientation, an all-encompassing caring towards his little brother is demonstrated in the next excerpts from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> grade data:

My little brother has a minor developmental disorder. Some fourth graders have bullied him, but when I have intervened they have stopped, because they know that I'm much stronger than they are. Once I caught one of them, lifted him up and asked "what the hell are you doing?". I know it's forbidden to lift people up in the air, but I did it anyway because I feel terrible if somebody is bullying my little brother. I don't know what happens when I go into the 7<sup>th</sup> grade and Aaron has to stay here all alone. Then he doesn't have a big brother to protect him, so I just wonder whether they will start bullying him again. (6)

Aaron is very important to me. At first I thought that I'll leave and go to Rovaniemi to study land surveying in a vocational school. But then I noticed that Aaron became so worried about it, – you see, he's got ADHD – , and

wondered how he will manage in secondary school, so I decided to stay here to support him. So I'll start upper secondary school here. (9)

In respect of his little brother, the hegemonic characteristics of Toby fade and his action is defined more on an emotional basis. This becomes evident in his determined willingness to make far-reaching decisions and compromises that have fundamental impact on his later life. He intends to give up his educational dreams and stay home for the sake of his brother. At the age of 19 he remembers the reasons for his plans:

In secondary school I still thought that I'll study land surveying. But the world changes and so do I. Like when I started in upper secondary school, the surveying-thing was put aside. I started in junior high because of my little brother, and a little because my mum thought that there is no future elsewhere. (19)

Like the women described by Gilligan (1993), Toby also justifies his action and choices in the context of the care ethic, from which traditional judgment of justice is absent. It is significant that, according to Kohlberg's theory of moral development, Toby's moral judgment would not reach a high level on Kohlberg's scale. Toby's judgment can not be defined as an autonomous action in Kohlberg's theory, since it manifests itself as dependent on other people and emotions.

On the other hand, the care talk includes elements of violence. For Toby, violence becomes a way of showing care for his closest people, and, at the same time, as a way of carrying out justice against injustice. In this sense, violent action is not violence per se, but, instead, becomes a self-evident and acceptable way of helping and taking care of a close person targeted for violence. Thus, caring through violence is legitimated, caring action based on justice. This comes to light in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade interview:

I was accused of bullying already in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. They blamed me for bullying one 8<sup>th</sup> grader. And I really didn't do that. Ok, well, I sort of did, but I only defended my pal. 'Cause the guy took his cap, and threw it into a wastepaper basket. And he (the bully) tried to wash his face in the snow. You see, my friend is small and weedy, so in no way would he beat off the bully. So every time the guy tried to do something to my pal, I did the same to him. (9)

The action of caring and the construction of social status have a bi-directional connection to each other. Toby's caring based on justice raises his status, as he mentio-

ned in another excerpt. On the other hand, the demand for masculine status and the idea of separateness weakens his possibilities to show a caring orientation. Toby constructs his way of acting as a synthesis of both orientations. Toby experiences the strong responsibility of some people while the means for violence is part of an accepted masculine state of being. Thereby, the dividing line between violence and caring becomes blurred, dynamic and difficult to identify.

According to Toby, violence is also part of a communal ethos inside the peer group:

Sometimes, when we run out of bullets when we are shooting at the shooting range, we start beating each other up so that a bystander would really think that there's a real fight going on. But it's not, anyway. We're laughing there and knocking each other into the middle of next week. It's ok as far as it happens there, but we won't pummel each other in any other place. (9)

Gilligan examines how the pressure on boys to become "real boys" intensifies around the age of five. A boy's expression of tenderness or vulnerability arouses fears about his ability to survive in the playground or anxiety about his masculinity. It is difficult for young boys to read the world around them and show the sensitive, soft sides of themselves. The boys learn that openness carries with it a vulnerability that the adults, around, want to protect. The sacrifice of relationships is the ritual of initiation into accepted masculinity. Gilligan calls the process of boys to entry into "real masculinity" a concept of dissociation. (Gilligan 2002: 65–91.)

The way Toby is with his friends is a logical result of dissociation (Gilligan 2002). Therefore caring and overt expressions of love becomes impossible because of the requirements of separation. Besides the status-testing dimension, play fighting could be interpreted as a way of examining emotions, undergoing mutual intimacy, and defining friendship and equality without threatening the unwritten norms set by dominant representations.

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## **10 Marginalization and Teachable Moments: Two Circumpolar Postsecondary Case Studies**

GUNILLA JOHANSSON, Luleå University of Technology, Sweden  
CHRIS PACI, PRISCILLA LEPIE, YLVA JANNOK-NUTTI

Teacher training institutions are shaping and deepening knowledge, skills, abilities and understanding for a teacher working with cultural differences. It is important to gain awareness cultural sensitivity in compulsory education and in teacher education as well. Cultural diversity is often seen as a dilemma in the educational situations. Marginalization of the culture and lack of cultural sensitivity might be one consequence. Intra cultural diversity also exist and can be visible or non visible, but this will not be discussed in this paper. Johansson (2007) calls for a research based teacher education to put light on marginalization. How can indigenous values and cultures in terms of traditional knowledge and skills be respectfully and responsibly included in education. Paci (2005) discusses education as one context for empowerment for indigenous peoples.

What is a Sámi school? How can the national curriculum support the Sámi School to be sensitive to the Sámi culture? Interest for how to educate the Sámi was found already in 1600 (Johansson and Johansson 1968, Ruong 1975, SOU 1960: 41). In the Nordic countries these educational processes started approximately at the same period of time. In the past the Sámi schools in Sweden have been constructed as moving schools with the nomadic life of reindeer herding since 1632 to 1938. The role of the schools was to offer the Sámi the Swedish language, culture and attitudes in order to make them good citizens. Sámi language and culture were effectively marginalized. The Swedish state wanted to have a citizenship that was loyal to the state so actually the Sámi were offered education earlier than other citizens. Documents also show how priests and missionaries had an argumentation that Sámi children were not possible to teach in the majority language of the country (Hirvonen, 2004). They were considered to be a hedonic people. The society also considered that the best way to Christian the Sámi some Sámi was to educate some Sámi boys to priests. Most of the boys were very unhappy to be forced from the families and not allowed to speak Sámi language, but still some of these boys did come back as priests to the Sámi area. Girls are not mentioned during this period. The schools moved with the reindeer herding groups and considered to be better for the pupils and the families than a stationary school, still is

was a politic of segregation. The Sámi children were to be educated in different way than other children in the society and the teachers' competences were in debate especially concerning the knowledge of Christianity. In 1877 it was regulated that the education was to be conducted in Swedish, if the Sámi understood the language (Svonni 1993). The Sámi schools were by this time located in special tents which were also a traditional way of living for Sámi. In 1940 these tents were not accepted for school purposes and so called "pupils home" were built instead. The children had to stay on these pupils homes during the school year. They were not allowed to speak Sámi. Marginalisation of the children's language and culture was conducted. People in the Sámi communities in Sweden struggled to be offered a better access to education. In 1977 a parallel form of school for Sámi was developed for primary and secondary levels.

Today Sámi schools are developed for year 1–6, preschools for children of age 1–5 and children's leisure centres for ages of 6–12. Sámi schools are a part of the Swedish public school system with the same national curriculum as all compulsory schools in Sweden; they include Sámi perspectives in their curricula. In Sweden there are six Sámi schools. All schools are controlled by the Swedish National Agency for Education through evaluations. The Sámi School has special regulations and they have additional national evaluations, concerning culture based education. When it comes to upper secondary levels the children do have to join integrated education, with two hours a week of the mother tongue. Challenges for the future for indigenous education are how indigenous perspectives are permeating indigenous education, both as a starting point for school curricula and as a part of more general policy. From the Sámi schools there is an interest to develop the schools through curriculum development. Teacher education is also an area of interest. A challenge for the nearest future is to develop a curriculum for a multi contextual school. The Education act and the Curricula state that the School has an important role in communicating and firmly establishing the values of the society.

### Indigenous Knowledge and teachable moments in postsecondary education

The term Indigenous Knowledge poses some challenges (Flanagan 2000, Widowson and Howard 2006). This paper will discuss knowledge broadly. This is not to ignore comparisons with Western knowledge. Applying the label Indigenous knowledge in the paper is challenging.<sup>1</sup> Battiste (2002) notes,

Often oral and symbolic, it [Indigenous knowledge] is transmitted through the structure of Indigenous languages and passed on to the next generation through modeling, practice, and animation, rather than through the written word. In the context of Indigenous knowledge, therefore, a literature review is an oxymoron because Indigenous knowledge is typically embedded in the cumulative experiences and teachings of Indigenous peoples rather than in a library.

Indigenous knowledge could be described as practical knowledge about local conditions that are special for a geographic area or time period. From that point of view indigenous knowledge are the same as local knowledge (Kalland 1994). And both indigenous knowledge and local knowledge is also closely connected to traditional knowledge. Jernsletten (1997) defined traditional knowledge as the knowledge that are developed and preserved over generations in local communities. Sámi traditional knowledge could be fined as a practical and theoretical knowledge about the use of nature, and it also includes the understanding of psychological conditions, spiritual, social relations, cultural and social institutions (Bergstrøm 2001). Indigenous knowledge, local knowledge and traditional knowledge has therefore common grounds. However Keskitalo (1993) emphasized that indigenous knowledge, and Sámi traditional knowledge as an indigenous knowledge, also includes a minority relation to a majority state. It is also of vital interest concerning minority and majority language issue to be aware of. The Sámi population is in the multicultural community and there are also variations inside the Sámi culture. The different areas in Sápmi are not automatically able to understand the different Sámi languages. Language difference exists between the different areas in Sweden, or in Finland, Norway and Russia. It can be relatively small groups based on the area they are from and the language or the country of residence for and the eventual hierarchies inside Sámi minority. Sometimes there is diminishing targeted to the minor Sámi cultures and persons with Sámi minority background for example Enare Sámi or Skolt Sámi. From that point of view indigenous knowledge differ from both local and traditional knowledge. Indigenous knowledge or Indigenous traditional knowledge, for example Sámi traditional knowledge, could be defined as the knowledge that is developed and preserved over generations, but because of historical, social and cultural reasons has not been visible within the indigenous communities' formal institutions for teaching and learning.

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1. Using the term traditional knowledge we hope to convey knowledge this is far from closed. This language represents, but also masks, a certain degree of adaptability and fluidity, a view unfairly criticized by Widdowson and Howard (2007).

To make indigenous knowledge visible and to develop formal indigenous institutions for teaching and learning within the indigenous communities is a main focus for many of the indigenous' researcher, teachers and leaders. In Jannok Nutti and Spiik Skum (1998) the main focus was to make the Sámi traditional knowledge and the Sámi culture a base for the education in the Sámi School. And in the research of Jannok Nutti (2007) was Sámi traditional knowledge according to mathematical thinking as an indigenous knowledge described and analyzed from point of ten Sámi handcrafters' and reindeer herders' stories. The stories made mathematical indigenous knowledge visible and the reason to make the knowledge visible was to connect the knowledge to the education in mathematics in the Sámi School. To connect indigenous knowledge with the formal institution is to decolonize (Smith 1999, Kuokkanen 2000). We endorse protecting and sharing Indigenous knowledge. It was "collected" in the past by intellect as much as it was taken by force, under illegitimate circumstances. Today, the benefits of knowledge and its use still do not always flow back to the peoples from which it originates. In our paper we discuss Indigenous knowledge informed by intellectual property debates, without being preoccupied with the legal discourse (Boyle 1997). For us, teachable moments occur for students and teachers as the complementarily between experience and knowledge, and this can be one way to develop curricula to strengthen cultural understanding and identity. Marginalization could be more visible.

Encouraging responsible sharing includes accepting that knowledge does not need to be fixed and final, that the right to knowledge remains with the original holders and not with those who articulate it into an academic or other setting. In reality; however, solutions to these problems are hard to find and public or community knowledge is at times used to benefit an elite. As private knowledge enters the public domain (Boyle 1997, Fisher-Yoshida 2004) the art of decolonization is to resist appropriation. Educators want to bring culture-based knowledge into classrooms, to encourage students to become good members of society, to live a good life, to propagate northern values and being, to serve the public good (Nadasdy 2005).

### Indigenous teacher education

Postsecondary institutions are built on western concepts (Smith 1999) some universities are re-designing courses, policies and student services to include Indigenous knowledge.

Fisher-Yoshida (2004) notes,

In Aboriginal cultures, knowledge is classified into three types, which may not be typical to only these cultures. There is traditional knowledge, which has been handed down from previous generations; empirical knowledge, which is gained through careful observation; and revealed knowledge, which is believed to be spiritual in nature and becomes apparent through dreams, visions and intuition. For indigenous groups of people, knowledge is created through everyday lived experiences, being in the world, and shows itself in the capabilities, priorities and value systems of the local cultures from within which the knowledge is created.

Many institutions have a primary mandate to prepare for jobs and students are recruited from Indigenous communities into certificates, diplomas and degrees. When discussing curriculum and pedagogy, perceptions about what is important, and how things are done is central. Hannibal – Paci (2000) asks concerning “his knowledge and my knowledge” how educators do go about making improvements for the way they teach and learn. According to Klein (1996) we have indications of what this looks like at the university level:

American Indian studies must be allowed to define and build its own intellectual traditions, based not on the differentiated social and political system of white culture but on the holistic ‘undifferentiated systems’ of native American cultures. That has meant focusing on oral traditions, treaties and treaty rights, tribal government, forms of organizations, group persistence, and American Indian epistemology. It has also meant avoiding being classified as the study of ‘just another minority.’

## Teacher education in Northern Sweden: Sámi Schools and reindeer herding, Sámi Schools and Sámi traditional knowledge



Sami people, like other Indigenous peoples, educate each successive generation through family and community relationships using oral and experiential learning. Children are educated immersed in cultural practices and languages from birth as independent learners (Pittsa Omma 2007). According to Johansson (2007) the learning processes are deeply connected to make own decisions, with support from parents or the grown ups. It is of crucial importance in the Sámi culture to develop independence. Formal schooling separated students from family and the imposition of this foreign “national” school system, run by church and/or state, largely interrupts Sámi education.

Pioneering research by Balto and Johansson (2006, 2007) to support Sámi schools began in Sweden as a practical way to address the needs and to develop and strengthen Sámi perspectives. Fundamentally, research was seen as an important means to clearly articulate Sámi perspectives, which would then inform teacher education. Teachers in Sámi schools are largely educated through mainstream teacher education, with minimal connection to Sámi perspectives. This was improved by locating institutions closer to the Sámi; however, they still lacked Sámi schools, including curriculum and pedagogy informed by traditional knowledge. Sámi teachers are interested in participatory action research methodology as a way to gather and communicate essential Sámi culture and language in the classroom and remove teaching from the schoolhouse.

In the research of Jannok Nutti (2007) the learning was analyzed from the point of learning within a cultural context with focus on the mathematical knowledge, and knowledge transforming through generations. Today is the education in



mathematics, in many times, directed by the books. The main focus for an ongoing action research and school development project (Jannok Nutti 2008) is to reformulate the education in mathematics in the Sámi Schools. The project by Jannok Nutti (2008) is conducted together with Sámi School teachers, pupils, parents, grandparents, and the extended family. An example from the daily work within Sámi Schools is Sámi traditional activities as for example grouse trapping. During the grouse trapping activity a father came to the school and taught the children how to build a trap; both inside the classroom and of course out in the forest close to a lake near by. To build a trap you use traditional measurement and measure methods, but the trapping activity in hold a lot more than just mathematics. They had to ski to the place where the traps were constructed, and the father also told a lot of stories around Sámi traditional knowledge. When the traps were finished the pupils needed to take a way the loops in the traps, because it is not allowed to hunt for grouses in that time. The father strongly emphasized that the pupils need to be sure that each loop was collected, so not any animals got hurt there. The activity also therefore made the traditional Sámi ecological knowledge visible.

Another example is from the Sámi School works was also connected with Sámi traditional measurements and measure methods. Here the activities were conducted around the teacher's consideration that the pupils need to build their mathematical understanding from point of their own experience. The teacher therefore put a lot of time on developing the pupils understanding on measurements and suitable measure methods. According to the measurements the pupils both learned Sámi traditional measurements and also connected this to the meter system. The body is traditionally used as a measurement and the pupils were here both able to measure with the traditional measurements and also to creativity use their body to conduct their own measurements. They measured for example snow depth and distance. They also worked both inside school and also outside school. Here a grandfather came and told about the importance for the reindeer herders to measure the snow depth. In this project the examples are from the male areas. Gender perspectives are missing in this study and a gender sensitive perspective needs to be taken in account further studies. How manage to combine the daily math with the academic math is an on going theme within the project and the project has it base from point of earlier research of Lipka with others (1998, 2005). Lipka worked collaboratively with Yup'ik Eskimo elders, teachers, mathematicians and mathematics educators in Alaska and transform the curriculum in mathematics by incorporating local knowledge into culturally based mathematics lessons. The work embedded mathematics within the everyday experience, culture and lan-

guage. The study by Jerry Lipka represents a concrete way to transform curriculum and pedagogy, and the work in the Sámi Schools and communities is aiming in the same direction. Mathematical thinking and mathematical practices are within the Sámi traditional knowledge which has been pointed out in Jannok Nutti (2007). But there is a need for further research to transform the knowledge into effective mathematics education. Research in Norway (Hirvonen 2004, Todal 1999) indicates that the dominant culture in the public school system is Norwegian. The same conclusions came from Skolverket (2003) in Sweden. Balto and Johansson's (2003–2007) longitudinal action research project was driven by an ethical responsibility and sensitivity to access cultural information. These researchers used caution when applying external frames to interpret results from their research.

Action research requires the engagement of researchers with school staff in deciding what questions were to be explored, focussing on the possibilities and obstacles of integrating traditional knowledge, cultural understanding and revitalizing processes into school practices. The project team sought to analyze teacher competence through a cultural lens that included understanding colonizing and decolonizing processes. Ultimately action research sought to understand how teacher education institutions introduce the subject of Indigenous peoples in education. Method was created and used for these schools and research project to work against marginalization and to revitalize culture through teachers promoting their culture.

### The Aurora College experience: A view from the smokehouse



Thanks to the Creator for bringing us fish in the *Xuk'e* (spring). Imagine the snow has melted and the last of the *t'e nadzha* (candle ice) is dammed where Salt River drains into *Desnedé* (Slave River). The camp is set up for a cohort of northern teaching students. We are outside and it is a warm spring day, the Elder is holding a *dedelhi* (sucker) and we are making dry fish. This is an Aurora College, Teacher Education Program class taught by Instructor Priscilla Lepine. As the ice clears down river, *Tsah* (beaver - *Castor canadensis*) are swimming, *K'ah* (white willow - *Salix alba*) and red willows (*Salix laevigata*) along the riverbank are just forming buds, and further back in the bush the *Xadze* (poplars - *Populus balsamifera*) and *Tsuh* (spruce - *Picea Marianna*, *P. glauca*) are budding out new growth. The first *slow tth'i* (mosquitoes - *Culicidae*) are finding us in the sunny afternoon. The nets bring us *dedeilee* (*Catostomus commersoni*), some goldeye (*Hiodon alosoides*) and *Udha* (northern pike - *Esox lucius*). By using Latin we signal the “scientific” approach. Writing the *Denesq̓line* (Chipewyan) and *Deh Gáh Got'ine* (Slavey) we evoke Indigenous approaches.

Our shift to a land based class indicates a profound form of renewal. The picture is complicated, representation: we are moving from intuitive action to take the scene apart and explain what is going on, how we teach/learn. There are several worldviews here. According to Atleo (2007) worldview one is the fish camp, the physical manifestation/cultural artefact, along with the traditional strategies of

interacting with the environment/cosmologically organized. Atleo notes (1993) the second worldview is the strategic perspective, interacting in the space in which teachable moments can be identified and acted upon, a western educationalist perspective. The third view is the interaction in the teachable moment where the student and teacher are interacting, we don't know what the student brings to this moment, but in western education we have theory and assessments. Atleo (1993) says that worldview four is the realm most educators talk to each other in, in which the strategic organization of education and theorizing is constructed.

The Government of the Northwest Territories developed Inuuqatigiit and Dene Kede curricula for Kindergarten to grade 12, adopted in the 1990s. At the post-secondary level attempts continue to implement traditional knowledge policies and practices. In each of the first three years of the teacher education program students take "culture camp" one, two and three; each is a credit course (the first year is a two-day program, the second year is four days and the third year is two days). Fish camp provides students with the opportunity to "explore local traditional knowledge on the land". The expectation is that student teachers will replicate this exercise in their classes.

To what extent we can bring different teaching moments into the smoke house? Gruenewald (2006, 3) challenges,

In my teaching and research on education and place, I'm constantly coming back to questions of purpose. What am I trying to get at, really? What happened here in this place? What's happening here in this place? What should happen here in this place? We need to understand where we are and what is it we are trying to accomplish before we can gauge "what works." This principle seems obvious to me, and there is a certain logic to it. But questioning our purposes, deliberating in earnest about our aims? Most educators are just too hell-bent on achievement.

### Some challenges

The Sámi schools expressed a doubt whether Sámi cultural knowledge were appropriate for the schools and they were aware of the importance of good results on the national assessments. Sámi teachers were insecure in using ceremonies including knowledge from the past, this knowledge was hedonic she had learned. They have during the project explored and extended the space for liberated action. The processes are needed not only for teachers, but for Sámi school authorities, politicians, and the societies. Battiste (2002) notes, "Aboriginal pedagogy is found

in talking or sharing circles and dialogues, participant observations, experiential learning, modelling, meditation, prayer, ceremonies, or story telling as ways of knowing and learning.” In the context of traditional activities, culture camp, culturally relevant teaching on the land, even bringing traditional knowledge into the classroom, all of these are opportunities for sharing and learning, which includes new knowledge and process, in a way that is relevant to peoples’ experiences. It can be planned for, but more than that it is an opportunity that presents itself, the teachable moment. Teachable moments are the result of discourse between the holders of knowledge transforming western educational approaches. Battiste (2002) identifies this as blended knowledge systems in educational institutions. Indigenous epistemology and pedagogy is respectfully blended with Euro-Canadian epistemology and pedagogy to create innovative educational systems.

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## **11 From Sexism towards Mutual Respect Based on Care and Love – a Utopian Vision in the Market-driven Globalized World**

VAPPU SUNNARI

Luleå University of Technology, Sweden

University of Oulu, Finland

In my article I will reflect on the results of a study of children's experiences of physical sexual harassment at school (Sunnari 2009). My perspective is pedagogical. The data for the study were collected from about 1700 boys and girls aged 11–12 years in schools in Northern Finland and the Northwest of Russia. The research material was collected through a questionnaire that was constructed so that the children had an open space for their responses. The questionnaires were filled in during school-hours so that all the children of the chosen school-classes participated as respondents in the research. In this article, I will, however, not ground my reflections truly on the whole research material, but on certain parts of the material that was collected from one of the school classes that participated in the research. The part of the material that I will open for discussion here is connected with heterosexism. In reflecting on the research results from pedagogical point of view I will use Judith Butler (2004), Susanne Kappler (1995), Morwenna Griffiths (1998), and Gilligan (2002) as my discussion partners. All these researchers have focused on the question of how to deconstruct cruel, (hetero)sexist hierarchies from human relationships.

I will start the article by giving an overview of the results of the whole research on physical sexual harassment. After that I will discuss the atmosphere in the school class in question on the basis of the answer texts of all the children of the class, and heterosexist harassment experienced by a boy and a girl in the class. The last topic focuses on the pedagogical challenge for preventing sexism in schools.

**Physical sexual harassment experienced by children at school in northern Finland and in the northwest of Russia**

The research focused on physical sexual harassment was conducted at the University of Oulu, in Women's Studies. The data for the research was gathered from children aged 11–12 years in schools in Northern Finland and in Northwest Russia. There were 1,738 children from 36 northern Finnish and 22 Northwestern Russian

school classes who answered a group of questions including questions about physical sexual harassment. The children were asked whether they had experienced physical sexual harassment at school or on the way to school. The research indicates that physical sexual harassment is common even in the northern peripheries of Europe. Every fifth of the Finnish girls, and every fourth of the Russian girls, had experienced it at school or on the way to school. More than every tenth of the Russian boys and a little less than every twentieth of the Finnish boys had partly corresponding experiences. Typically, physical sexual harassment occurred in hallways, in classrooms, in front of the restrooms, and in the gym. But it also happened on the road to school or from school.

Harassment was the most typically heterosexist in its character: It was girls who experienced it the most, and it was boys who perpetrated it. On the basis of the case descriptions, the children wrote, physical sexual harassment very commonly was a component in disempowering girls, maintaining and reinforcing a hostile atmosphere, and stereotypes of girls as sexual objects. All boys however did not behave like that. Nor can it be said, on the basis of this research, that relationships between boys and girls were, in all the school classes, marked by strong boundaries of physical sexual harassment. In some of the classes plenty of children mentioned having experienced sexual harassment, whereas some other classes seemed to be freer of the problem (Cf. Lynch & Lodge 2002).

The pupils' texts about what stopped harassment were not promising. Although the children were not asked whether the harassment had stopped and what had stopped it, some Finnish and Russian girls wrote about the matter. Almost one half of them wrote that the harassment was still going on. Successfully some children had managed to stop harassment by using violence as a defence against the harassment and one child reported having stopped harassment through discussing with the perpetrator. Furthermore, only five Russian girls and a Finnish girl explained that their teacher's acts stopped the harassment, momentarily or more permanently. The pupils very rarely told the teachers about the harassment.

I chose a school class that was characterised by numerous experiences of physical sexual harassment to study in more detail and to contextualise a boy's and a girl's experiences of harassment. The boy had experienced physical violence in the form of sexual harassment, but also beating, and he also was labelled a "homo". The girl was labelled a "whore" and she also had experienced physical violence.

### The heterosexist school class

There were 10 girls and 16 boys in the class. The atmosphere in the class was physically, socially and psychologically threatening. Almost all the pupils wrote about unpleasant name-calling and bad-mouthing, and most of them also about physical violence occurring in the class. They had been beaten, tripped, pushed against other pupils, and called names and bad-mouthed on various occasions. The girls' bodies were being judged quite often, also some of the boys' bodies. According to the pupils' texts, one could be mistreated for being "too intelligent" or "stupid", too small or too tall, too mature or too immature in terms of physical sexuality or dating/not dating. But the most often mentioned reason why pupils were mistreated was related to domination – and some boys' determination to dominate. These boys' cruel behaviour seemed to be intimidating and frightening for many individual boys and girls in the class. As many as 17 out of 26 pupils reported that they themselves had been targets of various unpleasant acts, and four pupils reported that they were frightened to come to school.

Six boys made up the group that dominated and perpetrated the cruelty in the class. Two or three of them seemed to work more closely together to determine what was accepted and what was not. Some other group members seemed to be drawn into what they considered was needed to be done in the group. The dominating boys used violence towards those who did not belong to the dominating group, as well as in their mutual relationships. For some of the group members the everyday school life was characterised by the cruel law of bullying and to be bullied.

Most of the texts written by the dominating boys were characterised by a strong macho-masculine culture. In cross-gender relationships it meant that there was a kind of heterosexist framework that placed girls as objects of a sexist gaze and challenged the boys to question issues that they labelled as feminine. These boys' actions towards girls included judging, labelling, groping, harassing sexually, and abuse. Some of the boys even separately reported that they grope girls. These boys had an image that girls' life at school was out of their interest. According to the macho-masculine norms, children who were mistreated were supposed to remain silent about the experiences. Also questioning school norms was definitely amongst the attributes to qualify as a macho.

Almost all of the children who did not belong to the group of dominating children were dominated. Some of them emphasised that they try not to get teased; some others reported answering back verbally. Many of the children, however,

seemed to think that it would be best not to do anything. Six boys and girls tried to stay totally outside all the troubles.

The children who tried to stay outside the troubles had decided not to speak about anything connected with mistreatment and conflicts in the classroom. They – especially the boys – very much limited their interactions to the other classmates. The dominating boys respected the outsider-position of the six boys almost as such, but three of the outsider girls were not respected and they experienced groping and other forms of bullying.

What characterised the outsider boys in addition to not taking part in violence? They all reported having fewer friends than other boys in the class, on average, and one of the boys said he had none. The boys did not share any special group membership of non-bullies, or a shared orientation concerning violence: three of them explained staying away from the bullying because of not being strong enough, whereas two of them said that they did not value fighting or violence. The outsider boys did not write about girls as objects of harassment or of sexist gazing as the dominant boys did. But on the other hand, some of them seemed to stay almost entirely out of the girls' worlds: they did not have anything to write about girls, as if there had been no girls in their class.

Like the corresponding group of boys, the outsider girls did not form a special group. But in contrast to the boys who stayed out of trouble and conflict, these girls seemed to follow the events in class actively. It meant that they described what happened in the class in detail and they expressed their opinion about why they thought the events occurred. Furthermore, none of them said they stayed outside the troubles because of not being strong enough.

The word "homo" was used in this class, according to the examples the children gave, as a general name-calling word to hurt someone when the name-caller was for some reason suffering, mad, annoyed or being picked on. The term was also used as an individually targeted name-calling word of one particular boy daily. The pupils in the class were fully aware of the matter and the teacher knew it as well. One pupil also indicated this in her response and said that the teacher had "resolved the problem." However, the name-calling did not stop. As one boy wrote: "Someone is called a fagot nearly every day".

As for concerns of how the name-calling had started, the pupils had differing opinions:

In our class a boy has been called a fagot cause he accidentally touched another boy's back.

When we were playing football, someone from our class touched another one by accident, and he was instantly called a fagot.

One boy is called a fagot, I don't know why.

... One of my classmates began to seem a little gay ...

I have called a boy a fagot when others have also done so. But, so that the boy doesn't hear it. I know it is ugly.

Also the boy who was labelled a homo considered that the name-calling began by touching, but his image of what had happened to start the name-calling in the first place was different from the above responses. He wrote that another boy had rubbed him on the chest during a break, and therefore that had signalled to some other boys that he was homosexual. From then on, he was bullied.

No matter what the sexual orientation of the labelled boy really was, a problem was produced relating to his possibilities to grow up with a positive self image. This was visible, for example, in the boy's answer to the question of whether he experienced fear at school, on the way to school or at home. The boy answered that he was afraid of some of his classmates at school because "some guys keep hitting you, calling you names, and tease you most of the time."

The same boy reported having experienced groping by a female teacher. The entire class had visited the public swimming hall, and the teacher had been talking to a fellow teacher by the pool. As the boy had walked by, the teacher had slapped the boy's buttocks. The boy's experience was that the teacher had snickered and laughed at him while doing it. The boy had experienced the acts as harassing. Maybe the question was not about an intentional harassment from the side of the teacher, but for the boy, as he experienced it, the act was harassment. Obviously the teacher did not know that the boy had perceived that she had groped him. The boy had not mentioned the matter to anybody before writing about it in the questionnaire. For the boy, the female teacher slapping his buttocks seemed to deepen his vulnerability concerning his sexual identity, and intimacy. A big issue for him was that he was labelled homo.

Also the word "whore" was used in this class like the word "homo" as a general name-calling term to hurt someone's feelings. Almost all the pupils mentioned that the word was in use in their class. One girl was extensively labelled as a whore, bullied, and afraid of others at school. She said that she did not have any friends in her class. Both boys and girls gossiped about her and, as she herself

pointed out, she thought all the girls hated her. She also described details of her sexual relationship and pupils' mutual sexual experiments. The girl did not answer the question concerning sexist name calling or the question concerning groping. In some parts, the sexual experiments, in which the girl informed to be involved in, seemed to catch her attention. Her partners did not stay within the limits she would have liked in their sexual experiments, and they abused her in their various experiments.

Boys were the most frequent name-callers in the class, and their labelling could be harsh, as it becomes clear from the following quote:

... is a whore. Whore, what a whore.

The respondent was a boy who belonged to the group of dominant boys.

Sexist grounds of labelling and being labelled as a whore can be seen also in the girls' texts:

The boys call VS (one girl's name) a whore (which is true). She has been with every boy.

Neither this writer nor the other pupils mention anything negative concerning those boys who "have been" with the girl labelled as a whore. Furthermore, nobody mentioned anything about the teacher trying to settle the case.

### Pedagogical reflections

The atmosphere in the class was strongly sexist, thus destroying or limiting the children's well-being and learning possibilities. The orientation in cross-gender and same gender relationships were limited, including an oppressive understanding of (female) gender, and of sexuality. One group of boys defined and demonstrated their masculinity through beating each other, and other boys, up, using abusive, humiliating and heterosexist language, and groping the girls. The class teacher seemed to be aware of the brutality that many boys exercised at least partly. She, however, did not manage to change the atmosphere. One explanation for the poor success in trying to handle the problems was that the teacher had only a limited awareness of the inner characteristics of the violence and cruelty in her class.

But what can be done to eliminate heterosexism and sexual harassment from school classes? The children's responses confirm the notion that it does not help

very much to try to demand the cruel and violent behaviour stops, although it is an obligatory component of the action schedules for eliminating cruelty. In the case-class some of the non-dominant children had tried to change and limit their own behaviour to survive in the cruel environment. I think that was not exceptional, although it is sad. It is sad, because it is not possible to eliminate either cruel behaviour or the development of such a cultural climate that is based on heterosexism by silencing the acute problems that heterosexism produces. Kathleen Lynch and Ann Lodge (2002), in their research on equality problems in school-classes in Ireland, argue that the lack of debate within schools about the dominating practices that some boys exercise means that dominance-driven definitions of masculinity have a non-questioned hegemonic status. (Lynch & Lodge 2002: 130.)

In order to deconstruct dominance driven ideas of masculinity, schools need to construct their own policies for change. Christine Skelton (2001), a researcher in education in the UK, thinks that the policies could be ascertained by exploring four key questions. The first of them is: what images of masculinity and femininity are children bringing with them into school and what types are they acting out in the classroom and playground. The second question that shall be explored while starting to construct a local anti-sexism programme is what are the dominant images of masculinity and femininity that the school itself reflects on the children. Additionally, Skelton challenges schools to explore what kinds of role models does the school want and expect of its teachers, and what kinds of initiatives / strategies / projects should teachers be undertaking with children to question sexist gender categories. (Skelton 2001: 175.)

Dominance driven masculinity and heterosexism are close to each other. *Heterosexism* can be defined as masculinist power over the other, and as a type of ideology that legitimises it. Heterosexism situates other types of masculinities – and more commonly femininities – in less valued positions, and forces individuals to conform to binary gender roles, positions, and to adopt traits associated with heterosexuality. (Mandel & Shakeshaft 2000.) It is maintained by the hetero-normative culture (Epstein 1996). In heterosexism the question thus is about what is valued and by whom, how power will be used and what are the divisions in the use of power, what are the ideas, images, and divisions of human agency. Because of that, cultural and value changes are needed to eliminate heterosexism as changes in the ideas/images of human agency. Furthermore, as Debbie Epstein points out, without policy, demands for change cannot succeed (Epstein *et al.* 2003: 149).

Susanne Kappeler, Morwenna Griffiths and Carol Gilligan focus on the quality and value questions of human agency in the context of heterosexist domi-

nance. Susanne Kappeler (1995: 24), a researcher on violence from the UK, thinks that people have two fundamentally different types of political orientations – or attitudes – of self, which she names as *self-interest* and *responsibility for the whole*. Kappeler combines violence with one of the two orientations. She proposes that, in addition to being fundamentally different, these two attitudes are mutually exclusive, meaning that both orientations cannot be held simultaneously. *Self-interest* and *responsibility for the whole* are based on incompatible conceptions of people and reality – on the self in relation to the ‘whole’. A *self-interest* -based political attitude considers self as the subject, as ‘I’ which also can become the plural ‘we’, but for which the world, everything else, becomes ‘it’, the object and also an enemy. (Kappeler 1995: 24.)

*The responsibility of us for each other* is not constituted through the entities of self and other, but through relation. The basis of this orientation is not in differentiation but in relation to each other as a whole: a ‘we’ which knows no ‘us and them’, and therefore neither a separable, but relational ‘I’ and oneself. It presupposes that the self is permanently and already in relation instead of being first a singular entity that will have to enter into a relationship with others. (Kappeler 1995: 25.)

Kappeler thinks that it is more typical to educate / to support the growing up of boys in the direction of self-interest and to try to orientate girls more towards the responsibility-orientation.

For Kappeler central in preventing violence is, then, to develop non-violent structures for actions and non-violent agencies instead of allowing certain forms of violence and trying to prevent some others. (Kappeler 1995: 8.)

Morwenna Griffiths (1998), a professor in educational research at Nottingham Trent University in the UK, has worked among corresponding questions in the field of philosophy. She has researched the agency through the concepts of *self* and *self-determination*. She argues that traditional Western philosophers have grounded their conceptualisations of the self to a limited, rational being that acts on its beliefs and desires and that they have paid attention only to a particular set of emotions in their self conceptions; the emotions of cruelty, humiliation and domination. (Griffiths 1998: 218.)

Griffiths argues that the western conceptions of self are constituted by beliefs and desires supposed to be constructed by separate autonomous human beings and because of that the postulation of cruelty has been needed. Griffiths uses Rorty and Hegel, two particularly influential Western mainstream philosophers, as examples in illustrating the problem. In both Hegel’s and Rorty’s accounts, cruel domination



is central to the processes of self-determination. Hegel argues that even a period of slavery is a necessary moment in the education of human beings because the emergence of self-consciousness arises from a particular struggle. In that struggle, the self resolves the difficulty that the emergence of self both requires another consciousness in which its own being will be acknowledged or recognized, and it also requires the possibility to negate the other to show that it is not fettered to any determinate existence. An outcome that allows both parties to survive and that leaves each with recognition, leaves one in the state of subjection to the other: one has the self-consciousness of the master, the other of the slave. (Griffiths 1998: 221.) The postulation results in two double binds for women, Griffiths (1998, 222) continues. The first is that they are asked to choose between self-creation and the pursuit of justice, because self-determination implies a tendency towards cruelty and away from justice. The second of the double binds is that women are asked to behave like stereotypical men if they want to achieve self-creation.

In her conception of the self, Griffiths (1998: 218, 224) places *human relationships* at the centre through (1) the personal relations of love, antipathy, acceptance, and rejection; and (2) agency. She thus gives the possibility for domination, humiliation and cruelty in her conception of the self, but also for care, sympathy and affiliation which are needed for the relations of love and belonging.

If aiming at changing a cruel culture towards one which respects each other, a politics is needed which gives space for people to find themselves with others according to Griffiths. She writes: "If selves are constructed in communities with others, then it also requires a politics, which dismantles the attempt to define the self through cruelty, while at the same time recognizing that the web of self-identity is spun out of cruelty, as well as, rather than in opposition to, love." (Griffiths 1998: 229.)

The origin of cruelty and the meaning of love in human relationships have been topical also in Carol Gilligan's thinking. But instead of asking, how do we become capable of love and knowledge, she asks rather what keeps us from loving and knowing? She asks how do we come not to know our experience, our feelings, and the feelings of the others, how do we become divided from others and from ourselves. What leads us to forgo pleasure for the sake of gaining competitive advantage?

Like Kappeler and Griffiths, Gilligan thinks that cruelty originates from certain types of values and orders of everyday life. She proposes that patriarchy is the main reason for cruelty in cross-gender relationships and that *freeing love* would be a way out of patriarchal relationships. For Gilligan the essence of patriarchy is

its hierarchical characteristics. She writes: “Patriarchy is an anthropological term, describing families and cultures that are headed by fathers. It is a hierarchy or priesthood, in which a father or some fathers control access to truth or power or god or knowledge—to salvation in whatever form it takes. It is an order of domination, privileging some men over others and subordinating women. But in dividing men from men and men from women, in splitting fathers from mothers and daughters and sons, patriarchy also creates a rift in psyche, dividing everyone from parts of themselves.” (Gilligan 2002: 7). Gilligan argues that hierarchy leads to covering vulnerability, limiting the possibilities to express the full spectrum of emotions, thoughts etc. As an example she points out that the sacrifice of love is a common feature of patriarchal religions and cultures. (Gilligan 2002: 7, 162.)

According to Gilligan the essence of love is love, and love by its very nature is free. Like wind and water, love crosses borders and boundaries; when we fall in love, we fall into a relationship and out of categories, because love is always particular, Gilligan (2002, 206) writes. Freeing love presupposes, and influences, deconstructing patriarchal and other hierarchical relationships. Furthermore, she thinks that freeing love also means freeing the voice to make it possible to experience and negotiate the full range of emotion and the subtleties and nuances of thought. But because of openness, freeing love means also vulnerability.

Gilligan deals with freeing love in the context of heterosexual love of couples in adolescent / dating in her book *The Birth of Pleasure. A new map of love* (2002). That is not, however, the main purpose for her. Her reason to focus on adolescent heterosexual love is – as she points out – that it offers a special perspective to reflect on the issues.

But is vulnerability characterising human life only when people are open towards the world? Judith Butler writes on human vulnerability on a more general and demanding level. She argues that, on the basis of what is happening in the whole world, we should start understanding how easily human life is annulled, and we should understand the *fundamental inevitable interdependency* of human life. She argues that the interdependency should become acknowledged as the basis for global political community. The awareness of a fundamental inevitable interdependency does not challenge us to fight against each other nor to try to solve the problems of human relationships through increasing *systems of control* but through work for us all. (Butler 2004: XIII.) *Work for us all* is the political orientation of self that Kappeler also proposed. But is it, however, in today’s world more a possibility in local communities, than on the global level where the leading values still are neo-liberalistic and commercially driven? Or is the level of vulnerability so

high in today's world that it wakes us up to reverse the direction quickly *towards work for us all!*

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**Part III**  
**Pedagogical and Ethical Means for Knowing,**  
**Empowering and Healing**



## 12 Theater for Healing and Empowerment of Domestic Workers in Lima

ÁGATA ZUMAETA FIGUEROA

Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes, Peru

### Introduction

The goal of the Peruvian NGO *Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes* (AGTR) is to recognize and advocate rights of people who have been excluded because of poverty, age, gender, color, language or culture. Our methodology includes policy advocacy, provision of direct services, and other activities. Our work stands for gender equality, with an emphasis on empowering the marginalized people to recognize their own rights and strive to realize such rights through strategies that reflect such empowerment and that stem from their active involvement. These efforts rely on the support from a network comprised by both the State and civil society.

In 2002, I was asked to turn around the educational interventions conducted by AGTR for the domestic workers (DW) we attended in schools (approximately 1200 DW each year). Domestic workers typically go to night school, after several hours of work. AGTR wanted to energize the presentations to maintain a better level of attention from the DWs, and to facilitate the DWs' ability to understand and remember the concepts explained, like: the domestic workers law, what to do in a medical appointment, how to behave when asking for a job.

I thought that it would be a good idea to get the attention of the DWs by telling them stories that reflected their lives, so they could identify with and remember the issues covered in the workshops. Being an actress, I decided to resort to dramatization of these situations.

The first dramatization that I developed was about their labor rights. The process of learning about their rights was presented through some questions that were posed to the DWs at the beginning and the end of each session. The script was very rigid and we used the "fourth wall" technique; meaning involving the audience in the presentation.

While presenting these issues in the schools, we noticed that DWs started to lower their guard and to express their thought, making comments about what they saw happening on stage and even starting a dialogue with the actors. This created a more horizontal relationship between the audience and the facilitator, which is

very different than the vertical (albeit internalized) relationships the DWs usually establish with people they perceive to be in a higher social position. They omitted the fact that they were interacting with a communicator whom they regarded as someone with more knowledge, resources and status, and expressed themselves with more freedom. The “fourth wall” naturally disappeared.

In order to increase and enhance the DWs’ participation, we abandoned the rigid script and started to play a sequence of actions, incorporating improvisation as a tool. The communicators/actors didn’t memorize their scripts anymore, but rather played their role depending on the context.

During the eight years that I have worked at AGTR, I have come to the realization that DWs, regardless of their age, are persons with enormous courage and strength. It is important, however, to empower them to develop their resilience; that is, their capacity to overcome adverse or traumatic situations they have experienced in their place of origin, with their families, their jobs, or the relationships they have with their partners. We must foster their self-esteem, encourage them to be assertive and develop a sense of self-worth. This is the first step for them to start feeling that they are in better conditions to make more assertive decisions, which in turn will lead them to the better life they hope for. Participatory theater, as utilized in the schools, proved to be an excellent tool in this process.

### Theater for Healing

Theater does not only use words: it can resort to mime, dance and images. Theater creates a comprehensive communication with people, body, emotions, and intellect. It cuts through language and cultural barriers; it does not demand speech or reading abilities to be effectively understood by the audience. Theater is an entertaining way to disseminate and share information, but it can also challenge us to confront aspects of our lives that we would prefer to keep untouched.

Theater for development is a mainstay to encourage participation. It allows us to hear voices that normally remain unheard, not even inside our own communities. There are situations in life that facilitate reflection and encourage participation on stage. Theater turns private and individual stories into public and collective dramas. Theater becomes, therefore, a challenge for people to face their conflicts and take measures to solve them. Likewise, theater could be used as therapy to process traumatic experiences and emotional problems, especially if the audience belongs to vulnerable and marginalized sectors, such as the DWs.



## Augusto Boal

Theater has been used as a tool for empowerment for several decades in social development projects. In ours, we utilize a dramatic proposal stemming from the *Teatro del Oprimido* – Theater of the Oppressed –, created by the Brazilian writer, playwright and theater director Augusto Boal.

Boal uses the theatrical language as a teaching method. Through a series of exercises, games, techniques (such as the image theater) and theatrical methods (of which forum theater is the most commonly used), it seeks to understand reality to be able to transform it.

Boal's starting point is that theater, as a language, could be utilized by any person and it transforms the viewer into the leading character of the dramatic action. Boal's vision sets aside the passive viewer, and the division between actor – audience disappears, as well as other traditional conventions; the viewer moves into action and dramatization.

The first technique used by Boal to engage the viewer is simultaneous dramatization. This generally starts with a brief scene of around 10–20 minutes. The scene is set by one of the viewers based on a situation that was a personal experienced or is well-known by him/her. According to Boal, effectiveness is enhanced when the leading character is placed among the viewers.

The actors can improvise from a script prepared beforehand; they can also write the scene directly and memorize their parts. The idea is to reach the point when the conflict arises.

This type of theater generates much excitement among participants, particularly those who want to voice their opinions. The actor must be ready to accept any suggestion from the viewers; the actor will always be the interpreter, but what is different is who he/she interprets or plays out. The actor does not interpret a pre-conceived text but the suggestions and ideas from the participants, in our case, the DWs.

### Project: Sexual Education and Reproductive Health in Lima's schools (night shift)

We started the project, "Sexual Education and Reproductive Health" in 2007 in 15 schools (night shift) in Lima, with support from the women's group Naisten Kehitysapu (UNIONI). They have supported AGTR from the start, back in 1989, and thanks to them, we are making progress in our mission and objectives.

In each school, during the school year from April through December we run three sessions. In every session we run a dramatization to present the following issues to the DWs:

First session:

- Learning to defend their physical integrity: “I love and protect my body”
- Deciding to wait until they have found the right partner: “I demand a quality partner”

Second session:

- Learning how to protect themselves from STDs and HIV/AIDS.

Third session:

- Learning and understanding their sexual and reproductive rights, and adopting healthy behaviors
- Deciding to postpone motherhood until the right time arrives, with educational and work training: “Motherhood, yes; but not yet”

At the end of each session we give a brochure to the DWs so they can read about the issues presented, as well as share what they have learned with relatives and friends. During the session, as a way to encourage participation with comments and questions, we hand out condoms, chocolates, and a little brochure describing all the services provided by AGTR – *La Casa de Panchita*. In the last session we hand out a brochure that contains the answers to the most frequent questions that have been raised during the sessions.

#### Description of a session in a school

Upon arrival to the classroom, we hand out to the students – who are mostly girls, but sometimes there are also a few boys – a piece of paper on which they have to write their gender and age, but not their name. They must also answer these questions: Are you a domestic worker? Do you help out an aunt, godmother or neighbor doing domestic chores? Is this your first time participating in an activity organized by AGTR – *La Casa de Panchita*? This is how we learn how many people participated in the activity, what their ages and genders are, and if they are DWs.

Likewise, by the end of the session they can also write questions on the same piece of paper. Some of these questions are answered before starting the next ses-

sion. We choose the questions that appear most frequently or those that pose more concern or conflict.

The session always begins with one or two motivating questions related to the central issue, which are discussed by the group. For example: Is it mandatory to have sexual relations with my partner? The conclusion reached by the group will be confronted after the dramatization, to confirm it or reject it.

This dramatization does not have a “fourth wall.” The DWs interact with the character/actor from the start. When the main subject of the story is presented, the scene is frozen and the character/actor representing the DW asks the participants for help to solve her dilemma: Should I give him the “test of love”? Should I have sexual relations with my partner out of fear that he will dump me? The participants respond to the actor, give advice, and even get angry at her. The actress – or actor playing the role – picks up the ideas she hears from the DWs and incorporates them in her script, expressing the opinions presented by the DWs, becoming the voice and expression of the DWs. In one of the sessions a clown is also used to reflect on the type of person the DWs have as an ideal partner.

Interactive dramatization and clown-playing are valid strategies that contribute to empower the DWs, for example, to be better prepared to face pressure from their partners to have sexual relations.

### Our experience

During the sessions in schools, the actors present dramatizations in which DWs intervene to face their conflicts, even in a very simple and incipient manner, by telling the character whom they identify with, for example, a DW, what she/he should do to change the reality created by the dramatization. This will encourage the participant to act out that change in her/his own daily life down the road.

In each session, the DWs are offered an opportunity to reflect, with the following possible results:

- Recognizing that their situation is not an isolated occurrence
- Understanding that changes are possible, not only in themselves but also in relation to their partners
- Identifying what they can do to achieve these changes

This includes:

- Realizing that they can refuse to surrender to their partners' pressures to have sexual relations.
- Realizing that they can demand their partners to use a condom to prevent STDs/HIV or an undesired pregnancy.

During our sessions in schools, the facilitators/actors memorize scripts; not to repeat them literally, but to have a clear structure of the scene. From the DWs' interventions during the dramatization, the actors improvise until the conflict arises. At that moment, the actor who is playing the role of a DW freezes the scene and creates a dialogue with the audience to ask for help to find a solution to her problem.

The DWs motivate the facilitators/actors to act on the situation, and their active participation makes the story develop differently every time it is played out, according to the interventions that take place during the dramatization.

The DWs' interventions become the script for the character on stage, who integrates them into the dialogue with the other actor to continue the scene that had been frozen. For example: "If he loves you, he should wait". This goes on as many times as necessary.

If the idea offered by the DW is not the best solution, the leading character bounces back the idea and reflects on it with the DW about a better, alternate solution: "You want to get married... but I don't want to get married right away, I just want to wait a little longer, what should I tell him, then?". "If he doesn't want to wait, break up with him."

The DWs' interventions feed the dramatization and provide the facilitators more elements to develop the issue further. Therefore, they complement each other and create a horizontal interaction.

After their participation in the three sessions, the DWs:

- Know how to protect themselves to prevent an STD/HIV or unwanted pregnancies. This is confirmed with the motivational questions, the Entry Questionnaire, and the questions and exchanges that take place at the end of the session.
- Realize that they can resist pressure from their partners to have sexual relations. This is confirmed by the type of interventions. It is important to notice that generally in this session at least one DW says that she used to think that it was mandatory to have sexual relations with her partner if they were married.

The goal of the dramatizations is to help the DWs to identify themselves with the character and participate expressing their ideas and discussing their concerns, which fosters their empowerment.

#### Characteristics of our methodology

- *Element of surprise*: Most of the DWs have never been to the theater. All of a sudden, they not only see actors performing but also perceive that their representation reflects their daily lives. This enhances the impact of the dramatization.
- *Horizontal character of the proposal*: Playing with theater, added to a horizontal relationship with the DWs from the start, facilitates and solidifies a trusting relationship with them.
- *Empathy*: Knowing how to “put oneself in the DWs’ shoes,” as well as interacting with the DWs in a warm manner, contribute to bridge the gap between people with very different backgrounds.
- *Sense of humor*: When a DW calls me “miss,” which DWs are used to I use humor to ease the relationship into less distant and formal terms. The use of the clown technique also facilitates that the DWs join the “theatrical game” and express themselves.

#### Changes in the domestic workers

*They identify themselves as domestic workers*: Many DWs say that they live with a “godmother,” preferring to identify themselves as “godchildren” than as workers without a pay. This is the result of a society that discriminates the persons who works in domestic service. Dramatization allows them to visualize their labor relationship. For example, before ending the session about the rights of DWs, it is possible to find testimonies like this one:

“I am not working right now, I am helping my sister out. She only gives me lunch, she gives me fruit, breakfast, everything. Sometimes she buys me clothes. In her house I clean, sweep the floors, clean the bathroom, that’s it.”  
(Clara, 14 years old)

The fact that the main character of the dramatization is a DW and says so, eases the identification and acceptance of DWs of their condition. Such identification leads the DW to engage in the story being presented because, ultimately, it is her story.

*They have the possibility to express what they feel and think:* The DWs who work and study at night have a low level of participation in class, in fact they even sleep at their desks.

Most of them get up very early, do the chores in the house where they work and almost always get to classes late. After classes they usually go to bed late because when they get to the house where they work, they still have to do the dishes or even wash clothes. The vast majority of DWs who attend to school at night (6PM to 10PM) must necessarily use time, after school hours, that they could spend sleeping to do their homework, knowing that they will need to get up very early the next day.

Being in an interactive presentation, dramatization keeps them alert. The exchanges in which the character who plays DW asks help from the participants to solve her problems, forces the audience to express what they feel and think. Thus, they act “verbally” on what they would do if they were in that situation in real life.

*They realize that they have sexual and reproductive rights:* Knowing that there are sexual and reproductive rights encourages them to pose questions they have on these issues. Talking about sex is still taboo in Peru, particularly among poor sectors, and creating this opportunity to even briefly talk freely about this issue is quite a big deal for them.

*They gain the courage to express their problems:* Oftentimes, as they leave the classroom, DWs approach us to share their individual situations; this reflects a considerable need to be heard. At that moment, they feel they have the courage to talk about their problems.

“I had a boyfriend with whom I had sexual relations but I ended it. I have now some pimples in my vaginal area. I have another boyfriend now and he has pimples too, can it be a sexually transmitted disease? What can I do?”  
(Andrea, 22 years old)

Sometimes the DWs have voiced problems related to violence or sexual abuse. It is worth noting that, as much as possible, AGTR has provided support for them.

We explain the DW that in case of rape they must go to a Police Station to report, and the steps that will be done. Many times the DW refer to violations occurred in the past and without proofs.

*They learn about alternatives for protection:* Many DW don't have a place to go to on their day off. Therefore, when we visit them in their school, we usually invite them to come to *La Casa de Panchita*, where they will have the opportunity to participate in different free workshops that will foster their empowerment.

Even if it is not possible to come to *La Casa de Panchita*, this place stays in their minds. They know that every Sunday through the year, *La Casa de Panchita* will be open for them, which creates a sense of security.

*They develop awareness of their rights as women:* In the two sessions related to sharing with their partners – assertiveness to face pressure from their partners to have sex, and assertiveness to prevent HIV/AIDS –, DWs realize what happened to them and their friends, if they have or have had a partner. They also participate in the dramatization by “counseling” the actor who plays the DW role about what she should tell her partner. We think that maybe later, when they replicate this scene with their own partners, they will have information about the risks of acquiring a sexually transmitted disease, and be able to voice their concerns about an unwanted pregnancy.

Also, some misguided beliefs are discussed and discarded; like “If my private parts are burning, will a bidet wash cure me?”, or “One can't get pregnant in the first sexual relation”.

An initial and progressive process of empowerment is the result of a series of changes like these.





## 13 ICT as a Tool for Empowerment for People with Disabilities

ÅSA GARDELLI

Luleå University of Technology, Sweden

### Introduction

This article concerns people with disabilities and their use of Information and Communication Technology, ICT. One central point is if ICT can be a tool for empowerment for people with disabilities. The aim of my research has been to explore whether persons with disabilities by the use of ICT can influence their participating in society and if so, in what way.

Conditions of life for individuals influence how society is organized, and the bigger needs of support a human being has, the more important becomes the question of how the social structures work to meet the needs. The Swedish government's disability policies are based on the aims of: full participation and equality. Despite that lots of studies show that people with disabilities are excluded or treated in a violating way because of their disability. The former Swedish Minister and Special Rapporteur on Disability of the Commission for Social Development, Bengt Lindqvist, was charged by the Swedish Government with the task of reviewing and analysing the issue of attitudes towards persons with disabilities (SOU 1999: 21). He provided an opportunity for persons with disabilities to give an account of their experiences. By means of interviews, letters, discussions, seminars, and meetings with disabled people, disabled people's organisations, immigrant organisations and others with knowledge of these issues, he draw the conclusion that there were considerable deficiencies in attitudes to persons with disabilities.

He found that many felt violated, controlled and called in question, and the same pattern emerged regardless of the type of disability, life situation, and the support, service and assistance that was being sought. He also found that attitudes towards disabled people to a very high degree were shaped by external factors. The values of the individual as well as the disabled person's own expectations of what they were entitled to naturally, played a role. But he saw that attitudes and behaviour also had been affected by working conditions, unclear and complicated systems of rules that were often changed, lack of resources, and the changes in values that had taken place in the wake of the economic crisis. Accordingly, Lind-

qvist meant that attitudes towards persons with disabilities are political issues and expressions of the collective attitudes of society. Many of the participants felt that laws and rules were unclear and that politicians did not give clear information on what was applicable. There was a lack of clarity in the political message on the attitude of the community to people with disabilities, and on how the community dealt with and met the needs for service, support, and accessibility that many people with disabilities had. The gap between ideal and reality was evident in his material. Lindqvist meant, that when people realise that laws and rules do not live up to their promises, they feel deceived and lose their faith in society's ability to meet citizens' needs and safeguard their interests. This creates distrust towards authorities, which in turn leads to distrust towards politicians. The gap between ideal and reality was particularly clear with regard to contempt of court. In the light of the stock of knowledge that he acquired, he considered that the position of the individual must be reinforced in a number of aspects. This is the case; for example, with regard to the right to full participation and influence, where clear political directives are required that persons must not be excluded or treated in a violating way because they have a disability. Women with disabilities often face double discrimination (Barron 2004).

People with disabilities are often looked upon as though they belong to a separate group, without regarding the reality that disability is one of the social differences, like age, gender, class, geographical region, etc. that affects people's life situations. Living with a disability is about being similar as well as different from other people with as well as without disabilities.

### The concept of disability

The World Health Organization, WHO, has developed an international classification for exploring various areas around disability and health, "The International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health", more commonly known as ICF (WHO 2001). ICF is WHO's framework for health and disability. ICF puts the concept of disability in a new light. ICF has changed from being a "consequences of disease classification" (1980 version) to become a "components of health classification" and it provides a standard language and framework for the description of health and health-related states. It acknowledges that every human being can experience a decreasing in health and in that way experience some degree of disability. WHO consider that disability is not something that only happens to a minority of humanity. ICF thus recognises it as a universal human experience. By shifting the

focus from cause to impact, ICF places all health conditions on an equal foothold allowing them to be compared using a common metric – the ruler of health and disability. Additionally, ICF takes into account the social aspects of disability and does not see disability only as a medical or biological dysfunction. By including contextual factors, in which environmental factors are listed, ICF allows to account the impact of the environment on the person's functioning.

Therefore, ICF is a tool for describing the situation that each person experiences in various health areas rather than a tool for classifying people. The definition focuses on domains that are classified from body, individual, and societal perspectives by means of two lists: a list of body functions and structure, and a list of domains of activity and participation. Since an individual's functioning and disability occurs in a context, the ICF also includes a list of environmental factors.

## Information and Communication Technology

Information and Communication Technology is part of almost everyone's everyday life in a variety of ways, and the field of ICT is a rapidly changing field (Florin & Hegarthy 2004). The information revolution provides an invaluable new set of tools for all partners striving to achieve sustainable development. It makes empowerment both meaningful and effective and enables for people to communicate.

The ICT Government Bill (Regeringskansliet 2004/05: 175) argues that all citizens should have equal access to ICT and it also stipulates how access and use can be improved for women and men in all ages, for people with disabilities and for people from various ethnic groups (Governmental Bill 2004/05: 175). The Swedish ICT policy relies on the view to make Sweden into a sustainable ICT society for all. At the same time, many reports raise the question as to whether ICT really is accessible to everyone.

## ICT as a tool for empowerment

My research interest includes the use of Information and Communication Technology, ICT, from a participatory perspective for people with various disabilities. I have taken an interest in understanding how people with disabilities can influence their daily life with the use of ICT. My aim has been to explore whether persons with disabilities by the use of ICT can influence their participating in society and if

so, in what way. Additionally I have studied under which conditions the participants incorporated ICT in their lives.

My studies are based on an interdisciplinary approach e.g. by work from disability studies, pedagogy, sociology, psychology, philosophy, health studies, and technological studies. The purpose of my research during the last twelve years has been to study whether adult people with disabilities can improve their everyday lives and enhance their self-determination with the use of ICT. I have raised the question if ICT can support the processes of empowerment. I have worked and carried out research activities in the field of ICT, aesthetics and learning on a long term basis in several projects since 1996, where I have participated as an educator, project leader, and doctoral student. I have based my licentiate and doctoral thesis on this research (Gardelli 2000, 2004).

The results from my doctoral studies explore the ways people with disabilities influence their everyday lives with ICT, and the hindrance and possibilities which are linked to this. In my studies I have found that ICT can be an influential tool in the strengthening of a democratic society. Generally participants in my studies, who learned to use ICT, expressed that communicating via computers improved their quality of life. They felt a greater sense of personal empowerment and control over their living situation. Their newly acquired ICT knowledge functioned as a way for them to both communicate and to learn additional communication skills.

#### An EU project as an example

One of the research projects, a project called EuroConnect, can illustrate how, for example, e-mails and web sites could function as tools for empowerment. The purpose of the EuroConnect project was to study if Information and Communication Technology could improve quality of life for people with disabilities in sparsely populated areas. EuroConnect proceeded in the County of Norrbotten in the north of Sweden between 1996 and 1998. EuroConnect offered participants with various disabilities, six women and eight men by the age between about 20 and 70 years, who lacked computer skills; individually designed training and support in the use of ICT. The primary goal of the project was to use ICT as a means to provide disabled persons an expanded opportunity to participate in society. In providing computer literacy, the intent was to provide an enhanced ability to communicate with the world at large, have the ability to influence the surrounding society and community and have the capacity to maintain employment or to be able to study. Each of these primary goals and other, secondary ones, were seen as a means to signifi-

cantly improve quality of life for people with disabilities. The original proposal for an action program contained suggestions that the new technology, when correctly adjusted, could mean possibilities for increased participation and equality in society as a whole for participants. There was also an emphasis on the requirement that new technology and methods must accommodate functional limitations, be readily accessible, and having been developed as a result of the active participation of current and potential users.

### Web sites as tools for empowerment

An important tool for the participants in EuroConnect was web sites. Participants were able to see and try to use different programs to create their own web pages. The whole process, all the way from creating an interest in the design and use of web pages to creating a web page, was considered important. Participants received support, in varying degrees, when designing their personal web pages. During computer sessions at our meetings, participants who had created personal web pages, showed their results to other participants. The growth in self confidence and recognition of personal creativity that these exercises stimulated are examples of the actions of participants. During one session at the university, one participant (who also happened to be one of the more severely physically impaired program members) decided to create a web page about her disability. The thought behind these pages was not to talk about herself but about her disability and what it meant to her as a human being. She wanted to create a web site, which was not characterised so much by “the difficult language of doctors” and not “so heavy and dark” as she put it, but more about what the disability could mean for a person and how you actually can have a worthy life despite, or maybe because, of your disability.

The following is another opinion regarding the importance of the web page from another participant:

“For me, the home page means increased self-esteem and reinforced self confidence as well as an expanded social network. This goes, mainly, for groups where people have first appeared with different disabilities, but also within groups without any disabilities. My home page, where the goal is to create paths on the Internet in order to make sure people with disabilities are participating and have equality, is the greatest experience I could have. There is a niche for everybody to engage in. The home page is my big lift for intellectual, physical as well as mental recovery after I first appeared after three earlier strokes.”

One of the participants sent the following e-mail saying how he looked at the matter of web pages:

“I really think that home pages have to be given preference when trying to stimulate computer use. To be able to create a home page might feel like an escape from the grey, boring everyday life. It is possible that one will not be able to manage everything oneself, but this is not the primary issue when I “show off” for my friends about my page. People who cannot actively work on these home pages might not understand what they are missing. I get enormous satisfaction from my home page even though I did not manage to create it by myself. And, the page will most likely change during the time we continue this co-operation. My friends think having a home page is fantastic.”

#### E-mails as tools for empowerment

Another example of personal empowerment for the participants was the possibility to use e-mail to inquire about their needs, or to communicate by themselves, rather than having someone else to do it for them. One example of the importance of e-mail was when a woman with severe speech difficulties because of her disability used e-mail. People often couldn't hear what she said and she felt that people often had to wait for her to find the right word. Once, when she wanted to influence her assistance situation in her home, she made several phone calls to the municipality office, but she experienced that her needs were not satisfied. She did not even get the chance to get in contact with the right person. She meant that it had to do with her slurry speech. After she had sent an e-mail to the municipality office with the same request, she in a short time got an answer and a changed assistance situation. With this self-discovered communication tool, she felt that she was able to express her feelings quickly and clearly.

#### Results from the project

The above mentioned illustrations are only a few of the numerous examples in which individuals with disabilities were viewed as experts in their own recovery process, where their feelings and experiences were treated as valuable knowledge that could guide subsequent rehabilitation choices. I found that ICT was a way for the participants “to be someone, to tell, to be seen, to mean something for someone else, to be important and to have a task”. Examples include a woman who had lost the use of her hands and was able to steer her computer with her voice. Using ICT

enabled her to communicate more independently. She and her family expressed that it helped her feel empowered. “The computer is the best medicine for her” her old father explained when I visited their home.

At the same time, I found that there were problems that the use of ICT could not solve and that overshadowed the value of using it for the participants. The problems considered with using ICT for the participants in my studies were not primarily about the “disability itself” but rather about technological problems with assistance, economy, absence of support, problems with persons in authorities and the system, plus limitations in time, which affected if the participants continued to use or gave up using ICT.

Another result from my work is that for some of the participants their disabilities have improved and some of them have acquired occupations or started to study with the use of ICT. My study further showed that the participants have been able to influence their situation in the society. The technologies, such as e-mails and web pages e.g., have been part of a changed social interaction for the participants in my studies. I found that ICT increased their social networks. For some of them it led to building up new relationships and for others it meant returning to old relationships. It furthermore meant that some of the participants got in contact with friends and relatives in virtual life. One example is a woman with hearing impairment that started to communicate with a woman in Japan. They later met in real life after lots of contacts by ICT in different ways: They mailed to each other, they chatted, they used web cameras and they even made CD’s, with Swedish respectively Japanese signed language, which they sent to each other before meeting in real life. As a result of that they could easily communicate when they met at the first time in Japan. That was the beginning of several meetings in Japan and in Sweden.

The participants in my study were not so many, but among them I could not see anything that indicated that there were any differences between the ability to learn to use ICT between the women and the men. Some of the women who had severe disabilities were among the most active ICT users in the project. The women with the most severe physical impairment among the participants in the study, was very motivated and used ICT the most. She experienced the greatest benefit from using ICT and she thought that ICT really contributed to raising her quality of life.

The results from the EuroConnect project has shown that in order for ICT to be a real tool for people with disabilities, more than technology has to be involved: to a large extent it is about pedagogical, social, psychological, philosophical, and

as matters stand today, even about economic aspects. One key concept has been *empowerment* – the ability to achieve some degree of personal power (empower) or the belief that people with disabilities have the capacity to exercise a reasonable amount of control over their immediate environment. Equipped with the right kind of tools, people with disabilities can have the power over their own lives. Beyond improving quality of life, the use of ICT has made it easier for participants to assume a degree of personal control over their world and environment.

A disability is not a characteristic of a person. Instead, it arises within the interplay between humans and the environment. With the help of ICT the project results showed that it can be possible to overcome several if not all of the purely practical obstacles, which a disability represents. Social powers between participants were reinforced and became important driving forces for many to go on with their own development. Of course, ICT can never replace meetings between humans, and in the EuroConnect project we noticed that the use of computers as support for communication increased people's need to meet in person.

## Conclusion

In my studies I have found that the use of ICT can influence participating in society for the individuals with disabilities. Exposure to ICT in some way contributed to raising the quality of life for the participants. The participants themselves and their relatives articulated that they experienced an increase in their quality of life. When asked to reflect upon why ICT helped them, respondents expressed that these areas had enabled them to communicate more effectively and independently. In addition, participants stated that having obtained ICT skills made them "equal" in the eyes of others. They expressed that they were capable of being productive and useful members of their world and made comments such as: "I am primarily a person, not a disabled", "I can still learn new skills, even things that are difficult", "I can reach out and communicate now. I can teach the able bodied about disability" and "I can help others". They meant that ICT helped them to communicate in new ways and that their feelings of inadequacy diminished in proportion to their growing communicative abilities.

Most of us feel good about ourselves when we learn something new. For people with a disability, learning a new skill can be especially empowering. People with disabilities can spend countless of hours learning new skills or re-learning skills that were lost, leaving them with little time and opportunity to gain new skills.



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## 14 Constructing a Pedagogical approach for an E-learning Programme on Gender and Sexual Violence

MERVI HEIKKINEN, SUVI PIHKALA & VAPPU SUNNARI

University of Oulu, Finland

### Introduction

Gender and sexual violence is one of the obstacles – structural violence – to gender equality and human rights (e.g. Sunnari 2003 *et. al.*, Walby 2005, Kelly 2005, Hageman-White *et al.* 2006, 2007). Several feminist researchers have been working for decades on curriculum development to integrate care and a non-violence approach and gender equality issues in the education of various professionals (Sunnari 1997, Sunnari *et al.* 2003, Brunila *et al.* 2005, Heikkinen & Huuki 2005). The work carried out has provided the ground work for the Apropos project coordinated by Women's and Gender Studies in the University of Oulu<sup>1</sup>. A programme developed in the project focuses on multisectoral and multidisciplinary approaches to various forms of gender and sexual violence, multiagency work, supporting victims of violence and non-violent conflict resolution. Currently, this programme is available as a minor subject in the Faculty of Educational Sciences at the University of Oulu.

The European Council's recommendations fully support the continuation of the development work. The studies of Hageman-White *et al.* (2007) "Protecting women against violence" on the implementation of Recommendation of CM/Rec(2002)5 and also "Combating violence against women – a stocktaking study on the measures and actions taken in Council of Europe member states" (2006) – indicate a need for multi-agency education for professionals. Their development work relates to the current EU policies, especially The protection of women against violence (CM/Rec(2002)5), the Recommendations on Gender mainstreaming in Education (CM/Rec(2007)13) and on gender equality standards and

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1. The Apropos project is a Daphne II funded project coordinated by Women's and Gender Studies in the University of Oulu. Partners in the project were international and national expert organizations in education and questions of violence: Child and Women Abuse Studies Unit (UK), Therapeutische Frauenberatung (Göttingen, GER), Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (CYP), Luleå University of Technology (SWE) and from Finland: Centre of Arctic Medicine, Länsi-Pohja Healthcare district, Poske, Oulu Mother and Child home and shelter, Oulu University hospital/psychiatry, SINNI, Early childhood education (University of Oulu), School of health and social care (FIN)

mechanisms (CM/Rec(2007)17). The European Commission's Daphne programme has been a very important resource for carrying out long term research based on educational development work.

Critical feminist pedagogy provides important insights into tackling the question of violence and the pedagogy of care and non-violence. The most important concerns that Kappeler (1995), Griffiths (1998), Hird (2002), Parpart (2002) and Townsend *et al.* (1999) raise are in connection to empowerment, human agency, and responsibility, as well as the consequences that the process of women's empowerment for gender equality produces on individual, organisational and societal levels. At the same time, the concerns raise challenges for developing pedagogy of non-violence. As Kappeler (*ibid.*) emphasises, the most crucial factor in preventing violence is *to develop non-violent structures for actions and to support the development of non-violent selves and agencies*. The quality of social relations and our orientations in social relations are central. Therefore, in our study programme, the focus is on individuals in specific situations, on the decisions behind their actions as well as the participants' self-empowerment in their contemporary work, in their future career, and in their everyday life to combat gendered and sexualised violence.

Information and communication technology played an important part in the study programme in a number of ways: 1) it provided a platform to study, 2) even from remote locations: the English version brought together around 60 active participants from 16 different countries – also the Finnish participants were spread all over Finland, 3) it provided a shared environment, 4) where studying was not strictly tied to a certain time and space, and allowed 5) participation in the development process through regular feedback given during the pilot year.

The students on our programme were informed about the programme through e-mail lists and they enrolled on the programme via the internet. The education was realized in a closed e-learning environment. A closed environment means that all the students had to log on to the environment and for that they were provided with their own personal username and password. All the course materials, instructions and interactive forums used in the learning process were available in the e-learning platform.

The enrolled students were divided into smaller, groups, of about 15 persons, that had their own mentor available online to support and guide the students. The mentors guided the discussion exercises and gave feedback to the students on their study journals. The course work, done in groups and individually, was guided and evaluated by mentors and formed the core of the programme which gave rise to

new conceptualizations, awareness, sharing of information and construction of new knowledge. The education was based largely on group work and peer support. The students were instructed to use the materials to discuss the weekly topic on the group message boards. Innovative tools such as chat and wiki were also tested to support the participants' and the groups' collective learning process and common knowledge production. The group exercises encouraged interaction and exchange of experience both of theory and practice.

Group discussions took place in the internet-environment and were the central forum for interaction of the studying community. The discussion groups were arranged differently in each of the courses. There could be 3 to 6 groups of 6–40 students in a course depending on the goal of the discussion. During the first three weeks of the programme, the students were able to participate only in their own group to ensure that they team up together. During the following two weeks the students' access was expanded gradually, at first to read and then to participate in the discussions of the other groups. On a second course, the groups were reorganised and the students were given the possibility to choose their groups freely. On the last two courses, the students returned to their original groups. Apart from the beginning of the programme, the students were able to follow the discussions of the other groups and, as mentioned, to participate in multisectoral discussions and share different perspectives. At the same time, being a member of a certain group added to the feeling of belonging and feeling of safety. On the other hand, being able to follow the other discussions can facilitate more participation and openness as everything that was written may be read by others and participants could revisit and review their own argumentation, but at the same time that may cause reserve among them.

In addition to work done in groups the students reflected on their learning and experiences, course by course, in a study journal. The study journals were strictly private and thus allowed for both intellectual consideration on one's own life history and experiences with violence. The balance between these two was not always easy to find and depended largely on how thoroughly the aspects of violence in one's own life had been previously treated. Also the realization that there had been something which could be termed as violence in one's own life history tended to shift the focus from learning to therapeutic self reflection. The role of the mentor was to help shift the focus back to the study track without, at the same time, violently excluding the students' personal experiences. This multidimensional role of emotions in e-learning and the challenges it brings to the mentors is too often left undisclosed (Nummenmaa 2007: 11).

The combination of individual and group work was aimed at supporting the learners' sense of belonging, being-there (presence) and on the other hand left room for flexibility, distancing of oneself from the often distressing contents and then again returning to the materials and discussions to find support for both emotional and intellectual processes. The virtual presence allowed the students to adjust their psychosocial distance to the group members – although in some cases the distance was more or less defined by the participants' experienced position in his/her group. This was a challenge for us to consider the group compositions more thoroughly. In some cases, the feeling of otherness or being left out meant that the distance was quite strong. In others, the virtual space allowed the psychosocial distance to narrow rather than to widen. The students felt quite comfortable in sharing their experiences of violence, attitudes and prejudices whereas in face to face situations these might be left unspoken. This raises questions about how much openness should be supported in an e-learning context and how aware the participants were about these processes. Did the e-learning setting create a virtual feeling of safe distance? What kind of self-revealing/openness should be encouraged, what kind of a safe setting should we build so that the group members would not cause harm to each other? What kind of sensitivity and ethical stand should be taken when themes of violence are discussed and studied? An ethical code of conduct was introduced and emphasised at the beginning of the course to ensure a safe e-learning environment. The code was generally accepted and used, so it became a ground for communication in an e-learning community. The following quote is from the e-learning environment introducing the group-discussion area: "...Remember the etiquette in all the discussions. Do not write things you would not say face to face. Always remain polite and kind, and do not deliberately provoke or denigrate others. Respect the views and experiences even if they are unfamiliar to you. Leave space for others to tell their views and to participate." The students form social norms also in their own group (Luokkanen *et al.* 2008: 12) but the challenge remains: how to support constructive group grounding?

E-learning tends to always leave a lot to the student's responsibility and unfortunately students may feel left alone with their experiences of violence, fears and vulnerability. There is a clear role and need for mentoring. In the study programme mentors were practitioners, experts and educational professionals and their main responsibilities were to guide the group work and evaluate the study journals. In addition, merely being there can be said to be an important aspect of creating an e-learning space where the facelessness of the virtual can be transcended and a common feeling of presence and togetherness is formed to support learners' feeling of

security, motivation and engagement which are a big part of constructing a successful web course (Rintamäki 2008).

In this paper we will describe each of the five courses in the study programme in a way that focuses on the pedagogical principle implemented in it: Course I – Breaking the Silence; Course II – The politics of personal behaviour; Course III – Overcoming the collective irresponsibility; Course IV – Empowerment and agency on-line; and Course V – Non-violent culture and gender equality as a human right issue. In the following chapters, the five courses constituting the study programme will be introduced. The concluding chapter draws together the possibilities for further research e.g. to study gendered and sexualised violence on a more interdisciplinary focus; educating group mentors for their role and tasks; and e-learning as a means of studying violence and discrimination in its various forms as well as the themes of equality and equity.

### Breaking the silence

The first course *Gendered and Sexualised Violence – Multisectoral and Multidisciplinary Introduction* was an introduction to the whole study programme so its contents mirror the subsequent courses, with a special focus on the life span perspective. During the course, research conducted in the various disciplines on violence was described from a gender perspective. The students were familiarized with the basic concepts, extent, forms of violence and tools to recognise and prevent violence in different contexts. Also the purpose was to strengthen the occupational development for the multisectoral support of the victims of violence.

Content of the course:

Module 1: Orientation to the theme

Module 2: The lifespan perspective – childhood and youth

Module 3: The lifespan perspective – adulthood and older ages

Module 4: Surviving violence

Module 5: Multisectoral approach

With regard to the pedagogical development of the study programme, the first course was the most important in that respect. During the first course the idea of the intellectual virtual learning society or epistemic society (Assiter 1999) was established and adopted in practice. Exercises in each of the five modules were designed so that they would produce skills needed throughout the whole study pro-

gramme and so that intellectual learning process (Juntti & Melakari-Mustonen 2008) could be possible and plausible in an e-learning platform.

During the first course, the students were familiarized with the various forms of study materials to be used in the study programme as well as the technical design of the e-learning platform. A special task in the first module for students and mentors was to introduce themselves in a virtual environment. Learning to know other participants is important for creating a learning community and the feeling of belonging.

Students' ICT-skills vary considerably and this was a factor for consideration. There were students who were participating in online education for the first time. Skills, as well as accessibility of the e-learning environment, were important issues when designing exercises and instructions for the platform. For example, the "Ask advice"-area was formed for queries and prompt answers and was accessible for all participants. Anybody attending the course could provide support and help for the others according to the idea of a learning community. Also the organisers of the study programme checked the message boards regularly and the students sent queries by e-mails and phone.

The first web-discussion was on definitions of the concept of violence and the silence that appears around violence. Web-discussion was the basic form of activity during the course. In practice, web-discussion means a written form of discussion on a message board or in a chat room. We did not use video or audio discussion which would have provided interesting and improved possibilities, especially for real-time communication, because it was already a challenge to maintain a strict timetable for an ICT platform with a comparatively large student group. The course timetable and support services would have to be arranged differently if the aim was to use video and audio equipment.

In the second and third modules, the approach was to examine various manifestations of gender and sexual violence through the life span to view the continuum of violence and the cumulative effect of it. Violence may appear again in another form in a different environment and through new actors or structures so it is important to understand the extent of the violence and its multiple forms so as to develop non-violent agencies and forms of culture. The continuum of violence was discussed in groups and questions arose. For example, what kind of new meanings does gender acquire in connection with the violence and the continuum of the violence? How do disability, cultural multiplicity, age, sexual orientation and conviction influence the continuum of violence?



In the fourth module, the students were requested to deliver information links, hints, good practices or materials connected to the theme and upload them to the “Link hints” folder where they would find links contributed by other students. In this way information was shared thus respecting the responsibility for all principle (Kappeler 1995). It would be advantageous to arrange it so that participants would be able to study topics in their own language too. In this pilot we were not able to produce materials in many languages, but we searched ourselves for materials in other languages and invited participants to share their materials in other languages. In the English realization of the study programme, the discussions with the participants from several countries and comparison of experiences facilitated producing knowledge with a more international perspective.

The fourth module also offered basics for practical work which involved recognising, naming, discussing and listening to the accounts of violence, and the obstacles for speaking about these were elaborated. Questions were discussed, such as: who should confront and support a person with violent encounters? How is gender meaningful when talking about violent encounters or when listening to accounts of them? In the beginning of the module, the students had access to reading the discussions of the other groups and the different groups consisted of students from different fields of expertise or from different countries. This enlargement of the learning society formed the basis for the multisectoral approach to violence prevention on an international European level.

The aim of the last and fifth module was to conclude the first course by discussing the possibilities of multisectoral work through supporting the victims of violence, and violence prevention. International variations were also discussed. The students were requested to share their experiences of the multisectoral work in a group discussion, and describe the challenges and advantages. In this way the final exercise opened a window on to professional self-understanding or towards future visions. Those in the group who were working with violence (either voluntarily or by profession) were encouraged to start the group discussion by sharing their experiences of multisectoral collaboration. For example, what kind of collaboration was conceived as important in supporting the victims of violence, and violence prevention? Who is the key person to intervene in the violence? What about the continuum of violence and violence from the life span perspective? Also the individual possibilities for intervening in the violence in current or future jobs were discussed.

At the end of the course, the students were reminded about the possibility of finalizing the course exercises from the previous modules. One of their assign-

ments was also to turn in their study journal to the learning environment on which they were given feedback. The students were asked to fill in an evaluation form at the end of each course and asked to describe their experience and provide critical insight so as to further develop the programme.

### The politics of personal behaviour

*Course II – The Global Context of Violence* introduced the specific forms, extent and background of violence. The subjects included gender and sexual violence as a more extensive societal and international phenomenon and its manifestations in conflicts. Also the media was studied as one forum and manifestation of violence. The course introduced national and international conventions and actions taken to combat gender and sexual violence, and opened critical perspectives on their implementation.

Group discussion was made more open in the second course and students had a free choice which one of the five thematic focus groups to join and they were named Honour, Sexuality, Media, Policies and Awareness. The aim was that the participants could form interest clusters. Otherwise the group work did not differ from the earlier course; the study materials and questions around them were discussed also in the subsequent modules. For the students it seemed to be difficult to engage in one group and just to contribute to the development of it and many students ended up taking part in several discussion groups. It seemed to be a challenge for the students themselves to control the size of the group and as a result all of the discussion groups became comparatively big consisting all together of 30–40 students.

A new way of collective learning, wiki was also introduced in the second course. Basically wiki is a website that is edited by its users. It provides possibilities for shared writing processes and to create something new together. During the course the wiki functioned as a kind of glossary where different concepts mentioned in the learning material were introduced and defined more closely. Wiki is a continuous process and it evolved throughout the whole study programme and each student influences the way it develops. Additionally wiki opens up to users of the world wide web, so it is not a closed environment such as others, e.g. Optima. There should be a possibility for critical discussion of the concepts and their definitions although this part should be more closely supervised and the discussion of concepts should be part of the mentors work. Moreover, the students should have

enough time to become acquainted with the new web tool to avoid computer anxiety.

### Overcoming the collective irresponsibility

Course III was entitled “Sexual exploitation and Trafficking” and focused on the question of sexual exploitation, the trafficking of women and children, prostitution and the sex trade. It is estimated that 2 million women and children are trafficked every year which converts this form of gender and sexual violence into a huge global issue. During the course, the exploitation of women and girls was studied and the focal points were the reasons, backgrounds and violence related to exploitation and trafficking. Work to combat trafficking is being done by NGOs and official agencies around the world, which provide information and contribute to creating better ways of breaking the chains of trafficking, and the students were introduced to these organizations, their campaigns and forums. The academic discussion was extended and the students were encouraged to take part in an international seminar. Kappeler (1995) challenges us to pay attention to the actions of individuals in specific situations and also to the decision behind the actions. In this study programme in general, an approach that would elaborate the ethical and moral issues about one’s rights and responsibilities is needed. Such type of ethical examination would also provide space for one’s own feelings which is important for actions and involvement in issues to bring about improvements.

As part of this course, the possibility for group film viewing was organised so as to increase the awareness of human trafficking as form of violence and discuss their experience. One of the films depicting sexual exploitation and violence was about Lilja telling the story of a 16-year old girl who ended up being trafficked. Another exercise consisted of writing a “case study” as a course exercise so as to better understand vulnerability issues as well as emotions, such as empathy, that are intertwined in the learning process in this topic.

### Empowerment and agency online

Course IV was called “Tools for Practitioners” and gave a more practical view of violence prevention and working with violence. During the course the “good practices” – such as recognising the victims of violence, helping them, also counselling the helper, resolving the threat of violence and violence prevention by professionals – were elaborated. For instance, the method of open dialogue and its applica-

tion to the multisectoral work was studied through course literature. Group mentors fixed the dates and times for group meetings online providing the students with the possibility to practice distance consultation in a chat room. Gender-sensitivity in online counselling and open dialogue approaches were also discussed.

The students were encouraged to arrange study trips to their local support services and to meet professionals. Another possibility was to become familiar with the local services through the internet. The students were requested to prepare a 1–2 page report of their virtual or physical visit which formed one part of the course exercise in Module 4.

An especially important topic on the course was the effects of violence on an individual who works with victims of violence. Since the topic was already discussed in the first course, any new participants were informed about the possibility of consulting the earlier texts. Also the students were requested to reflect upon various encounters of violence through texts and videos available during the programme. Questions such as the following were discussed: how is the knowledge influential when encountering violence? What does your own strong reaction inform you about the encounter? How should you react to the encounter? Since it is important to have practical experience of the issues studied there is a practical training period for all students in their respective area of studies.

### Non-violent culture and gender equality as a human right issue

The V course was called “Gender Equality and a Non-violent Studying and Working Environment” took up the challenge of envisioning and building up non-violent environments. The course calls for the fundamental frameworks of non-violence and equality, i.e. the basic principles, and legislation and policies. The issues are viewed from a multisectoral and multiprofessional perspective and the students were challenged to seek out new, innovative, multiprofessional ways of creating non-violence and combating violence and ill-treatment in multiple establishments ranging from day care to schools and to different workplaces. The special focus was on a non-violent environment and organisational culture which includes growing acquainted with the conflict resolution models. Course 5 concentrated on human rights issues, equality and gender-sensitivity so as to create non-violent practices and organisational cultures. A wide variety of topics were included, ranging from getting to know women's and children's rights, bridging the gap between those rights and realities and looking at the different actions taken

and possibilities to create safer cultures. One of the tasks during the course was to plan a campaign.

Course V is on the one hand an independent thematic entity and, on the other hand, this course finishes the study programme by concluding the themes from the previous courses and examining the challenges and possibilities for multisectoral work. The students who took part in the whole programme had the possibility to reflect on their personal development; knowledge, empowerment and agency – to understand violence and enhance their capabilities to act.

## Conclusions

Studying the theme of violence, and its prevention, is especially challenging because of the sensitivity aspect and the fear factors the topic, because often several of the students have personal experiences of violence and memories of these incidents are activated when the topic is being studied.

We recognise that e-learning makes it easier to handle themes of violence, while raising special challenges whether you view it from the student's, planner's, teacher's or mentor's perspective. However, working in an e-learning environment may make it easier to approach the difficult issues and their elaboration and to exchange experiences. In the e-learning environment you may also distance yourself from the topic and return to it more easily than in a class teaching, face-to-face situation. The challenge is to ensure that the environment does not leave the students alone with their experiences, that the environment is safe and constructive and that the educational aims can be achieved.

The aim of this programme was to construct a critical and reflective learning environment that would respect the individual dignity and shared learning process of an e-learning study programme. According to our understanding, this is in line with equal relationships and is suitable for the studies that discuss sensitive topics, such as violence. The study programme is a platform for the participants' self-empowerment in their contemporary work or in their future career, as well as in their everyday life to combat gendered and sexualised violence, as Townsend *et al.* 1999). A further advantage is that intellectual challenges and possibilities for self-empowerment can be intertwined in the design of an e-learning study programme e.g. through access to online consultation. From the feminist pedagogical perspective, e-learning provides new possibilities for challenging the de facto hierarchy of students and teachers (Demény *et al.* 2006).

This experience encourages us to develop further multidisciplinary and multi-professional web-based education in the areas of gender and sexual violence. Moreover, the gender sensitivity of the web-pedagogy used in the study programme should be further developed. According to our experience, a sensitive and supportive mentoring model when teaching and studying violence is needed and it is our next challenge.

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## **15 The Invisible Violence of Feminine Caring Roles in the Private and Public Worlds: a Challenge for the Feminist Ethics of Caring**

ANTONIETTA BASTIDAS HERNANDÉS-RAYDÁN

Universidad de Granada, Spain

### **Introductory comments**

All forms of life on earth require care for their preservation. Because of that, nurturing, helping, serving, protecting, are ways to maintain human existence since the “rational species” is also one of the most fragile ones at birth. Furthermore, care is a basic need not only at the dawn of life but also throughout the vital cycle. Because of that one of the most crucial realities in human experience is care: to receive it and to give it. However, the providers of care and the mechanisms to do it are not only related to biological facts but mainly to cultural ones.

### **From gender roles to invisible violence**

The concept of socialization refers to the processes by which human beings develop historically as persons and also as society members, building up their individual and social identity as part of the social groups they belong to. Societies educate boys/men for autonomy and girls/women for relationships, service, belonging, and taking care of other people’s needs as a way of life, as noted by Cavana (1995).

Some expressions of this situation are: motherhood, nursery care, domestic chores, sexual services, secretarial roles, and social commitment to those in need. Maternity is seen by Celia Amorós as the first sexual division of labor. It signifies the “transcendent” option offered women to “find” meaning in their lives. The feminine emotional production has to do with biological and cultural birth giving, as noted by Ferguson (1989). Motherhood is also called “the attentive love” (Ruddick 1989). All of the above concepts have been integrated in some sort of an “essential feminine”, in such a way that maternity becomes the means for oppression of women, literally and symbolically as well, and care turns out to be an ideological commodity for men under patriarchy.

Gender roles are the tasks assigned to boys and girls, women and men, because of their sex according to social expectations. Those expectations are

formed over time through the normative prescriptions that culture and society impose on masculine and feminine behavior. Beyond variations due to social class, ethnic groups, generation level and culture, there is a basic division, namely, the most primitive sexual division of work: women deliver and because of that they take care of the kids. So, feminine is maternal, domestic, it belongs to the private world. As Lamas (1996: 5) points out, the concept of gender establishes rigid stereotypes which condition human potentialities by stimulating or repressing behavior according to gender assignments.

Gender is a complex biosociocultural and historical construction. It includes roles, values, behavioral norms, social relations, economic, legal political and sociological traits, which establish what it is to be men and women in any given society. It explains why the sexual difference (XX or XY) entails power inequality between men and women. It teaches us the intricacies of power. An important aspect is to keep in mind that as it is culturally created it can also be modified through educational processes and laws.

An interesting approach by Butler (2001) portrays gender as a performance built upon the repetition of prescribed behaviors, like a permanent body theater which builds up gender and also allows diverging behaviors which are potentially subversive to change gender mandates.

In its descriptive dimension gender is the social institutionalizing of sex differences in a relational way. It involves a conceptual system, a code of conduct and functions dictating the social expectations towards men and women. These normative and hierarchic systems and codes are acquired and transmitted with spatial, social and historical variations. In its analytical dimension gender is a category created to study and signify the asymmetries in the power relations among sexes in a global social context. The concept of gender helps us understand that many of the attributes we consider “natural” of men and women are truly traits which have been socially constructed, with no relation whatsoever to biology, as asserted by Medina (1998).

Patriarchy is an order of power based on the supremacy of men and the masculine over women and their subordination, – even the expropriation of their material and symbolic goods (Lagarde 1994: 32). It attempts to make everyone believe that there is a fragile, emotional, dependent feminine essence, whose nature is maternity, while there is a strong, active, rational masculine nature. The resulting world is androcentric, uneven, unfair. However, the patriarchal order has been naturalized and extended through the culture – narrative discourse, normative reinforcement, media message, family support and education endorsement –.

Women mission is to be at the service of their family, living for them, and by extension, for other people, so that those people get free from daily needs in order to have a good life (Moreno 1984: 127). The naturalization of injustice accounts for the invisible violence of the gender rules.

The trace of patriarchy leaves the footprints of gender: the public side, the street, intelligence, reason, voice, active sexual achievement, autonomy, the condition of subject, economic productivity, they all belong to men; the private space, the household, the invisible work, emotion, silence, a passive sexuality, the condition of object, reproduction of labor force, motherhood, sacrifice, negation of self, they all belong to women. When those roles are not performed according to the structural historic, social, religious, cultural and legal patterns, women often feel guilty, as well as powerless.

Decades – or centuries – of women efforts to have their place on their own right, in an egalitarian society, have rendered fruits. Their private space has expanded to the public world, and in most societies women are sharing gender roles – gaining access to the primeval privileges of men –, even though often times in discriminating conditions. In fact, in the labor market there are many jobs typified as “feminine” which are a prolongation of domestic work as well as the attention and caring that women provide. There are also traits considered “feminine” such as submission, which are valued at work. The devaluation from society towards activities performed mainly by women considering them as “natural” is another expression of the invisible violence of feminine caring roles. On the other hand, men have not so far expanded the public side to the household, so conciliation is yet a goal to reach and women keep on carrying the burden of the double, triple or “multiple load”.

From the household to the public world women perform the tasks of creating, nurturing and maintaining life, naturalized through gender roles, which often prevent women from caring about themselves. The naturalization of feminine gender roles accounts for an invisible violence, which makes women believe there is not much they can do to change their “destiny” or “essence”. A significant aspect of the sexual arrangement is that it is not perceived as a slavery pact or a labor contract, as argued by Pateman (1988).

A comprehensive analysis of the invisible violence of feminine gender roles is not only concerned with the tasks of women in society. It also consist of the study of the forms of organization and functioning of societies, based on the social relations between men and women, such as productive and reproduced work, access and control of goods and benefits, opportunities and limitations for human

development, as well as the organizing capacity of women and men to promote equality (United nations development Programme 2001).

### **Ethics of care – from the myth of the devoted mother to the autonomous woman**

The gender order defines women by the “mother” condition – the role of vital care-taker – which is privileged throughout the socializing process, creating the “maternal instinct myth”, and from the “wife” condition – total dependency – form where obedience and service to others seem to be “the female way”. From the position of alterity – the politics of othering – women tend to place more value in others than in themselves, realizing their existence in terms of the relation to others, living and being for others forgetting to be for themselves (Lagarde 2003). The founding myths stated above have prevented women from considering themselves, and being considered by others, socio-historical subjects in so far their subjectivity has been reduced to sexuality with the specific reproductive function, as Basaglia (1983: 35) contends.

The leading advocate of an ethics of caring, psychologist Carol Gilligan (1982: 174) has affirmed that “in the different voice of women lies the truth of an ethic of care, the tie between relationship and responsibility”. This movement arose from her critique and allegation to the “justice outlook” of morality – a view traditionally promoted and shared by men in Western culture – and Lawrence Kohlberg’s research on the field of moral development, whose findings suggested the inferiority of women in that area. This was denounced by Gilligan as sexist for considering men moral development as the canon for humanity moral development.

Women have traditionally been taught a kind of moral outlook that emphasizes solidarity, community, caring and relationships. This “care view” of morality has been ignored, diminished or trivialized because women have been traditionally in positions of limited power and influence. The justice view of morality focuses on doing the right thing even if it requires personal cost or sacrificing the interest of those to whom one is close. The care view would instead say that women can and should concern themselves with the interests and needs of others, as well as cultivate their natural capacity to care for others and themselves.

An ethics of care rests on the understanding of relationships as responses to concrete persons in particular situations, that is, the contextual in human experience. It focuses on the moral importance of nurturing, supporting and

responding to such persons as individuals with characteristics that demand responsibility to them. It requires the construction of an ethical subject whose moral action is motivated by affection, closeness and responsibility, as well as the building up of an ethical community which is centered on empathy and legitimation.

The decision to go beyond the abstract individual as a political-ethical subject implies accepting the personal-concrete experience as pertaining to politics and ethics also, while the notion of an abstract citizenship identified with a general individual activates the exclusion in social relationships. Therefore, it is important to connect personal and social interests joining together the idea of compassion and the idea of justice, as noted by Carosio (2007: 176).

There is, however, a significant shift in the assumption of an ethics of care when women are concerned. As a consequence of their socialization most women have very few referents to comprehend that care begins with themselves -self care, in their possibilities and their right to be subjects of their self-ness, owners of their autonomy, entitled to their transcendence. From the household to the public world women perform the roles of creating life and its maintenance, naturalized through gender roles. Because of that, when those roles are not performed as the historic and cultural patterns require, feelings of guilt set in and the ethics of caring for themselves fail all together (Cavana 1995: 110).

#### A feminist ethics of care and women empowerment

The conventional feminine ethics of care is service without reciprocity; the feminist ethics of care is self-care and reciprocal care. A feminist ethics of caring implies the duty and responsibility to attend the needs of human beings -men and women alike- in such a way that equality and equity may become facts of daily life. It requires the development of new identities and subjectivities, legal frameworks and social contracts, but mainly, new levels of consciousness. The feminist ethics of care is an historic, cultural, ethical-political process which challenges humanity to go beyond the inequity of the traditional patriarchally engendered ethics of care.

To take Carol Gilligan's (1982) and Irene Comins' (2003: 50–53) ethics of care to its full development implies a collective transformation in consciousness, from the perception women have had of themselves when performing the caring roles and from men's perception of the place and tasks of women in society, that is, the integration of autonomy and care in the very fabric of humanity as a whole. It

can be possible through empowerment, which entails a transformative process of social relations between men and women to reach an enhanced quality of life for all of them, according to Freire (1997).

Empowerment is an emancipating process related to the notion of transforming the diverse situations of discrimination and/or oppression which can be present in women lives as a consequence of the unequal access to material, educational, political, ideological, social, symbolic and intangible -such as time-resources. From the feminist ethics of care perspective, empowerment brings about the possibility for women to increase their personal, interpersonal, political and ethical power, taking action to improve their lives and foster autonomy. It involves challenging the hegemonic knowledge created with no concern for women presence and accomplishment in history.

An important challenge for the feminist ethics of caring is to make evident the violence existing in the power imbalance between masculine and feminine gender roles regarding caring in the private/domestic domain and in the public world also.

Empowerment compels women to unlearn inefficient patterns and to realize their situation of subordination. It involves getting gender perspective education, developing the ability to endorse their rights. It requires their commitment to individual changes and cooperative actions, through the development of networks and sorority endeavors to change their lives and society. It obliges giving radical input to the transformation of the structures and processes which have accounted for the discrimination of women. It has to do with satisfying practical and strategic needs of women which means not only enhancing material conditions of life but also giving them the social recognition and value their human dignity deserves.

The affirmation of autonomy by women requires developing critical consciousness, assuming their rights as socio-historical subjects, fostering control over their own lives, enhancing self-confidence, expanding access to and control of opportunities and resources. It asks for drastic changes in the ways political, economic, and social power is distributed among men and women.

On this issue Gerda Lerner (1993: 274) has made an important contribution describing the characteristics of feminist consciousness. 1) Women knowledge of belonging to a subordinated group which has been harmed over time, 2) recognition of the fact that subordination is not a natural condition; it has been socially determined; 3) development of a sense of sorority (an ethical and esthetic concept born out of the need to develop a culture of pacts among women), 4) autonomous definition by women of their objectives and strategies to change their condition, 5) development of an alternative vision of future.

The process of women empowerment needs to be analyzed in the context of the world state of affairs, because during the last thirty years the modernization of gender relations has been dynamic and comprehensive, shaped by the conflicting forces of globalization as well as women's movements around the world, – though in diverse levels of accomplishment –; as the patterns of segregation and discrimination of national gender orders erode, new complexities and contentions in gender relations emerge at various sites such as politics, work and families, as noted by Lenz *et al.* (2007).

## Conclusion

The feminist ethics of care involves a civilization change. It puts an emphasis on leaving behind the traditional distinction between private and public so that they do not stand for an opposition between affection and reason, particular and universal, personal and social, concrete and abstract, as asserted by Carosio (2007: 167). It is a multidimensional task of the ethics of caring to put in the public agenda a morality centered in sensibility towards personal interests in relation to social interests which connects the idea of compassion to the idea of justice (Hierro 1998).

As far as the possibility of achieving practical outcomes from the feminist ethics of caring in the realm of the invisible violence of feminine gender roles in the private and public worlds, it is only fair to give an opportunity to it. As Miyares (2003: 140) expresses: "It seems to me that it is a reachable accomplishment that a human being may mix care and ambition, children raising and civic commitment, affection and efficiency, sacrifice and authority" (author's translation).

The attentive love and care toward her own self should be a prerequisite for each and every woman to take care of others, as an ethical-political paradigm. The feminist ethics of care and responsibility is the need to be part of a huge net of compassionate relations and a commitment to protect life without destroying the personal self. An encouraging reality is that women are learning to accept they are equally different to men, or, in other words, to realize their political equivalence and existential difference to men.

The feminist ethics of care, a new social model, which has not really been tried so far, and the political practice of caring by an educated citizenship – women and men alike –, not only in terms of the defense of their rights but also in the social inclusion of co-responsibility, care and affection, takes the world to a self-referent humanism. It incorporates citizen participation in the wide-ranging

activities of civic decision making improving democracy. It brings education to the realm of consciousness transformation as a strategy of political, methodological and practical dimensions. It brings to the attention of humanity the fact that gender differences are not fixed by nature and have to be changed by culture as a condition to make true the ethics of justice.

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## 16 Ecocriticism and Northern Women's Writing as a Tool of Cultural Healing – the Writings of Maria Vaara and Lee Maracle<sup>1</sup>

KAARINA KAILO

University of Oulu, Finland

The starting point of this paper is that the modern culture of violence in all of its societal, psychic, religious, economic and gendered manifestations is intimately linked with the social arrangements and relations of power which characterize contemporary eurocentric societies. Domination, poverty, injustice, discrimination and exploitation are the breeding-grounds for violence – gendered and non-gendered alike – and are a main cause of various emotional disorders resulting from individual and collective trauma or abuse. Goodleaf (1993) among others relates the Kanienkehaka women's resistance in Mohawk Canada to the eurocentric worldview of violence, not just to any abstract patriarchy. Goodleaf describes a holistic view of resistance against gendered state violence and calls upon social movements to "go beyond the human to a vision rooted in a spiritually- and politically-based worldview of Indigenous people that encompasses the four-legged, the waters, the air, the earth..." (10x).<sup>2</sup> Goodleaf's vision calls for new policies and governance formed within a holistic understanding of the earth's ecosystem, echoing the ecocritical and ecofeminist schools of thought within western academia (cf. Buell 2001, Kailo 2008, Leahy 1998, Lederman1994). One cannot, in fact, address violence and healing in depth without recognizing the extent to which the monocausal, abstracted and emotionally disconnected thinking dominant in the western world itself colludes with creating conditions of epistemic violence, ethnocultural intolerance and a cultural inferiority complex. As a case study of how literary works can be important sources of understanding the social roots of gendered and ecological violence, and of finding insights towards collective healing, I contrast the writings of two female writers, Maria Vaara of Northern Finland and Lee Maracle of Native North America. Both epitomize in their work the most common theme of Northern European and Native North American women's wri-

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1. I thank the Finnish Academy that funded my research project "Hemispheric Cross-Talk on violence and Healing. Comparative Perspectives on Northern Native and non-native women Writers" (project 118461).

2. For other important views on the relationship between cultural pride and healing, see Chandler & Lalonde 1998; Colvin 2004; Hill 1995 and Schuurman 1998, all of which studies are also relevant for ethnosensitive literary analysis.

tings – multilevel cultural and individual violence and the impact of male and ethnocultural domination. They also role-model the potential of overwriting the traumas that are only too common as gendered experiences in Northern communities. I will draw attention to the ways in which ecocriticism, the most recent of literary schools, is appropriate for addressing the roots and ways of undoing cultural violence.

### Feminist Perspectives on Ecomythology and Ecocriticism

Ecocriticism is often defined as an approach that has the potential to lead to an enhanced ethical stance regarding our relations with nature (Buell 2001, Garrard 2005: 139 –140). Ecocriticism and the related "ecomythology," defined as "the study of the relationship between literature [myths, narratives] and the physical environment" (Glotfelty and Fromm 1996: xiii) can be looked upon as a timely new theoretical approach considering the threats posed by the climate change, food crisis and financial downturn – all of which derive from the neoliberal politics of "power over." Any system of domination that sees nature as a mere resource for private accumulation is equally likely to view women as gifts, providers of unpaid care, or as currency of exchange between men. Ecocriticism expands the notion of the "world" to include the entire ecosphere and seeks, among some of its many goals, to expose the links between hierarchical systems of domination and the combined othering and exploitation of women, nature and vulnerable populations, such as Indigenous people.

Maria Vaara and Lee Maracle both dramatize the long-term effects of trauma from violence to early childhood abandonment, rejection, incest, sexual abuse, social stigma, poverty and trauma-related dysfunction. These effects include many different kinds of psychosocial and psychosomatic symptoms, of which the authors address particularly the following: internalization of the voice of the oppressor often resulting in self-blame, low self-esteem, shame, guilt, projection of free-floating rage on others, the inability to love and to separate sex from violence, the difficulty of drawing protective boundaries between self and other as well as the pain of feeling detached and separate from the rest of society and even the greater cosmos. Traumas typically give rise to a split personality as abuse survivors objectify themselves and so-to-speak observe the different parts of their Self from a disembodied, detached stance, often giving voice to reminiscences from an anchored, shield-surrounded third person viewpoint. The third person-first person narrators take turns, providing different levels of intrapsychic self-commentary/self-

dramatization in a kaleidoscopic perusal of the broken self, past and present. The third person narrator comments on the meaning of trauma and anxiety disorders while the first person narrative plunges the reader into the dramatized experience itself, pulling the reader into the position of a witness, even participant.

### Northern writers on trauma and healing

Finnish writer, poet, social critic Maria Vaara is an apt example of a Northern writer who has sought, implicitly, to expose the wrongs of the patriarchal system of asymmetrical social arrangements or what I call the master imaginary (Kailo 2008) of multilevel domination. She has rolemodelled the healing potential of writing as a mixture of fiction and autobiography, attesting to the untapped potential of using creativity as individual and collective therapy. Vaara, whose real name is Marja Haataja, was born in 1931 in Kuhmo, Finland.<sup>3</sup> She got divorced from her alcoholic husband in 1967, following which she fell into a deep depression. She was diagnosed as schizotypic but wrote her books while in psychiatric treatment in Oulu. Although her writings attest to her social maturity, sharp spirit and ability to see through the socio-political scape-goating practices of her times, she could not rescue herself. She died in Oulu in 1992, succumbing to the battle she waged against the uppers and downers and the fatal diet pills that she was prescribed in lieu of proper therapy (or the kinds of social policies that would address the difficulties of women like her). Vaara published her works between 1973 and 1982, and her production includes poems, plays, novels and a fantasy novel.

The first novel, *Likaiset legendat* (Dirty Legends 1974) describes the early stages of the narrator-subject's schizophrenia while *Myrkköseitikki* (poisonous mushroom) for its part dramatizes the final attempts of the narrator to rebuild her Self from the ruins of her life. The economic worries of the single mother of three and emotional Angst are reflected as the background of the crises that the novels describe/dramatize. Vaara's diagnosis of schizophrenia has been accepted at face value in the few studies on her works, although her creative talents as writer have been recognized. While I do not have the expertise or willingness to comment on the real-life Maria Vaara's psychiatric dis-ease, I join Vaara in challenging the very institution of psychiatry as a patriarchal science particularly in its treatment of women's "disorders". Psychiatric labels tend to conceal the psycho-social, emo-

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3. She worked as a librarian and teacher in Kainuu in 1953–1970 and returned to her childhood village where she married Oiva Haataja. After getting a divorce, Vaara moved to Paltamo with her three children. Vaara was awarded the Gummerus literary prize in 1976.

tional and political roots of women's depression, dis-ease and other psychiatric ailments. Most importantly, by applying such labels – however real the symptoms of a split personality may seem or be – one risks concealing the socially sanctioned or taken-for-granted elements that predispose people to falling ill on the basis of experiences directly or indirectly related to one's gender, ethnicity, age and other variables in the context of asymmetrical power relations. In sum, inequality is a much more significant element of psychic and emotional disorders than is recognized, although many symptoms are conveniently displaced into psychiatric categories in a medical system that focuses more on individual rather than societal responsibility. Blaming biology or locating dysfunction in the individual, society can turn a blind eye to its own collusion with pathological behaviors and the causes of illness. Both authors' books dramatize the long-term effects of sexual trauma, manifesting among other traits as dramatized memory gaps, intrusive memories of abuse, a sense of pollutedness and impurity, a persisting sense of shame and self-loathing as well as emotional numbing (both adaptive and self-destructive). For both authors, nature and community provide the space of hope and healing, although in different ethnocultural ways. For Vaara, some measure of healing flows from the sense of control that writing one's traumas can give; green fantasies also serve to bring into focus imagery that provides alternatives to the memories of pollution, death and dysfunction. Nature, like the childhood self's teddybears, offers some measure of protection, solace and beauty to dispel the worst nightmares of dark reminiscence and grim visions of life.

Vaara exposes the darker side of her life and personality in bold imagery, and also takes a sharp-edged stab at her Christian Orthodox Karelian upbringing. She reveals what suffering was caused her by her mother's strict adherence to a patriarchal culture that treats women as inferior, as back-stage assistants who must constantly tiptoe on the minefield of female sexuality in order to avoid the booby-traps of whore-labelling or of missing the mark as madonnas (the mother's internalized patriarchy). Vaara's female persona must keep her hands off the table and her pants, and must never stop serving and toiling. She is to trust authorities, be obedient and serve others without expressing any needs of her own. Domination manifests as subjugation to the desires of others, parents, authorities, partners. Vaara addresses her own traumas resulting from gendered, cultural and economic violence and hardship through her literary characters. However, we are well-advised not to read the texts as purely autobiographical. While we do not know whether the references to incest are fictional or autobiographical, addressing them is equally important. It may be wiser to consider the writings as automythographic

to the extent that she has been able to rewrite her own life – her mother’s overpowering, destructive methods of upraising, the experiences of childhood and married life sexual abuse, by displacing them onto part imaginary characters and by dealing with them through real or literary fantasies of healing and recovery. A measure of healing thus flows from the opportunity to rewrite one’s life, to express the given script and to rewrite it through the transformative power of the pen. The characters ask bold rhetorical questions critiquing now implicitly now explicitly the collusion of psychiatry itself in dysfunction. *Tulilintu* (Firebird 1982) contains the classical images of the psyche as a room, in Vaara’s case a house without doors, where the Angst victim bounces from wall to wall, and where the question of the self as an empty shell is directed at the psychiatric institution: ”who has become like a vacuum, who? The very health care system...? (Vaara 1982: 96). The critique is extended to militaristic and implicitly right-wing politics: ”Whenever I hear talk about home, religion and fatherland, my ears begin to hear the sound of bombs and planes, and I do not believe that it is a form of mental illness” (Vaara 1982: 99). The books all bring to focus how the violence inherent in the Finnish politics of institutionalized care work and institutionalized practices themselves cause and perpetuate the vicious cycles of violence, self-hatred, self-blame and victimization. The patronizing, belittling attitudes of the books’ authority and expert figures can be seen to represent the voice of the ”master imaginary” (Kailo 2008) now internalized, now criticized. They differ from the husband’s mental cruelty only up to a degree. Where the husband or other dramatized male characters of the novels fall upon mental cruelty to silence their partners and block any blame, some of the psychiatric professionals likewise abuse of their expert status to deny the client her own psychic reality and perception. One mental health employee is reported as telling the depressed narrator that her problems reside in her ”immaturity” (Vaara 1982: 198). Others treat her creative writing within the stories as nothing short of therapeutic ”scribbling.” She is not given dignity, let alone value as a talented writer in her own right. Thus the automythographical self is revictimized in numerous ways in terms of her original victimizations, whether they consist of incest, sexual, economic, religious and gender-based abuse. In this light, any social interventions are merely band-aid solutions to issues that are in nature more political and to do with the sex/gender system’s inequalities. The problems behind the narrator’s dysfunctions are to a great extent, if not exclusively, societal: economic hardship, the vulnerability of the single mother trying to make ends meet, the insufficiencies of the social safety networks and the insulting, patronizing attitudes of the health care staff. Vaara is critical of the fact that the

psychiatric staff seeks to heal the patients' dis-ease by making them numb with medication, even though what they really needed is closeness, intimacy, acceptance, empowerment. In *Myrkkyseitikki* (1980) Vaara highlights the significance that medication has taken on in her life by naming the very chapters with the pharmaceutical would-be cures: "Reactivan, Oxepam, Noritren, Tylinol..." The book describes how the narrator's days are spent chewing these various pills. Where Vaara describes the psychiatric and psychotherapeutic, social services' reliance on pills as anxiety-relief, Native Canadian women often impart knowledge about writing and cultural activities as a spiritual form of "medicine." Maracle refers to writing as medicine in *I am Woman* (1996), echoing Beth Brant, a Mohawk two-spirited Native writer, among others: "It is so obvious to me that Native women's writing is a generous sharing of our history and our dreams for the future. That generosity is a collective experience. And perhaps this is the major difference between Aboriginal writing and that of European-based "literature". We do not write as individuals communing with a muse. We write as members of an ancient, cultural consciousness. Our "muse" is US. Our "muse" is our ancestors. Our "muse" is our children, our grandchildren, our partners, and our lovers. Our "muse" is Earth and the stories ... the rocks, the trees, the birds, the fish, the animals, and the waters. Our words come from the very place of all life, the spirits who swirl around us, teaching us, cajoling us, chastising us, loving. Us." (Brant 1994).<sup>4</sup> Medicine is within the Native worldview an element of the holistic outlook where the spiritual, the emotional, the psychological, the physical and the mental combine to provide the life force and spirit that makes life meaningful. In the Western context, as Vaara's writings clearly point out, medicine has been downgraded to a merely commercial element as part of a profit-oriented worldview, where public monies are directed more at corporations than the services that should help people find balance and receive concrete help and support.

In *Haluan löytää* (I want to find 1978) Vaara describes the protagonist's process of discovering and imposing her sexual boundaries and her coming out of the closet. In the story Irina is described as not having been able to develop a sense of her separate physical self due to early childhood experiences which lacked the safe environment healthy development requires. Looking for intimacy, she cannot say no to sex, even when it does not feel good. This also captures the collective sexual

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4. Beth Brant has also written numerous cultural narratives that one might label as ecomythological. See for example "This is History" which retells the origin legend of the Turtle Island in a Lesbian (two-spirited) framework that likely does more justice to the more primary versions of the story than its Christianized versions. See my article Kailo (1997).



dysfunction of the domination-oriented worldview; eros and violence are associated whereas non-patriarchal cultures see eros as the connecting tie and principle of all nature and beings. Gradually Irina learns to identify and determine her own Lesbian desire. Maracle likewise dramatizes the cross-gender self that cannot be easily identified as male or female. Particularly the character "Rusty" in *I am Woman* (1996) to whom the narrator sends post mortem letters captures the ambivalence of sexuality and Native identity. Maracle has created a cross-gender autobiographical, historical and fictional type of writing with cross-gender characters that are likewise complex repositories of identity-formation – white and Native culture, compulsory heterosexuality and the protest against its monolithic norms. Both Vaara and Maracle let us understand the fact that compulsory heterosexuality is itself a significant source of psycho-emotional turmoil and self-alienation, as yet another effect of a hierarchical and dualistic social order. A strict black and white sex/gender system does not allow for the multiplicity of being but forces people into restricting and artificial straight-jackets, at the same time serving the interests of a heterosexual economy that needs the male-breadwinner-female breadmaker model as the grounding of its asymmetrical gender relations (Wittig 1991).

Vaara's green fantasy, *Vihreä matka*, (Green Journey 1979) repeats the obsessively recurrent theme of a negative mother complex that is still pursuing the fictional protagonist, Renja, an 11-year-old girl, as she seeks to escape to a symbolic green underworld with her supportive male companion. The negative mother complex can be interpreted more broadly as the outcome of a collective, patriarchal devaluation and shaming of the feminine, even of the maternal. The patriarchal and eurocentric concept of motherhood is sentimental and dualistic, based on an equally unrealistic idealization and denigration of the maternal. In a culture that shrouds the masculine in religious, economic, social and cultural associations and images of ultimate authority, power, prestige and privilege, the maternal and feminine are in contrast relegated to a subordinate position of dependency on the male authorities (one of double morality). The motto, "you are damned if you do, damned if you don't" expresses the typical female syndrome (the female conflict of identity) where one risks being accused of either parasitism as a home-maker, or of selfishness as a career or working mother. However, in Native Canadian writings motherhood and mother earth partake of a much more empowering chain of associations, as part of a worldview and imaginary of gender balance, regeneration and interdependency. Still, Native women also take issue with the ways in which eurocentric patriarchal thought has extended its tentacles also to Native communities. Eurocentric sex/gender systems propose an identity of the human that is inde-

pendent and individualistic. However, in reality, such autonomy only applies to men since women are thanks to social arrangements more dependent on state, welfare and other financial/communal arrangements or systems to combine family and work.

If the early novels by Vaara are cathartic outpourings of the narrator's split self, involving a shifting first and third person point of view, her green fantasy novel reflects the ideas about healing and recovery that no doubt derive from Vaara's own long therapies and psycho-social philosophical reflections. The final novel can be labelled as ecocritical to the extent that Vaara traces through the changes in nature imagery how the narrators also develop in terms of their ecological relatedness and a more objective and sensitive perception of their surroundings. One might tentatively argue that a person who – on the grounds of trauma or the eurocentric split self – do not have healthy boundaries, either merge with nature or relate to it as the other. In both cases nature does not have its inherent value in its own right but becomes a screen for human projections and needs. One might argue that patriarchally conditioned men, having difficulty with social relations and boundaries, likewise merge with the feminized other, not being able to give it its inherent rights and separate being. To seek mergers with nature (or woman, native, other) is to seek escape, not to interact with nature in full consciousness of its own being and value. The weight of the past is symbolized in *Vihreä matka* (Green Journey) by a stone that the narrator carries with her; finally, having grasped that her overpowering, emotionally deepfrozen mother is also a victim of a collective patriarchal dysfunction, the dark shadow is lifted, nature shows itself in brighter and more hopeful colors, and Renja can let go of the stone. From being an icon of the burden of guilt, self-hate, blame, rage, hatred and shame, it becomes the symbol of emancipation from the worst effects of trauma and emotional rejection. Understanding that the mother, too, is a victim of the master imaginary of domination helps release the rage, and paves the way for forgiveness and understanding. As the hold of the past eases off, the narrator is free to perceive more objectively, without the compensatory mechanisms of projection and self-annihilating mergers.

#### Lee Maracle – from rage to the medicine of healing

When we each lived in a glass house we could both see. It required a mere shattering of the glass. I thought that night when you smashed my face that I had succeeded in breaking the glass house. When glass breaks someone gets cut. I did not

mind being the one because I thought I had swung the hammer that broke the glass. But you built another wall. I dare not tamper with steel. (Maracle 1996: 43)

The above quotation from *I am Woman* (1996) by Lee Maracle well sums up the core theme of many of her books and poems: images of entrapment within the self-made and internalized glasshouse of colonial politics and its emotional consequences. They include emotional freezing, frozen solidarity and the bodily-emotional impact of the culture of death and violence marked by severed connections and ties between self and community. Lee Maracle, born in 1950 is a Canadian Aboriginal poet and author from the Squamish Nation. She has become one of the most prolific aboriginal authors in Canada and a recognized authority on issues pertaining to Aboriginal people and Aboriginal literature. She is an award-winning poet, novelist, performance storyteller, scriptwriter, actor and keeper/mythmaker. Maracle's work includes more than 100 articles, poems, short stories and several books. She was one of the first Aboriginal people to be published in the early 1970s. Of Salish and Cree ancestry, she is also member of the Sto:loh First Nation. Her autobiographical novel *Bobbi Lee, Indian Rebel* (1976) recounts travels in the 1960s and 1970s within B.C., California and Toronto's counter-cultural community. The book encourages Canada to "search out the meaning of colonial robbery and figure out how you are going to undo it all." *I Am Woman* (1996) describes perhaps Maracle's own struggle to "climb the mountain of racism", heterosexism and class-bias, and get over the free-floating rage she feels against the destruction of her culture, the othering and ill-treatment of her people, and the confused human relations resulting from dysfunctional parenting skills. Maracle's second novel, *Sundogs* (1992) focuses on Marianne, a young East Vancouver sociology student who wants relief from her anger-ridden mother and her protests against white society. The mother views white society as an anti-Native genocidal plot. Marianne, the youngest child of her family represents the Aboriginal people who lack pride and confidence in their own ways. Troubled by family chaos, colonialism, racism, sexism and patriarchal practices, Marianne overcomes her worst bouts of rage when finally encountering Elijah Harper. Over the course of one summer in *Sundogs*, Marianne feels empowered by the Native leader's protest and strong stance against Canada's racial anti-native politics and the so-called Oka stand-off. Marianne ends up recovering a sense of ethnocultural pride and self-worth. She becomes politically active, joins a First Nations march from Penticton to Oka, collectively carrying a feather for peace and feeling uplifted by sundogs, "impossible images reflected under extraordinary circumstances" Like Vaara, Maracle has experienced the poverty and hardships that she describes through her

plots and characters. Her mother worked 14 to 16 hours a day at physical labour to feed and clothe her seven children, just like Vaara herself struggled with a meagre income to make ends meet. Both describe difficult relations not only between women and abusive fathers or husbands, but also with mothers who are from another generation and set of values. In the case of Vaara, the novels contain protests against the religious mother's internalized misogyny and inability to love. In Maracle's novels, the mothers are both victims and perpetrators of violence, but also the carriers of a traditional worldview that contains more promise for healing than the young protagonists are at first able to comprehend. Maracle's third novel, *Ravensong* (1993), set in the 1950s, describes how urban aboriginal women in a Pacific Northwest community struggle with a flu epidemic and face an impossible choice, that of selecting between saving the elders or the lives of their babies. The young protagonist, Stacey, is not at harmony with the adherence to the old ways that her mother represents. *Ravensong* contains descriptions of the old rituals of reciprocity and circulatory giving, the gift or give back economy, which contrasts with modern life and the exchange economy (Kailo 2008), providing a background for critiquing the taken-for-granted and naturalized ways of contemporary economic philosophy.

Cross-genre writing and symbolic metissage (heterosexual/homosexual, Native/non-Native, victim/victimizer, healthy/mentally ill) are approaches that I think both Maracle as a Native "postmodernist" (as Westerners might classify her) and Vaara as a modernist have adopted to emphasize the non-unified aspects of subjectivity and identity that they describe, and to adopt the style best suited to suggest the split selves. This is a most appropriate and logical way of addressing the theme of violence rooted in myths of the straight mind (Wittig 1991) that have established the kind of compulsory heteronormativity and master imaginary that represent violence against alternative sex/gender/species systems, for example those that recognize two spirited people beyond the naturalized male/female dualism. Cross-genre writing is also appropriate for exposing and breaking out of the western literary mold of unified master narratives, a linear history, normative (penetrative) masculinated sexuality and the kind of literary structures and styles that partake of and reflect a eurocentric model of hierarchical and dualistic conceptions of the world. Maracle's novels address precisely the hybrid styles and identities created by the intersections of Native and non-native cultures. Mixing conventions of heterosexual romance can also be seen to evoke alternative conceptions of love; relations of caring across the more predictable boundaries of heteronormativity and human/animal distinctions. Queer readings are, of course, attuned to such tran-

gressions of the older literary norms, but limit themselves to the anthropocentric stance. Also, the very style and techniques of expressing trauma partake of the efforts to dismantle violence; after all, being forced to adapt to Western literary conventions and genre distinctions is itself another level of violence—now of the epistemic variety (Kuokkanen 2007). Both Maracle and Vaara can, for all that be regarded as playing with modernist conventions, the non-unified subject, even when their specific literary strategies overflow any simplistic gender-blind and universalizing definitions of modernism. In *I am Woman* (1996), Maracle provides an apt sample of her powerfully evocative writing on trauma:

”All week long, my dad would discipline us. On the weekend, with the help of some hard stuff, it would be my mom’s turn. From the darkness I could hear them arguing. Soon the voices would drop and the sound of fists connecting with bodies would wind up the discussion. My sister was asleep but even so she did not escape the atmosphere. She would moan softly in her sleep....In the dark, I would wander off. Eyes open, unseeing, I would think about the sounds of the fight, trying to know who was getting hit where and how. I used to feel bad about having made a game of my mother’s pain. Now I know that children have to play. They make games of whatever life presents them with. If life gives them agony to play with, the games of children will be cruel jokes on the people that chart their lives. Mama was deadly in a fight. A rodent. She would just sit and take whatever he dished out until she knew a well-placed blow would end it. Once it was boiling water. Another time, it was an iron skillet”.... (Maracle 1996: 45).

The above captures well how one might as adult re-present dark childhood memories, reported from a distance of years but still powerfully evocative due to the lack of direct commentary, the hints and gaps bringing home to the reader the intensity of the traumas more than any precise description could ever do. Maracle’s novels are however not restricted to dramatizing the effects of class, gender and ethnic issues, but involve the much deeper and specific impacts of a colonial past, residential school politics of cultural oppression, racism, and the struggle for cultural self-determination. They involve depictions of Native women in Canada whose struggle with drugs and alcohol, violence and homelessness are also touched upon as a consequence of cultural othering, unemployment and poverty. In both authors’ cultures, alcohol and substance abuse play an equally destructive role. However, where the psychiatric care that Vaara herself could get is itself dysfunctional, Maracle’s novels describe how the holistic healing beliefs of her people might well

have provided and represented less dysfunctional, commercially-driven ways of healing. Some effects of trauma dramatized in "Rusty" include the inability or fear to love, low self-esteem, self-hatred (internalized sexism and racism), rage against oneself and the perpetrators of violence including the projection of freefloating and displaced (misplaced) rage on people who often do not deserve to become the carriers of such emotions. The books also give evidence of the risk abuse survivors face of incorporating and themselves perpetuating the violence and patterns of abuse, including shame, guilt and blame, depression, negative outlook and psychotic or "dissociated" episodes which sometimes serve to block and keep painful memories at bay. As In Vaara's case, Maracle's novels contain autobiographical elements, but should not be reduced to them through either a referential fallacy or assumptions of a direct fit between the writer and her characters. In fact, Maracle mixes anecdotes, historical events, mythic stories, oratory, recipes and biographical happenings to create her imaginary-real Native communities living the tensions of modern and traditional life between the gift economies and modern exchange-oriented capitalistic ethos. I believe that the mixing and blurring of self and other, the biographical and the historical/mythical and finally the overwriting of the false dichotomies of spirit vs. matter among other dualisms in favor of more holistic modes of interconnectedness serve to challenge the master identity of eurocentric worldview and imaginary with its overdrawn dualistic boundaries. It also represents, possibly, a redistribution of discomfort as western literary critics and readers are challenged in their ideas about literariness and appropriate gender and genre distinctions. Although both Vaara's and Maracle's descriptions of the culture of abuse offer grim pictures and images of modern life, the reader is relieved by more uplifting passages on the potential of personal, and in the case of Maracle, collective spiritual healing and hope for the transformation of society. The imagery of broken glass and emotional freezing predominates in both Vaara's and Maracle's writings. However, it is important to consider the split protagonist narrative against the background of the now emerging green postcolonial and ecocritical studies. Eurocentric attitudes towards life, knowing, the self are themselves schizoid to the extent that they are rooted in the separation and hierarchical ordering of the mind and the body, mind and spirit, emotions and reason. Critical white studies are beginning to address the roots of violence and dysfunction that lie deep in the enlightenment and patriarchal worldviews, social arrangements, thinking and norms. For Jürgen Kremer, a German US-based psychotherapist and scholar specialized in Indigenous knowledge, the evolutionary trajectory of the so-called civilizing process is best labelled itself as dissociative schismogenesis (Kremer 1997:

10 –11). He comments: “People of European descent or people who have entered the eurocentered process of consciousness have split themselves off from this ongoing interaction of place, ancestry, animals, plants, spirit(s), community, story, ceremony, cycles of life, and cycles of the seasons and ages. This dissociation has created a conceptualization of social evolution, in which a major shift has occurred from prehistory to history, from oral tradition to writing civilization, from the immanent presence of spirit(s) to the transcendence of god(s)” (2008).<sup>5</sup> One might adopt Kremer’s other preconditions for “healing” and recognize that transforming the culture of violence needs to begin by people facing the scars of the past, not only individually but collectively. The non-violent paradigm requires that we face the colonial legacies and effects of colonialism in their intersectional oppressive ways. Kremer<sup>6</sup> claims that the European enlightenment philosophy put the final touches on the development of a non-participatory, dissociative mind process, the enthronement of linear causality, monocausal and monolithic theories, and the imperial grasping of the appearances of reality in a globalizing quantitative reduction (resulting in the control of what is conceived of as objective reality itself) (Kremer 2008). Kremer emphasizes that all peoples have (pre-patriarchal) indigenous roots the recovery of which might at this historical juncture bring about ecologically important effects, more than even the various postmodern strands are able to see or willing to admit. These effects have to do with readopting those ecologically sustainable lifeways that help concretize a greener, more balanced and gender/eco-friendly way of living. Epistemic violence and harassment, as well as the academic silencing of non-european paradigms, world views and epistemes (Kuokkanen 2007) have much to do with the roots of the ecological crises, the increased relations of violence, and the mastery over nature. Reductive, detached, abstracted and production-oriented scientific models including those of psychiatry have served to ensure that no other voices, perspectives on life, truths or visions can be accommodated, let alone discussed in the epistemic enclaves of power. Perhaps the dramatization by Maracle and Vaara of the deep-frozen mindscape is thus a telling reflection of a worldview that sacrifices social ties and emotions as the bridge to caring because they prevent one from pursuing relentless self-interest, to be competitive and to the winner that takes it all. To give a hint of Vaara’s dramatization of the theme:

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5. On the other hand, it will be more difficult for people lacking knowledge of their roots to avoid such quests.

6. John Mohawk (1994) encourages non-indigenous scholars to recover their own indigenous roots or identify whatever is good in their own cultures. After that, they are willing to embark on cultural exchange.

We live in a mountain of ice  
me and that other,  
who steps one step behind  
and speaks when I listen.  
Through a dazzling bright ice  
people appear as distant figures  
and they seem to be cold  
The two of us  
would like to warm them up  
blow untill they would melt  
and might live, as we live...

In the mountain of ice  
there is peace  
coolness, beauty  
the sharp edge of the intellect cuts  
and words of wisdom drop from the fingertips.

We have made our choice  
and here we are alone  
me and that other me  
(Vaara 1979: 15)<sup>7</sup>

Maracle and Vaara both rely upon literary strategies of creating a kind of third space or mid-point between male and female, Native/Non-native as well as cultural and personal varieties of violence. The midpoint applies even to the depiction of "victims" and "perpetrators" of violence who are not categorized too simplistically and reductively. Healing begins when one is able to forgive, and to take responsibility for both victimhood and the internalization of the vicious cycles of violence. Victimhood also often ends where activism begins. Healing proceeds when one also gets support for the legitimate feelings of rage and can participate politically in dismantling at least the worst manifestations of colonial and racist practices. The same approach of trying to understand the roots of violence in communal experiences of colonial oppression rather than focusing on individual dysfunction marks Maracle's approach in her novels. While Maracle's theoretical and more fiction-oriented writings reflect an appreciation of nature in its own right, Vaara's relationship to nature remains more anthropocentric. However, nature

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7. All translations from Finnish to English are by Kaarina Kailo.



appears more as a friendly, protective and nurturing bosom rather than a place of fear and shadows, as the characters heal and get empowered. Nature can become a friend, a healing site and treasure trove of poetical imagery, but it is also a screen of projections: "I looked more closely at the juniper, I could hear from around it some thin, steelclear clicking. I noticed that it gave out flowers of razor blades, they were at the end of every branch. They blew in the faint wind bright and with reddish edges. I seized one of them in my hand, right away it slit a red line on the side of my palm, although I had tried to seize it carefully..." (Vaara 1982: 30). A suicidal mind sees razor blades in trees and cannot care or appreciate the separate-ness of nature. The depressed first-person narrator is seeking sites for escapist merging, suicide being of course the ultimate fusion of self and other. However, nature does also become a mirror for Vaara's reflections on the meaning of life and living in *Vihreä Matka* (The Green Journey): "The heather does not need to ponder in the winter, whether the sun appears again, it lives under the snow and as the new summer sets in, it is again the time of sunshine. ....When one rows with someone on Anni River for a long while, the river does not disappear even when the boat rots away" (Vaara 1982: 183). The color green becomes the signifier of some measure of control over one's traumas, even of healing within nature: "Now it is summer and Maria knows how to make stripes, it is good to make stripes. It is as if one were weaving voices into the fabric, there they are held fast together and cannot escape. Even the green voices. I like to make green stripes, and the handicrafts instructor has trouble understanding why I want to take all the green yarns" (Vaara 1975: 185). In *Tulilintu* (The Firebird), the narrator adopts a kind of naturalist stance, noting that the wind plays in the home yard spruce and does not have other letters than those given by nature: "I don't know about my own language, does anyone understand it other than myself or the wind, that is why it might well be most clear to speak like the wind..." (Vaara 1982: 116). However, in a culture where parallel realities and "nature's voice" are no longer part of the normative discourse, but dismissed as "romantic babble," identifying with nature can also be considered madness: "if I tell people about my issues in the manner of the wind, wreaking havoc without words, I can be taken behind bars..." (Vaara 1982: 116).

## Conclusion

The implied message by both Maracle and Vaara is the importance of becoming conscious of and taking issue with the violence of hegemonic misogynistic and ecophobic worldviews, the master identity/consciousness and violence in all of its

manifestations. The writings of both on violence expose implicitly the western split consciousness vs. the embodied spiritually connected locally anchored self. Maracle evokes the dualisms of "primitive squaws" vs. civilized white elites which are part of the hierarchical, colonial social arrangements. But she also evokes indigenous values and ways of seeing and being which are particularly tangible in *Ravensong*. Writing as medicine means overcoming the split and multiply colonized self, it means revalorizing and re-introducing a spiritual and holistic way of living and relating, which Berry Brill de Ramirez has labelled "relational writing" (Berry Brill de Ramirez 1998): "the Native conversive approach includes the privileging of relationality over individuality, meaningfulness defined relationally rather than semiotically, voice shifts reflecting the presence and necessity of participatory listener-readers rather than denoting the projection of the eurocentric reader's fantasies into the text" (1998, IL). Brill de Ramirez' work hopes to move criticism and theory beyond the oppositional models of dialectical, discursive, or dialogic encounter to include a methodology in which diverse voices (both within and without texts) are seen to engage conversively with each other as equals – as we all do so often in our everyday lives and conversations) (Brill de Ramirez 1999: 12). Although relationality is recognized generally as one of the distinguishing features of Native writing, and is a hallmark of a more healing social attitude, one needs to also beware of applying it as a new version of the "noble savage". Maracle's writings offer no idealizations of the Native ways, although the very concept of medicine as holistic healing contrasts sharply with the more profit-based health care practices of eurocentric cultures. However, I do believe that relatively speaking, Native thought and epistemes are less hierarchical and dichotomous than the Western ones, including the eurocentric worldview. One must better grasp the extent to which violence is related to officially sanctioned Judeo-Christian and Eurocentric values and socialization, particularly in their most fundamentalist forms. Literary conversations can be opportunities for cross-cultural and cross-gender healing/conversion thanks to the kind of hemispheric cross-talk that Northern Native and non-native writers engage in across the borders of nation-states, epistemic styles, gender, worldview and other differences/affinities. We might claim that it is through cross-genre writing and storytelling that native and non-native readers can withdraw cultural projections approaching the Woman, Native, Other through another lens than the objectifying white male/female gaze that they have all internalized to a differing degree.

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## **17 From Violence to Caring: a South African Perspective – Towards an Empowering Path Regarding Disability**

MARLENE LE ROUX

Artscape, South Africa

The number of people with disabilities in the world today is growing: it is estimated that 500 million people are disabled. In most countries at least 1 out of 10 persons has a physical, mental or sensory impairment; and at least 25 percent of any population is adversely affected by the presence of disability.

The causes of impairments vary throughout the world, as do the prevalence and consequences of disability. These variations are the result of different socio-economic circumstances and of the different provisions that each society makes for the well-being of its members.

In developing countries, it is estimated that 80 per cent of all disabled persons live in isolated rural areas. Disabled persons are extremely poor and the problem is exacerbated because they often live in areas where medical and related services are scarce and in most cases absent. In most developing countries resources are not sufficient to prevent or detect disabilities, and to meet the rehabilitation and supportive needs of the disabled population.

In developed countries, disabled people claim independent living resources to maximize individual choices, and to escape from segregated welfare institutions. In developing countries however, survival often comes before issues of equality.

According to the World Bank, disability limits access to education and employment and leads to economic and social exclusion therefore poor people with disabilities are caught in a vicious cycle of poverty and disability.

The United Nations High Commissioner resolution 2005/51 “recalls that all persons with disabilities, have the right to protection against discrimination and to full and equal enjoyment of their human rights as laid down inter-alia, in the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of ALL Forms of Discrimination against Women.”

The African Decade is recognized as a sub-programme of the *New Partnership for Africa's Development* (NEPAD) whose basic goals include promoting

accelerated growth and sustainable development and eradication of widespread and severe poverty.

#### The African Decade Objectives

- Poverty alleviation and reduction among persons with disabilities and their families.
- Disability awareness-raising in Africa.
- Putting disability issues on the social, political and economic agenda of African Governments.
- Strengthening the voice of persons with disabilities as well as the use of the UN Standard Rules as a basis for the development of policies and legislation to protect the interests of disabled persons in Africa.

The vast majority of people with disabilities in SA have been excluded from education, housing, transport, employment, information and community life. They have been prevented from exercising fundamental political, economic, cultural and developmental rights. The inequality between the able bodied and the disabled were reinforced by the injustice in the apartheid system.

#### Reality: South Africa SA Constitution (1996)

The first democratically elected South African Government, when it came into power in 1994, prioritized the creation of an enabling environment within which all South Africans, irrespective of race, gender, ability, age, language or class could develop with dignity and hope for the future.

The first step Government took was to ensure that discrimination against children and adults with disabilities is specifically prohibited in the *Constitution*.

*The Bill of Rights* provides for both political and socio-economic rights for all South Africans within a framework of non-discrimination on the basis of age and disability. Among others are:

- Section 9 – the right to equality – which provides for equality before the law for all South African citizens,
- and which prohibits discrimination on the basis of age and disability, among others;
- Section 10 & 11 – the right to dignity and right to life;

- Section 28 – provides specifically for the rights of children, among others the right of every child to family or parental care, shelter, basic nutrition, basic health care and social services, protection from abuse, neglect etc.
- Section 29 – the right to basic education. Another signification provision in the constitution is the recognition of Sign Language as an official language for Deaf South Africans.

## Equality Legislation

*The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (2000)* – commonly known as the Equality Act – recognizes the existence of systemic discrimination and inequalities, particularly in respect of race, gender and disability in all spheres of life as a result of past and present unfair discrimination, as well as the need to take measures at all levels to eliminate such discrimination and inequalities.

The Act outlaws unfair discrimination on ground of disability and places a responsibility on government to “take special measures to promote equality” with regard to disability by providing for “measures to facilitate the eradication of unfair discrimination, hate speech and harassment.

The Act goes further identifying the following focus areas that should be addressed by government in carrying out its obligation to promote equality of, among others, people with disabilities:

- audit laws, policies and practices with a view to eliminating all discriminatory aspects thereof;
- enact appropriate laws, develop progressive policies and initiate codes of practice in order to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, gender and disability;

**Role of the South African Society: Advocacy, awareness-making, facilitating support for students.**

The broader society needs to play a bigger role of applying pressure to the planners of physical infrastructure, to make buildings more accessible.

Government committees discussing the renovation of existing buildings, or the construction of new ones, should consult with persons with disabilities, e.g. the needs for those with physical challenges and the needs for the visually impaired

are different. The lack of funding remains the prime challenge in this regard, as well as the lumping of all types of disabilities as one.

### Conditions in the workplace

Government needs to ensure that the necessary systems be put in place so as to facilitate the effective working conditions of employees with disabilities, e.g.

1. that there be Braille tools for blind employees
2. that, for a wheelchair bound person suffering multiple sclerosis, the work hours and location of work be considered

### Challenges with Workplace Policies

1. Currently, it concentrates on the accessibility of buildings
2. the lack of understanding of the multiple needs of disabilities
3. no incentives are presently being negotiated with businesses for employing persons with disabilities
4. businesses see the BEE Policy only for affirming Black candidates and not disabled candidates
5. too often persons with disabilities are placed in menial jobs that does not compliment and justify their intellectual and highly skilled ability

### Attitudinal barriers are often a problem:

- Resistance to accommodate often exists because of the lack of creative and proactive solutions to existing barriers.
- There is often a lack of knowledge / know-how on how to approach the person who is disabled, or to internalize the policy regarding disability.

E.g. SABC has a policy around disability which is as follows: The SABC recognises that groups with disabilities often feel marginalized, and that it is a duty of the public broadcaster to promote access by these audience segments to its services and programmes and to ensure that the presentation of people with disabilities in our programming is fair. The SABC therefore treats people with disabilities respectfully in its programming, and we are committed to reflecting issues of disability.



lity in a way that does not perpetuate harmful negative stereotypes of the disabled. We are also committed to exploring mechanisms for enhancing our delivery to people with disabilities. Where possible, we also strive to involve disabled persons in such initiatives.

This policy speaks to discrimination whereby any child who has been discriminated against or abused, cannot be shown on National Television. However, this policy has never been discussed in depth with the Heads of Department of the various stations of the SABC.

To clarify this statement, I would like to give a personal account of how a policy is not being interpreted collectively by an entire organization:

At the beginning a freelance producer approached me to form part of a documentary of the lives of women that have overcome various challenges in life.

As a disabled mother of two children, whom the youngest has multiple cerebral palsy, I was excited to be able share my story and to share, in particular, how my son, Adam, is blossoming in a loving environment.

I made it clear to the producer from the start, that my life story must include Adam. She was overwhelmed to shoot my entire story. I made it clear on the video that because of my economical status, I can afford to provide Adam with the best care, such as, to employ two full-time qualified nurses and send him to a special school.

In this country this is not the norm.

I wanted from the outset to communicate to the viewer that I am privileged to give Adam all the love and family support he deserves. But this could have been so different, if I did not have a job.

The video I approved was extremely tasteful, featuring both Adam and my daughter. The video that was broadcast did not show Adam, although he was referred to all the time.

The impression that was created that as a family, we are ashamed of our child. The sadness is that SABC never communicated to me their intention to cut Adam out of the video.

#### **A recent Incident: Cerebral Palsy Man Assaulted by Security Guard.**

On the 10th of October 2008 while walking home I was attacked by a security guard. Eugene was walking in Cissy Gool Street in Rylands when a security Guard told him to get out of the street because he was drunk. Eugene tried to explain to

the security guard that he was not drunk but that he was disabled. The security guard did not want to listen to him and started hitting him.

The security guard is employed by Rygate Security Company in Rylands. Eugene opened a case against the security guard at the Athlone Police Station. (Thus far no follow up)

### Social integration – we are sexual human beings

I have come to realize that the WORLD caters for abled-body persons. And the only way we can change that attitude is to start with ourselves... to break through barriers and to create opportunities for ourselves. But the biggest journey starts with us creating positive role models for persons with disabilities. That is why I wrote a book “LOOK AT ME”

I have started with this personal journey 6 years ago. I approached numerous publishers to buy into the idea of depicting women with disabilities as sensual beings.

Somehow they did not get it. It just made me more determined. I realized from a young age that society puts persons with disabilities in a box – ‘AG SHAME’ attitude. And I just felt that I wanted to celebrate who I am with my disability. I then realized that only a person with disability can change the mindset of society.

Overall there is a lack of publications which generally highlight or address the positive stories of disabled people... more particularly, women with disabilities.

These stories allows women to reflect on their struggles and their inner journeys to personal self mastery, the painful discovery of puberty, rejection and the overall victory of I AM and I AM BEAUTIFUL FOR ME.

This publication is intended not just for women with disabilities, but to affirm all women. Every woman has asked herself the question of whom am I or tailor make us according to the acceptance of others.

In me compiling this publication it has dawned on me that the journey of the road to self acceptance and sensuality is painful and a challenge every single day. The journey being born with a disability and encounter a disability later in life is two different paths but challenging in itself.

Celebrating yourself as a sensual and sexual being, when society expect you only to exit according to their perceptions, is a journey few will undertake.

During my research I have interviewed various women with disabilities that are not yet on the path of self acceptance or are just striving to be NORMAL... THEY JUST WANT TO FIT IN WITH SOCIETY

This publication was not easy. All 23 women, including myself, needed to go back to places which we successfully masked to just survive. This was a painful and healing process for all of us.

Due to the multiple disabilities of the women, the active participation of the women was all a process from writing their stories to the careful planning of the photo shoots.

Here I would like to applaud the remarkable team I have worked with from project manager, publishers, photographer, logistic team, and make up artists and hairdressers that believed from the start in putting this vision into reality. Their passion and tireless efforts kept me going in the moments I wanted just to give up.

Again I realize that Life is about others and not just about the individual. An individual's dreams and aspirations can only be implemented with the help and the faith of other people.

Finally the stories of these remarkable women need to give inspiration to parents with children with disabilities to start TO CELEBRATE THEIR LIVES.

- Non-discrimination, fair discrimination, creating an inclusive society, dignity in difference, and the fact that we are more similar than we are different
- It is a fact that anyone can become disabled in a second
- The issue of disability needs to be priority for every human being
- Action with economical support is much more important than just policies.

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## Projects

### APROPOS – Multisectoral and Multidisciplinary Professional Specialization Programme and Network for Violence Prevention

The lack of systematic and multidisciplinary education needed for professionals to combat violence has been prevailing. Work that has been carried out in various research and development projects has been forming a ground work for the Apropos-project. European Commission's Daphne-programme provided a practical financial instrument but also an important political tool for the further development work for professional education in gendered and sexualised violence.

Partnership of the APROPOS -project consists of twelve institutions – University Departments, centre of women's studies, and professional education and training organisation that have long expertise in gendered and sexualised violence and/or in education. The partners in the project are: Centre for Arctic Medicine in Thule Institute, University of Oulu, FIN; London Metropolitan University, Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit, UK; Luleå University of Technology, Department of Education, SWE; Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, CYP; Northern Finland Centre of Excellence for Social Welfare and School of Health and Social Care, FIN; Oulu Mother and Child Home and Shelter and Centre for Post-trauma Therapy, FIN; Oulu University Hospital, Clinic of Psychiatry, FIN; SINNI Women's Resource and Empowerment Centre in Oulu, FIN; Therapeutische Frauenberatung e.V. Göttingen, GER; University of Oulu, Department of Educational Sciences and Teacher Education, FIN; Westbothnia Hospital District / Psychiatry, FIN.

The main form of action during the project was to exchange, develop, adapt and implement training packages developed by the coordinator and project partners themselves, and by constructing packages for professionals and for their education. The usefulness of the already existing good practices was analysed from the multidisciplinary and professional perspective. By collecting relevant materials, reports, research and project results to the study programme and by building a structure to support the educational aims the project contributed to the professional development and increased awareness of the programme participants.

The project resulted in the APROPOS study programme which is a multisectoral and multidisciplinary specialization programme on gendered and sexualised violence focusing on violence prevention. APROPOS study-programme is 25 ects and consists of five consecutive courses. Each individual

course is 5 credits. The courses were organised in an e-learning environment where all the course materials; texts and multimedia were available. All of the courses included individual studying such as reading, and web-discussions lead by the mentor and a personal study journal as a final course task. Some of the courses had meetings, excursions and conference trips.

The programme was piloted 2007–08 in Finnish and in English and it was aimed to increase participant's ability to conceptualize and perceive violence in different contexts, including consequences of violence, and to increase their ability to prevent and encounter violence and the victims of violence. A life span, gender and multisectorality were overarching perspectives in the programme. The study programme was designed for students and professionals in various disciplines, who work in violent environments, deal with violence, its consequences, and/or who work to prevent violence.

Altogether 200 students as well as in-service-trainers from 16 mainly European countries enrolled to the study programme. The nationalities represented during the programme were Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Lebanon, Lithuania, Morocco, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, UK and USA. In addition altogether 11 mentors participated the programme at different stages of the programme to guide and support the students in their learning processes. Majority of the participants were women from 20 to 55 years old. It was important that both student and professionals participated to the programme. Distant education through e-learning platform made it possible especially for the professionals to participate to the study programme. The heterogeneity of the participants made it possible for them to share and to exchange their various experiences and knowledge. Also student appreciated the discussions with practitioners since they got a better overview about current practices. Discussions dealing with the practical considerations were on-going throughout the whole programme. This was also a way to challenge the de facto hierarchy of students and teachers.

The study programme was realized during the 8 months requiring approximately 27 hours studies per week. About 100 students were completing courses and 24 of them completed the whole 25 erts programme, 68 students completed 1 to 4 courses resulting 5 to 20 erts. About 50 of the students participated to the programme as attendees, and were been involved in the discussions and reading the course materials. Some of the participants were not able to start the intensive course so they were drop-outs and no-shows.

During the courses feedback was collected at different stages – after each course and after the whole programme. In the final evaluation which was given after the programme we wanted to focus more on the experience from APROPOS so the questions were focusing more on what it was like to study this thematic, what it was to do it online, what contents would they have wanted or needed, and also how they would want to see the programme developed in the future.

As a result the APROPOS programme was a forum for increased awareness, new conceptualizations and also for tools for practice. In the future the programme will be developed from the perspective of both contents and pedagogy. Being able to meet the challenges that learning violence and studying this thematic online brings, and the professional challenges that should be tackled already as part of basic education are major questions to which the APROPOS experience gave a good ground from which to continue the work.

For more information:

Project coordinator Mervi Heikkinen

Project planner Suvi Pihkala

Project expert Vappu Sunnari

forename.surname@oulu.fi

<http://wwwedu.oulu.fi/apropos/>

## GVEI – Gender Violence Effects Indicators

GVEI (*Gender Violence Effects Indicators*) is a project carried out with the support of the European Commission's Daphne II Programme to combat violence against children, young people and women (2004–2008).

GVEI project (2007–2009) is coordinated by SURT, a women's foundation based in Barcelona, and counts with the participation of other partner organisations: Gender Studies Unit from the University of Tartu (Estonia), Women's Studies and Gender from the University of Oulu (Finland) and Women's Studies Centre Milly Villa from the University of Calabria (Italy).

The aim of GVEI project is to design social indicators to measure gender violence effects on women's life. It starts from the hypothesis that the existing systems of indicators of gender violence (GV) do not pay attention to the specific and multidimensional effects that violence against women causes on women's life and, within this perspective, the rationality behind GVEI indicators is:

- to make visible and measure the effects of GV episodes in multiple spheres of women's life that usually remain invisible (beyond health consequences, dimensions such as labour, social relationships and participation in the public sphere, housing, economic and legal will be explored). Previous research projects have shown that the fact of suffering GV has a holistic effect in the sense that becomes a transversal factor affecting women in all spheres of life. The indicators, therefore, at first stage seek to shed light and measure these multiple effects.
- to provide information and data with a view to design comprehensive policy responses to help and empower women suffering GV.
- to improve social policies to combat GV.

The methodology being used to construct GVEI indicators is based on qualitative and participative techniques. In this way, by means of recovering the experiences of women who have suffered GV through semistructured interviews, we analyse from a gender perspective the effects that GV has in the 6 mentioned dimensions of women's lives. Following, these dimensions are fed with qualitative variables describing such effects according to the results of the fieldwork. Afterwards, the qualitative information is transformed to quantitative indicators, whose viability is analysed according to the existing data in the four partner countries and at EU level. In this phase, the indicators are classified as "existing", "possible" and "desirable" indicators and, according to this, finally, political recommendations of the necessary data to implement these indicators as well as policy actions to be taken to combat this phenomenon and support women suffering GV, are suggested. GVEI project focuses on two kinds of GV:

- *GV in the intimate partner context*: understood as physical, psychological, sexual and/or economic abuse of a woman by her male partner or ex-partner(s) or by another person who has or has had a similar relationship with her. This is one of the most known manifestations of GV, although till last decades it has been considered (and it is already considered so in many countries) a private problem.
- *GV in the workplace context*: understood as any kind of discrimination or violent act (physical, psychological, economic or sexual violence) targeting women that takes place in the workplace context and that is based on gender. The situation of inequality of women in the labour market is visible and recognised in most Western societies; this is also a consequence of gender



division and unbalanced relations of power between genders. Thus, the sexual division of work and patriarchal values reinforce and maintain this women's disadvantage situation, which in many cases, leads to gender discrimination and violence against them. It may include, among others, sexual harassment, wages discrimination, mobbing, discrimination for maternity, etc. In GVEI we focus on GV acts taking place under the umbrella of labour relations (that is, between employer-employee or employee-employee).

The results of the GVEI during the two years of the project are the following:

1. Secondary research on the legal framework and the main studies and statistics at national level on gender violence and its effects, which has produced reports on the state of the art of this issue in Spain, Italy, Estonia and Finland.
2. Reports of analysis of the fieldwork in the four partner countries.
3. Common European report on the conclusions of the fieldwork carried out in the four partner countries.
4. Common report collecting a transnational list of variables about the effects of gender violence for women.
5. Transnational report containing the quantitative proposal of social indicators to measure gender violence effects.
6. Transnational report on political proposals and recommendations for fighting and preventing gender violence.
7. Transnational Conference in each participating country to disseminate the results of the project.

For further information please visit: [www.surt.org/gvei](http://www.surt.org/gvei)

Or contact the project coordinator, Mar Camarasa: [mar.camarasa@surt.org](mailto:mar.camarasa@surt.org)

From Violence To Caring – A gender sensitive longitudinal study on school violence and development of safe school culture (2007–2010)

Tuija Huuki, MEd., project researcher\*  
Sari Manninen, MEd., project researcher  
Eija Alaraasakka, MEd., project researcher  
Vappu Sunnari, Professor, Dr.

There is a need to increase understanding of overt and hidden mechanisms of school violence, as well as to produce tools for non-violence education that is based on mutual respect, justice and caring. *'From Violence to caring'* is a continuation of the project "*Gendered power relations in schools and teacher education*" (2001–2003). The first aim of the current project is to analyze subtle and visible gender-based elements of violence, and how different masculinities are connected with them paying attention to power relations and intersectionality. Secondly, the aim is to examine the changes and reproductions of constructions of masculinities, gendered hierarchies and the resources of status as the students have grown up. Thirdly, the goal is to increase knowledge of students' emotional security/insecurity in school, and to develop gender sensitive, non-violence pedagogy through theorization and action research.

Research material is collected through questionnaires from 38 Finnish and 22 North-West Russian schools. Ethnographic material was collected from four school classes in several phases, and the critical action research takes place in one of the field schools. In the ethnographic part, we examine the materially contextualized practices and experiences of every day life, but also the usage of language in action, shaping in social processes and constructing social reality (see Gordon, Holland and Lahelma 2000; Ramazanoglu and Holland 1999; Mc Robbie 1996).

Until now the results handle the constructions of masculinities and femininities, hierarchical social order and subtle dimensions of violence (Huuki 2002; Manninen 2002, 2006; Tallavaara 2002; Sunnari et al 2002; 2005), status struggle and pursuing 'respect' which is considered as the dimension of status alongside with popularity and power position (Manninen, Huuki, and Sunnari 2008, forthcoming), and humour as a status-related activity (Huuki, Manninen, and Sunnari 2008, forthcoming). Our current studies deal with changes and reproductions in violence and in constructing the gendered identities of boys (Huuki 2008, forthcoming; Manninen 2008, forthcoming) as well as physical sexual harassment in schools (Sunnari 2008, forthcoming).

\* Contact information:

Tel +358 8 553 3720

Fax +358 8 553 3744

Faculty of Education, Dept. of Educational Sciences

Women's studies

P.O.Box 2000  
FI-90014 University of Oulu, Finland



## Authors

**Åsa Gardelli** is a Ph.D. in Engineering Psychology and works as a Senior lecturer in Special needs education, at the Department of Education, at Luleå University of Technology in Sweden. Åsa Gardelli has worked for about 20 years with pupils with disabilities in ordinary (compulsory) school and special school, mostly with children aged 7–16. At 1996 she started working at Luleå University of Technology, first as a project leader and later as a doctoral student, and since 2004 as a lecturer working with teaching and researching. Her research is about what consequence Information and Communication Technology can have for people (mainly adults) with disabilities. Her aim has been to explore whether persons with disabilities by the use of ICT can influence their participating in society, and if so, in what way. Additionally, she has studied under which conditions the participants incorporated ICT in their lives.

Contact: Asa.Gardelli@ltu.se

**Franca Garreffa** is a Professor of “Policies for equal opportunity” at the University of Calabria, Faculty of Political Sciences and she is a Professor of “Studies on the social construction of gender differences” at the University of Calabria, Faculty of Political Sciences, didactic pole of Crotone where she taught also “Social Bases of health and illness”. She is Professor in the Master of the “Policies and politics of gender” where she teaches “Health and politics of gender”. She is professor in the Master “Crime, deviance and penitentiary system” in the module “Safety and social integration”. She belongs to the Scientific Committee of Women's Studies center at the University of Calabria. She is graduated in economic and social sciences.

Contact: f.garreffa@unical.it

**Antonietta Jeanette Bastidas Hernández-Raydán** is a psychologist, mediator, and a university professor. She has degree in psychology in Universidad Católica Andrés Bello UCAB, Caracas – Venezuela; Master's of Arts in Educational Psychology, University of Minnesota UM, United States; doctoral student, Andaluz Interuniversity Doctoral Program in Gender and Women Studies, Universidad de Granada UGR, Granada – España. She works at Universidad Centroccidental Lisandro Alvarado, Barquisimeto – Venezuela, Women Integral Development Master's Program Professor and as a Coordinator in Center for Conflict Resolution, Barquisimeto – Venezuela where she is the Co-founder and head of training

programs.

Contact: greta.rova-lindberg@ltu.se

**Mervi Heikkinen** works as a project coordinator in Women's and Gender Studies in the University of Oulu, Finland. She is currently involved in two EU Daphne funded development and research projects (APROPOS and GVEI). Her research and teaching interests are gendered and sexualised violence. She is preparing a PhD study about organisations, gender equality policy and power which discusses sexual harassment at a technical university.

Contact: mervi.heikkinen@oulu.fi

**Tuija Huuki** is a primary school teacher and a special education teacher and is currently working as a project researcher at the University of Oulu in a research project "From Violence to Caring". She is preparing her doctoral dissertation on status struggle and violence bound up with constructions of masculinity.

Contact: tuija.huuki@oulu.fi

**Gunilla Johansson** is Associate professor, senior lecturer in Education in the Department of Education in the Luleå University of Technology. The article "Marginalization and Teachable Moments: Two Circumpolar Postsecondary Case Studies" is written together with Chris Paci, Pricilla Lepine and Ylva Jannok-Nutti.

Contact: Gunilla.Johansson@ltu.se

**Kaarina Kailo** is Docent at the Department of English, Oulu University, with a specialization in North American/Women's and Indigenous Studies. She has held many positions in women's studies as professor at Oulu University and tenured associate professor at Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University, Canada. She has also been a senior researcher at the Finnish Academy. She has published over 80 articles on a wide range of feminist issues from the gift imaginary to neoliberalism and gendered violence, shameful femicides/honor crimes, Indigenous culture and postcolonial perspectives on Indigenous literature to women and folklore, mythology, the bear ceremonial, the narratives of women and bears, peaceful societies and ecofeminism/cyberfeminism. Her books include *Irti talousväkivallasta—reseptejä solidaariseen hyvinvointiin*, 2007 (Emancipating from economic violence—recepies towards solidarity-based wellbeing) and co-edited books (*Ecopsychology and Traditional Ecological Knowledge – Paths to Wholeness* with Irma Heiskanen 2006; *Sweating with the Finns – Sauna Stories* from North America with Raija Warkentin & Jorma Halonen, 2006). She

pioneered with Elina Helander of the Nordic Sami Institute the first postcolonial book on the Sami (No Beginning, No End – the Sami Speak up, in English and Finnish, 1998, 1999).

Contact: Kaarina.Kailo@oulu.fi

**Mary Jane Kehily** (PhD) is Senior Lecturer in Childhood and Youth Studies. Her research interests are in sexuality and schooling; narrative and identity and popular culture. With Rachel Thomson, Lucy Hadfield and Sue Sharpe, she is currently working on an ESRC research project, The Making of Modern Motherhoods, memories, representations, practices funded under the Identities and Social Action programme. The project develops an intergenerational approach to the experiences of first time mothers in the UK, exploring motherhood as a site of social change and identity change. From January 2008 this project will continue under the ESRC Timescapes programme.

Contact: M.J.Kehily@open.ac.uk

**Merli Klein** works as researcher at Estonian Police Board where she analyzes different crimes, especially violent crimes (including school violence and violence against women and also in general in society). Her last research focused on increasing sexual crimes and rapes in Estonia.

Contact: merli\_klein@yahoo.com

**Marlene le Roux** works as a director of Audience Development and Education in Artscape, South Africa. She is the author of book “Look at me” collecting stories and images by photographer Lucie Pavlovich about disabled women.

Contact: marlenel@artscape.co.za

**Greta Rova Lindberg** is a Master of Social Science, Lecturer, Director of studies in the Department of Education in the Luleå University of Technology, Sweden

Contact: Greta.Rova-Lindberg@ltu.se

**Elina Luukkonen** works as a special need teacher in a Finnish comprehensive school. She is researching the relation of moral and education to violence. Her research concerns how the theories of moral and education maintain the potential of violence and looks for tools for non-violence education.

Contact: elina.luukkonen@yli-ii.fi

**Mumbi Machera** (PhD in Sociology) is a lecturer in Social Work and Sociology in the Department of Sociology in the University of Nairobi, Kenya. Her areas of

specialization include gender and development and population and development. In her publications the questions of development, gender and sexuality have been dealt with within the Kenyan context.

**Cesarina Manassero** works as an assistant Professor at the Law Faculty of Turin, in the field of women's rights studies. Her research areas include Italian Constitutional Law and Public Comparative Law, with a special interest in human rights and freedom of speech and due process of law (concerning with the past). Since 2002, She has had new interests in the field of constitutional law, concerning with women's studies, gender studies and equal opportunities, transsexual rights. She has written her post-doctorate degree thesis about "The affirmative actions and the concept of mainstreaming". I cooperate as member of the Scientific Board with C.I.R.S.De, an inter-faculties centre for gender's studies and women's studies. Contact: [cesarina@studiomanassero.it](mailto:cesarina@studiomanassero.it)

**Sari Manninen** is a doctoral student in education at the University of Oulu, Finland. Her research interests include examining visible and subtle mechanisms of violence, gender and ethnicity in the informal field of primary and secondary school, and changes in status-struggles in school, especially with regard to masculinities. Contact: [sari.manninen@oulu.fi](mailto:sari.manninen@oulu.fi)

**Rosaria Marsico** is a member of Women's Studies center at the University of Calabria where she does research. Her thesis of degree in political Sciences dealt with the disability problems, with particular attention to the female disability in a southern context that produces three types of discrimination: gender, geographical and social. Her master's thesis concerns the hiding of violence against women through an investigation developed at the consulting rooms, first aid, family doctor or rather contexts where the women that have suffered violence are turned for applications of other nature (medication, psychological support, gynaecological, pregnancy interruption) and that they hide actions of violence. Contact: [rosaria.marsico@virgilio.it](mailto:rosaria.marsico@virgilio.it)

**Letizia Palumbo** is a PhD student on Human Rights in the Department of Politics, Law and Society, University of Palermo, Italy. She has a degree in Political Science in the Department of Politics, Institutions and History, University of Bologna. Contact: [letiziapal@hotmail.com](mailto:letiziapal@hotmail.com)



**Suvi Pihkala** works as a project planner in the Women's and Gender Studies in the University of Oulu. She has been working as planner in a Daphne funded APRO-POS project. Suvi Pihkala has graduated as a Master of Art in cultural anthropology in the University of Oulu.

Contact: [suvi.pihkala@oulu.fi](mailto:suvi.pihkala@oulu.fi)

**Giulia Rodeschini** has just begun a PhD at the Faculty of Sociology of the University of Trento (Italy). She focuses her research on gender violence, caring, migrations and sex working, both at a academic and political level. At the present time, she is working together with "Surt, Fundació de dones", Barcelona, where, amongst other work, she is involved with the European project "Proposing new indicators: measuring violence effects, GVEI (Gender Violence Effects Indicator)".

Contact: [giuliarodeschini@hotmail.com](mailto:giuliarodeschini@hotmail.com)

**Fatiha Sahli** is a professor at the Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Sciences in the University of Cadi Ayyad in Marrakech, Morocco and the director of LRCID. The paper in this publication "The Mechanisms of Fighting against the Violence towards Battered Women: an Overview" was written together with Saïd Aghrib and Ali Meftah.

Contact: [sahlifati@yahoo.fr](mailto:sahlifati@yahoo.fr)

**Nungari Salim** is PhD in sociology. She works as a lecturer in the Department of Sociology and Social Work in the University of Nairobi, Kenya. Her Doctoral thesis dealt with female circumcision in Kenya.

**Vappu Sunnari** (Dos of Education in the University of Oulu, Prof of Education, Luleå University of Technology, senior lecturer University of Oulu) Vappu Sunnari holds the permanent position of lecture in the Women's and Gender Studies in the University of Oulu and a professorship in the Luleå University of Technology. She has been involved with several research and development projects related to school violence and gender violence during the last decade. Currently she is finalizing a publication on physical sexual harassment experienced by northern Finnish and northwest Russian children at school.

Contact: [vappu.sunnari@oulu.fi](mailto:vappu.sunnari@oulu.fi), [vappu.sunnari@ltu.se](mailto:vappu.sunnari@ltu.se)

**Ágata Zumaeta Figueroa**, Actress, social communicator and cultural promoter. She graduated in science communication at the University of Lima with a project

about the dramatization as participative methodology for improving the rights of the domestic workers (DW). In 1998 she started to work as a volunteer en the Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes (AGTR) teaching theater on Sundays to domestic workers. In 2001 she started to put into practice this participative theater methodology at schools in night shift where the DW studies. Since 2006 she is part of Ketó group, where she does theater improvisation. Actually, she is creating non formal education modules for women who work as domestic workers, using techniques of cultural animation, clown, drama and singing.

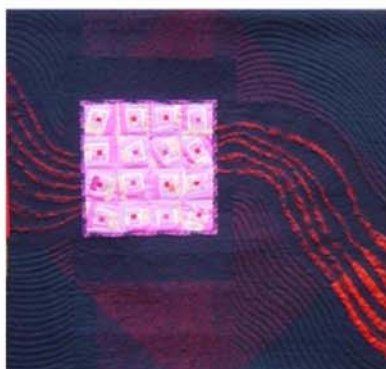
Contact: [agatazumaetafigueroa@gmail.com](mailto:agatazumaetafigueroa@gmail.com)

International conference, University of Oulu, Finland 4.-5.12.2008

# FROM VIOLENCE TO CARING

## Gendered and Sexualised Violence as the Challenge on the Life-span

'From Violence to Caring' is a multidisciplinary conference that will bring together researchers, students, activists, and practitioners from both Finland and abroad. The Aim is to discuss methodological and theoretical issues of research, the various dimensions of violence, prevention of violence and the preconditions for creating the culture and practices of non-violence in schools, other educational environments as well as at home, at the workplaces and during leisure time. The conference offers an opportunity to discuss several manifestations of gendered and sexualised violence in different spheres of life.



Vuokko Isaksson, rya  
"Sandri, the Little Red Haired Girl" (2006)

### WARM WELCOME!

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Register before 14.11. 2008.

### CONTACT

Suvi Pihkala  
tel +258 8 553 3729  
[gvconference@oulu.fi](mailto:gvconference@oulu.fi)  
UNIVERSITY OF OULU  
WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES  
Dept. Of Educational Sciences and  
Teacher Education  
P.O.Box 2000  
90014 UNIVERSITY OF OULU

### MORE INFORMATION

[www.oulu.fi/GVconference2008](http://www.oulu.fi/GVconference2008)

### Thu December 4th

- 09.00 Registration, University of Oulu, Saalastin sali
- 10.15 Opening the conference
- 10.45 Prof LIZ KELLY, UK  
*Making Connection - How addressing all forms of violence, private and public, through an intersectional gender analysis must be at the core of equalities work*
- 12.00 Lunch
- 13.00 PhD NEEMA NUNGARI SALIM, Kenya, Project coordinator, researcher MERVI HEIKKINEN, Finland  
*Gender and Sexual Violence in the Life-span*  
*Revisited - locating ourselves through a dialogue between Africa and Arctic*
- 14.30 Coffee
- 15.00 Workshops
- 18.30 City of Oulu Reception, Kirkkotorin koulutuskeskus

### Fri December 5th

- 09.00 Poster session and coffee
- 10.30 PhD EMMA RENOLD, UK  
*Boys and girls: the normative violence of the (hetero) gendered 'child'*
- 11.45 Lunch
- 13.00 PhD MARY JANE KEHILY, UK  
*Patterns of Violence and Caring across Three Social Sites - Young people in the school, the community and the nation state*
- 14.15 Coffee
- 14.30 Closing Panel
- 16.00 Closing the conference

### WORKSHOPS (Thursday 4.12.)

- Lähiuhdeväkivallan tiedostaminen ja ennalta ehkäiseminen (Becoming aware and preventing violence in intimate life)
- Normativity and sexuality
- Intercultural and intersectional challenges in learning
- Violence, power and empowerment in school
- Challenges in developing non-violent communities among children and youth
- Gender violence effects indicators (GVEI)
- Multiprofessional work and policy development to take actions against violence
- Ethics of caring and power in the lifespan
- Alternative healing and empowerment



## Sandri, a Little Red Haired Girl

When we thought about a good day to be born,  
we had a feeling that the best day would be the first of June  
The Day of Children's Rights (as we remembered it).  
To us it was so important that all the children in the world  
could have a good and safe life, also you:

safety, happiness, possibilities,  
respect, the possibility to be heard.

But we forgot to tell you  
that the world is not good.

And we didn't want to show it to you.

So we went to bed and read:

Moomin Valley, Winnie the Pooh, Little My.

Perhaps we should have told you  
that the world of grownups isn't Moomin Valley.

You have had to learn it yourself.

We wanted you to be the child of spring and light  
and that you could grow up to be a person who knows spring and light.

That is what we still wish for you.

Vuokko Isaksson

Sandri, a Little Red Haired Girl 2006, 116 x 116 cm

Cotton, linen, synthetic silk, taffeta, hair fiber

Machine sewing, quilted by machine