

Learning from Violence

Symposium Report

by Ingrid Ramberg



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Learning From Violence

*Report from a Symposium on
Youth Policy Responses to Everyday Violence*
EYC Budapest 28–30 October 2002

Ingrid Ramberg

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Preface

THE RELATIONSHIP OF young people to violence has long been a subject of concern for politicians, policy-makers and social scientists alike. Often levelled to be the main perpetrators of violence in everyday life, young people are as exposed to violence as the rest of society but are often more vulnerable to it and its consequences. Experience proves that the promotion of a culture of human rights and non-violence among young people can only be achieved with their active participation and in cooperation with their associations and networks. This publication provides examples of the actions taken by young people in order to prevent and counteract violence as well as their points of views on this.

We know there is no ready-made universal solution to violence and that prevention and education need to be permanently re-invented. Learning from violence and learning about violence also implies questioning stereotype perceptions and ideas about young people and about violence. It also means that we have to extend the logic of participation and involvement of young people in exploring policies and actions in matters that concern them.

Violence is, unfortunately, an integral part of society and, while it cannot be eradicated, it can, and needs to be, channelled and controlled. To this end, violence needs to be seen and understood in its own context, including its multiple forms, the social environment and the young people involved. This contextualisation is a pre-condition to develop counteraction, effective remedies and adequate prevention measures.

Co-operation is a key word for success. Co-operation and dialogue between authorities at all levels and young people; between institutions, overcoming double work, double approaches and

sometimes double standards. There must also be co-operation between the formal and the non-formal education sectors, developing working partnerships between the school, civil society and social movements.

Responses to everyday violence cannot be only educational; education needs to be sustained and supported by social and public security policies and programmes at local, regional, national and European levels. State and other authorities are the natural target of some of the policy recommendations that resulted from this symposium. Many of these recommendations are however addressed also to all those directly dealing with young people, youth work and youth policy from the local to European level. I trust that this publication will serve as a source of inspiration and motivation to learn from each other's experiences.

Maud Frouke de Boer-Buquicchio

Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe

Foreword by the General Rapporteur

AS ALWAYS, it is just not feasible to reflect in a short written report everything that happens during a symposium, with all the formal and informal interaction between committed people that this entails. The difficulties are partly related to the number of topics discussed and the amount of material generated during the event. They are also partly the outcome of the practical necessity of delegating the report-writing to one individual. Stating this, however, is not as much a saving clause as an invitation to the reader to take the theme of the report another step further, by making free and personal use of the contents.

Ambiguity is the word that best describes my initial reactions towards the title of the symposium. “Learning from violence” – I know I was not the only one trying to make sense of the middle word, “from”: learning from violence? In retrospect I think it served a purpose, in that it sparked off unprejudiced thoughts and opened them up for sincere exchange.

Balance has been the one thing I struggled with the most, while writing this report. The balance I have in mind is the one between understanding and acting, between theory and practice. Before taking action, whether in legislation, in policy development, or in day-to-day street-level based work, it is an absolute prerequisite to have a clear picture of the targeted issue – the nature of the problem. Within the framework of the symposium, this was catered for through presentations of a rich range of background material – analyses and examples with the capacity to touch and teach things at both intellectual and emotional levels. But, given the fact that the symposium addressed problems that

actually need to be dealt with, the numerous examples of action and practical involvement that came up were as important as the theoretical analyses.

The structure of the report is intended to mirror this duality: on the one hand, the need for contextualised, reflected understandings of the issues at stake, and on the other, the necessity to do something, on a short-term and long-term basis, about the problems identified. The emphasis on what might be described as a mini-methodology – first reflection, then action – has been achieved at a price. Many examples and empirical fields that were brought up during the symposium are not dealt with in this report. This does not mean that they are in any way less relevant or important. But in order not to pay only lip service to the plea for contextualisation, the number of examples could not be too many.

Admiration, finally, is the feeling that has stayed with me, in regards both to the participants and the organisers of the symposium. Irrespective of background the former involved themselves very earnestly in processes of give and take. As for the latter, by giving a clear structure to the contents of the symposium, they provided the best conditions possible for all present, the rapporteur included. For continuous support during the writing process I wish to thank Rui Gomes (encouraging and sharp-sighted reader of drafts!) and Adrienne Englert.

Stockholm, Spring 2003

Ingrid Ramberg

Summarising the Symposium

I READ A BOOK on the plane from Stockholm to Budapest. Travelling from the country of origin of the late Mr Nobel and to the country of the author that was awarded 2002's Nobel Prize for Literature, what could I choose but Imre Kertész? The book I read relates the story of a young boy, aged fourteen, who one summer morning on his way to work, is requested to step down from the bus he is travelling on. He is told to wait alongside the road together with a growing crowd of other people. As things develop he never makes it to work this morning, or the morning after, because this is Budapest in 1944, it is World War II, and the boy is a Jew.

Sixty years later, we are all familiar with this context, but the boy is not, and the story is told through his eyes. What does he do? What are his reactions? He expects and searches for logical, acceptable explanations to his situation and to what happens, to him and around him. He certainly expects no threat, or evil. As time passes, he is pushed further and further. He struggles to fit everything into normality, saying to himself that “Naturally, bearing in mind that ...”, or “Of course, thinking of ... this or that ...”

It just so happens that this boy – the author possibly? – survives and returns to Budapest. He does not show any reaction on the outside, but when at one point he is asked about his feelings, he summarises them in the one word: “hate.”

I think of another writer, Nawal El Saadawi, who in a talk at a seminar on discrimination and violence against women, encouraged the participants to remember their own childhoods:

“You will discover that each of you stood up against discrimination. [...] You’ll find that all of you rebelled, but what then happened is that they silenced you.”

The tamed child rebel, and the young boy struggling to adjust . . . these two examples of events and processes related to violence are less spectacular than burning cars and so-called riots. They don’t make it to the news headlines, but they are no less important.

Addressing a Complex Issue

Mr Mário Martins,
Director of Youth and Sport,
Council of Europe

Our duty is not to choose between competing images. Our duty is rather, as *Mr Martins* stressed during the opening session, not to forget the complexity of the issue or the implications of our perceptions of reality always being partial.

Mr André Iteanu,
Director of Research, Centre
National de la Recherche
Scientifique (CNRS)

We do not have to see young people as either a resource or as a problem. They are both – as are all human beings. We do not need in every situation to define individuals as either perpetrators or victims. They can be both at one and the same time. We do not have to choose sides between the few and the violent on the one hand, or the many and the silent on the other. *Mr Iteanu* estimated the ratio between them and said that maybe two percent are violent. Still, I do not think it would be his or anybody’s conclusion that all the others are safe, secure and happy.

In Search of Context

Ms Hiroko Goto,
Professor at Tokyo Fuji
University and volunteer
probation worker for the
Ministry of Justice of Japan

Mr Naoki Onishi,
Consul, Consulate-General of
Japan in Strasbourg

Two themes were highlighted repeatedly throughout the symposium. The first one was the question of change over time and the pace of this change. From a Japanese perspective, *Ms Goto* discussed the painful process of redefining “What is our country?”, a country where today, as *Mr Onishi* described, “neither water nor security can be taken for granted.” And the keynote speaker, *Mr Iteanu*, stressed the importance of thinking not in terms of cultures but in generations, with young people being caught in the no-man’s-land of transition from group-centred holism to individualism.

Along the same line of reasoning, many working groups' discussions also underlined the importance of the loss of stability for the presence of violence among young people. The important point, however, was made that violence does not stem from young people being simply young, a connection of concepts that many, very rightly, spoke against. Violence has to be seen in context. And if change over time was one key concept, context was the other, overarching, and in itself also encompassing the time factor.

Lord Russell-Johnston mentioned the importance of being brought up in stable circumstances, but he also gave testimony to the importance of the one friend – the meaning that individuals can have and give to one another. *Mr Hiller* underlined the importance of the social and economic situation and *Mr Iteanu*, together with many others, gave this topic a geographical dimension in bringing up the issue of suburbs. But when talking of violence in relation to space, it is important to put emphasis on the inter-relatedness between, as someone put it, “the civilised centre and the periphery where the problems lie.” I would rather say that problems may be visible in the suburbs, but that the roots stretch much more widely.

In addition to these examples, the organisation of the symposium, with its thematic working groups, addressed itself to the paramount importance of context: both when trying to understand and explain what is going on, and when seeking solutions.

Means of Prevention

We cannot expect a society without violence, and we do not want a society without conflicts, without arguments and without the right to think and act differently. The idea of the democratic society is to provide freedom, together with a set of regulations so that this freedom is not exercised at the expense of others. The law is a means to this end, but does not provide the solution, as was underlined by *Mr Halmai*. *Ms de Boer-Buquicchio*, in her closing address, shared this view: human rights cannot be safeguarded by legal measures alone. Sanctions will deter some potential violators of human rights, but, she continued, even more efficient than sanctioning is prevention.

Lord Russell-Johnston,
Parliamentary Assembly of the
Council of Europe, Sub-Committee
on Youth and Sport, Chairman
of the Governing Board of the
International Institute for
Democracy

Mr István Hiller,
Political State Secretary,
Ministry of Education of the
Hungarian Republic

Mr Gábor Halmai,
Professor of constitutional law,
Director of the Human Rights
Information and Documentation
Centre

Ms Maud Frouke de Boer-Buquicchio,
Deputy Secretary-General of the
Council of Europe

I would like to return to the two cases with which I started, by way of raising a question. Thinking of young people, and of the meaning of being young – when is it that we should be surprised, or what is it that we should be surprised by? Is it when young people rebel and protest, or is it when they quietly adjust? Many people during the three days of discussion used the word “energy” to characterise youth. The capacity of pouring energy into life and into society is an essential quality. The ageing society cannot do without its young members. Progress in all senses of the word is unthinkable without the contributions of young people. The challenge, therefore, is a matter of channelling energy, of allowing it into society, seeing it as a prerequisite and not as a threat.

Education – A Process of Give and Take

The one way ahead that was discussed and exemplified over and over again throughout the symposium was education. How do you become an active member of society, at ease with yourself and others? How do you develop the ability to interact, to see through the eyes of others, and to see yourself in the context of society as a partaker? I can see no better means to this end than education, if – and this I believe to be an important condition – the interpretation of the concept is given due attention. Education for the purpose of counteracting violence is not, and must not be, a matter of just distributing or passing on values and virtues, from the perceived ‘haves’ to the believed ‘have-nots’. The full potential of education is released only when it is understood and treated as an interactive process in which roles of give and take are never fixed by virtue of factors such as position, age, gender or origin.

With regard to the formal education system, networking beyond the bipolar relation between teacher and pupils is essential. One party that must be recognised both within the formal education system and as an independent actor is the NGOs. The fact that NGOs may actually be the tools of young people themselves, as in the case of youth organisations, make them essential. The way that NGOs can address an open invitation to young

people to partake, rather than offering them an already set schedule to be followed, has major importance when it comes to establishing and maintaining confidence and good relations with young people. In addition to this, for the formal institutions of the representative democratic system, it is a challenge to invite young people, in formal and less formal ways, in such a manner that initiatives and needs expressed by young people do not get lost in the process but can be followed up in a way that strengthens the reliability and credibility of the democratic society.

The Contribution of Research

With ‘Youth’ and ‘Violence’, as with any other field in society, it is important to investigate thoroughly the processes at work, so much more since the very relation between the two concepts is anything but clear. Research is a means to the end of establishing ‘facts’, but also a means for analysing these facts. The intellectual process of self-reflection that forms part of the research process is important in that it can help to highlight prejudices and stereotypes that permeate the whole of society. As was pointed out during the researchers’ and experts’ meeting that preceded the symposium, it is the task of, among others, researchers to counteract moral panics and traditional bogey-men with alternative and appropriate information.

Researching violence with young people is a demanding process, often requiring a very elaborate methodological approach. Necessary ethical standards may hold that not all that is said can be reported or evaluated. However, if care and responsibility govern the work, research in itself may not only lead to rich and unexpected insights, but may also open new avenues towards prevention.

Researching Violence – the Youth Dimension, European Youth Centre
Budapest 24–26 October 2002

The Role of Youth Policy

When it comes to politics and policy making, young people need to be seen and addressed on a permanent basis, as a part of and partners in society as well as in the ongoing discussion on how

to build a better future. I believe that youth policy has a key role to play in developing this view, thereby protecting young people from being either forgotten totally or being reduced to objects of correction. *Mr Lauritzen* very rightly called youth policy a purposeful investment in the next generation. Youth policy is an important tool for creating access and inclusion. It cuts across and highlights dimensions of the agenda of policy making in general, dimensions that, since they concern young people, are of importance to our common future.

Mr Peter Lauritzen,
Head of Department, Department
of Education, Training, Research
and Communication,
Directorate of Youth and Sport of
the Council of Europe



I would like to conclude by reminding myself and everyone of what *Mr Hiller* said on the first day of the symposium. He quoted a phrase in Latin about the drop of water that will drill a hole in the stone, not because it is so strong, but because it falls so frequently. My conclusion from this metaphor is that there is need for patience, persistence and stubbornness from all of us, but there is also good reason for hope.

“GUTTA CAVAT LAPIDEM, NON VI SED SAEPE CADENDO”

Contextualising Violence

A FIST ...

A BOOT ...

A FIGHT ...

A BRUISE ...

It seems a good many understandings of and first associations in relation to the concept of violence are in terms of concrete fights, with corresponding responses such as “Teach them a lesson” and/or “Put them away.” **HOWEVER, ...**

... IS THAT ALL THERE IS TO IT?

What if violence is more than the isolated, accidental, unfortunate, embarrassing stain to an otherwise clean surface?

This may seem utterly naïve as a starting point. Still, where else can you start in an era when the prime minister in one of the Council of Europe's founding states allows himself to speak of ten-year-olds as "evil"? Children raised in the very country where he as a politician sets the standard? Who needs bottom lines for tolerable living conditions if it turns out that the real problem is children being "evil"?

Consider the following:

“I CANNOT REMEMBER EXACTLY WHEN I BECAME A NAZI ...”

says Swedish *Kent Lindahl* on the first page of his autobiography *Exit – My way out of Nazism*, “but”, he continues, “the road leading in that direction was characterised by a childhood without warmth or intimacy ...”

It is an all too well-known story, about a child experiencing little but fear in places and situations that ought to be, or that were supposed to be, safe and sound: the school yard, the playground, the summer camp ... Years later, the grown-up one-time-victim reflects over the absence of reactions from the adult world.

“I have many times wondered if the [summer camp] leaders deliberately closed their eyes to how we, the little ones, were treated by the older children.”

Children learn soon enough that telling right from wrong is in the hands of the stronger, he continues, and summarises the lesson experience taught him: never to trust an adult, “since I was left to care for myself all alone, and to cope with whatever problems all by myself. And my way became a declared war against each and everyone.”

Eight years old, *Kent* draws the conclusion that the only way ahead is through threats and violence, robbing one’s rights. “In retrospect”, he writes, “I can only state the simple fact that violence made up a substantial part of my life until the age of thirty. Only then did I realize that violence creates more problems that it solves.”

Today, *Kent Lindahl* (one of the participants of the symposium) is the founding leader of the Swedish NGO, Exit, of which the aim is to support people like he himself once was, who want to leave extremist organisations. I read his book, sat back and summarised: that suffering does not ennoble people or make them nice; that suffering on the part of the perpetrator does not excuse his or her later acts of violence, nor does it reduce the suffering of new victims; and that violence has to be seen and understood in context. This is not because you can “prove”, in a strict sense of the word, relations of cause and effect, but because it would

be cruel not to recognise the victim also in the perpetrator, and because it would be stupid to overlook an important tool when it comes to prevention: the insight that the general life conditions of children and young people prepare them for adult life very differently.

The act-centred, revenge-seeking hunt that leads to no further reflections once the guilty party is caught will get us nowhere. Or rather, it will get us somewhere: deeper into trouble. For many individuals, it spells tragedy and lost lives, metaphorically or literally. For society, it brings fear as well as high costs for little benefit.

It is a well-established fact that commitment to another individual, or to a god-figure above, holds a potential for change ruling out most other things. However, it would be wrong to count on these processes as the sole agents of change. Institutions, organisations, democratic society itself needs to contextualise, as a foundation for actively seeking ways ahead. Confronted with eruptions of violence, whatever their form, we need to look around, to contextualise, and to investigate the roles of and inter-relatedness between the experiences and expectations of those involved.

“We need to look behind the act and ask ourselves what opportunities and what hope people have.” *Lord Russell-Johnston*

“No problem is ever born, or solved, in the street.” *Mr Lauri Sivonen, administrator of the Council of Europe Integrated Project “Responses to violence in everyday life in a democratic society”*

How Do We Perceive Young People?

“[T]here has been a tendency to foreground parenting, schooling, cognitive deficits and peer group factors. The impact of neighbourhood poverty, for example, receives considerably less emphasis. The social de-contextualisation of crime runs the obvious risk of pathologising individuals in relation to their ‘deviant’ families and friends.”

This warning against de-contextualisation was formulated by *Mr Jonathan Evans*, University of Wales, during the researchers’ and experts’ meeting that preceded the symposium. His comment was made with reference to policy formation circles in the United Kingdom, and in his presentation he also shared some thoughts on how young people are perceived.

The following extract from his draft paper provides an opportunity to reflect upon the general images we have of young people. When something happens that catches our attention or calls for our intervention, then, if not before, our view of normality is of major importance. Jonathan Evans talked about

“... **THREE MAIN CONSTRUCTIONS** of children being represented in British social policy: investment, victimhood and threat.¹ The first representation, **CHILDREN AS AN INVESTMENT**, implies that the value of children resides not in what they can contribute now, but in what they can deliver in the future. The projected benefits of prudent investment will, so the argument goes, not only be realised by individual citizens; it will also ‘trickle down’ to families, communities and, of course, the ‘nation’ as a whole.

Mr Jonathan Evans, Cardiff University School of Social Sciences (University of Wales), Wales, UK.

The title of his presentation was ‘Young People and Violence: Youth Justice in Wales and England’. (Notes given in the article can be found on page 24.)

Although, as we all know, the value of investments can depreciate as well as grow, the optimistic forecast suggests that handsome dividends will be paid to all. A Report by the Commission on Social Justice illustrates this kind of thinking.

“Children are not a private pleasure or a personal burden; they are 100% of a nation’s future . . . the best indicator of the capacity of our economy tomorrow is the quality of our children today.”²

New Labour’s 1997 General Election campaign mantra of ‘Education, Education Education’ is a more recent example of investment values being invoked in the interests of public service and the economy.

The second construction centres on CHILDREN AS VICTIMS OR POTENTIAL VICTIMS. In this account children are constructed in terms of their vulnerability, being defined largely in terms of welfare needs. The advantage of this construction is that young people are, at the very least, viewed within an essentially protective framework. The disadvantage of this construction is that young people are not necessarily assessed as being fully competent human beings. Thus, policies, often paternalistic in character, are designed to protect this vulnerable group from physical and moral danger. This construction often emerges in the discourse surrounding child abuse³, official public inquiries investigating child deaths⁴ and some media representations of young people abused by paedophiles. Parton (1985) suggests, however, that constructions based purely on notions of victimhood tend to appear only episodically. It is more usual for such representations, and the policies and practices that proceed from these representations, to be conflated with other constructions, most commonly the concept of threat.

Although many positive welfare policies have been founded on these first two constructions, it is worth noting that there are obvious dangers in perceiving young people as ‘incomplete adults’. The pitfall of viewing children as ‘human becomings’ rather than ‘human beings’⁵ can result in adults believing that they always ‘know best’. The obvious danger of this construction

is that children's voices are stifled and their rights overlooked, especially by those appointed to positions of professional authority and guardianship. Consequently young people are at risk of being victimised by systems designed to protect them. The consequences of not listening to children have, indeed, been vividly recorded in Wales⁶. It would be no exaggeration to suggest that in Britain, at least, the clouds of scandal (in respect of neglect, physical assaults and sexual abuse) have overshadowed debates about residential care for young people. Nevertheless, despite the inherent problems of residential social work's troubled history of state paternalism, one returns to the point that it was at least founded upon an underlying commitment to meeting children's welfare needs.

The third representation of children is as A THREAT: a threat, that is, to us – middle-aged adult society in general, and the 'respectable classes' in particular⁷. This threat can take the form of robust challenges to the prevailing moral order by older children/adolescents/young people (depending on one's preferred terminology). Such challenges often involve 'unearned pleasures' (good sex, loud music and illicit drugs), anti-social behaviour (sometimes constituting relatively innocuous misdemeanours such as gathering in large groups in public places and making offensive comments about passers-by) and, of course, infractions of the criminal code⁸.

On the whole, such negative representations of 'youth' are accepted uncritically. 'Youth' and 'deviancy' have become almost synonymous terms in public discourse. 'Adolescence' has been constructed as an essentially troublesome and challenging condition. The psychological and behavioural disorders that are supposed to cluster around young people in their teenage years are commonly regarded as a 'natural' and integral part of childhood and adolescent development. [...] The 'psychologisation of youth' has, according to Jones (2002), recruited willing accomplices from the social work profession since the 19th century. Historically, he argues, the profession's supine adoption of individualised and quasi-psychodynamic forms of casework has helped to foster an essentially reactionary practitioner culture. There has been a consequential tendency to explain 'offending behaviour'

in terms of individual and family pathologies. The dysfunctional working class family has thus become the principal target of criminal justice policy. Even contemporary rhetoric about service-user empowerment, it is implied, is not so very far removed from the Victorian belief in moral autonomy and self-help.

Some of the psychological labels attached to ‘challenging’ young people have been popularised in many mass media representations of youth. The ‘disturbed adolescent’ occupies a prominent position in the familiar diagnostic trinity of the ‘mad, sad and bad’. The mass media has, of course, long played a key role in the creation of ‘moral panics’ about the condition and threat of young people: from the excitable apprentices in the 19th century London mob⁹ to ‘mods and rockers’¹⁰ and other post-war youth cultures.

Most people in early 21st-century Britain are more media literate than their forebears and, as such, appreciate the ironic nuances of many of these popular representations. Less appreciated, though, is the influence of the sophisticated briefing and lobbying practices undertaken by special interest groups such as the police and the Probation Service¹¹. The impact of sensationalist reporting also continues to have a profound effect upon public opinion and the political process¹². Moreover, the news media’s concentration on youth offending as opposed to other forms of crime (tax fraud, corporate crime, domestic violence, etc.) ensures that the diminutive, hooded figure of the ‘juvenile delinquent’ looms large in the public mind. Young people are, after all, more visible on the streets with their scary haircuts, challenging music and incomprehensible demotic street argot. Young people, so often the object of envy and fear in equal measure, are highly susceptible to being represented as the dangerous ‘other’ and ‘enemy within’ the city walls. The challenges experienced by young people, delayed and often fractured transition into the labour and housing markets, for example,¹³ tend to be presented as social problems of their own making.

Whilst it would be misleading to suggest that all youth crime is the result of social and economic trauma, there are dangers in over-emphasising the ‘pleasures of youthful transgression’ thesis¹⁴. The reasons underlying crimes like ‘joyriding’ are complex and go well beyond the more reductive versions of the ‘late modern teen-

age kicks in a risk society' account. Issues of power, social inequality and masculinity require closer intellectual inspection.

Although there are middle class versions of youthful rebellion involving cautionary narratives of 'falling' into 'bad company' or 'descending into drugs hell', for the most part the dominant constructions of juvenile delinquency are masculine and class specific. The feral offspring of the Victorian 'residuum' bear a striking resemblance to contemporary representations of the modern 'underclass'¹⁵. Like their 19th-century counterparts, the post-modern poor are contrasted with a noble but fast-vanishing respectable working class. According to Pitts (2000), New Labour invokes a nostalgic

“...vision of a 1950's municipal housing estate where fully employed, skilled, solvent, working class artisans took care of their families and kept their children under control.”¹⁶

Although the main threat to respectable society is perceived as being mainly from young people, pre-pubescent children also have a long history as a source of fear and anxiety. There is evidence to suggest that the children of the poor have been constructed in these terms at least as far back as Elizabethan times¹⁷. More recently, of course, the media representation of Robbie Thompson and Jon Venables, the two ten-year-old boys convicted of murdering the infant, James Bulger¹⁸, has played a significant part in demonising young children in general. Indeed, the satanic representation of the two boys helped feed an intellectually frenzied debate about a supposedly more general 'crisis in childhood'¹⁹. Paradoxically, the Bulger case contained the two most potent constructions of childhood: victim and threat. Some media representations actually portrayed the horrific, but highly atypical, events of February 1993 as the day that childhood innocence was murdered.

Given this historical and cultural context, it is, perhaps, unsurprising that youth justice policy and practice has been described as swinging between discourses of 'welfare', on the one hand, and 'punishment' on the other²⁰. Indeed, it could be said to be a logical extension of young people's construction as 'objects of concern'²¹ or 'sources of fear'²². They are, in other words, treated as

either ‘victims’ or ‘villains’²³. Sometimes, moreover, they can be simultaneously represented as both.

Policy debates about children in trouble with the law tend to hinge on questions of agency and structure; between those who perceive young people as being in possession of a significant degree of moral agency and others who take the view that such criminal behaviour is more usually a manifestation of other difficulties associated with personal life, family life, social disadvantage or the life of the neighbourhood. Whilst this tension between agency and structure is also present as a feature of social and criminal justice policy in relation to adults, it is more acute in respect of children because there are usually at least some concessions to ideas about age, maturity and relative powerlessness. Such concessions, moreover, imply a duty of care to the child. Consequently, policy responses to the criminal behaviour of the young can be represented on the one hand by interventions that will deliver some form of welfare drawn from a list that includes care, protection, treatment, education, training, rehabilitation and community reintegration; and on the other hand, by more ‘punitive’ measures selected from an inventory encompassing retributive justice, control, surveillance, public protection and ‘naming and shaming’. Indeed, social and criminal justice policy in this area, as indicated above, is often presented in dualistic or ‘swinging pendulum’ terms. Whilst the idea of a punishment – welfare continuum offers a certain seductive analytic clarity, its use as a narrative device for presenting the history of youth justice fails to take full account of the underlying complexities in the way in which these themes interweave. Very often such seemingly opposing binaries overlap. The history of child incarceration is a case in point. The incarceration of young people can be represented simultaneously as child-rescuing care and punitive custody. Institutional regimes may be informed by seemingly diverse philosophies: soft-centred treatment and education programmes on the one hand, or hard-edged disciplinary training on the other. What they will have in common, though, is the turn of a key. Child confinement is just one area of practice where welfare and punishment can appear indistinguishable – especially to the child behind the locked door.

A further irony in the history of youth justice is that those who desire to promote the welfare of children often do the most harm ...”

1. Hendrick, 1994.
2. Commission on Social Justice, 1994: 311.
3. Parton, 1985.
4. Butler & Drakeford, forthcoming.
5. Qvortrup, 1994.
6. Waterhouse, 2000.
7. Pearson, 1983; 1987; 1989; 1994a; 1994b.
8. Campbell, 1993.
9. Pearson, 1983.
10. Cohen, 1980.
11. Brown, 1998.
12. McRobbie & Thornton, 1995.
13. Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Ball et al, 2000.
14. Katz, 1998; Hayward, 2002.
15. Murray, 1984; 1990; 1994.
16. Pitts, 2000: 4.
17. Dingwall et al. 1983.
18. Smith, 1994.
19. Scraton, 1997.
20. Haines & Drakeford, 1998.
21. Butler-Sloss 1998; Oppenheim & Lister, 1996; Parton et al., 1997.
22. Pearson, 1996.
23. Hendrick, 1990.

How Do We Perceive the World around Us?

A short collage of reflections

THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION. “Twelve years ago, comparisons within a European framework meant looking at Oslo and Barcelona. Today, with a Council of Europe counting 48 member states, and with a geographical territory stretching to the Far East, we must take into account bigger and more complex differences than ever before. Furthermore, Europe is part of a world in which inequalities and unrest urge millions of people to seek their future in places and countries other than where they were born. From experience, we know that Europe becomes the final destination of only a fraction of this transfer. However, the overall European reaction is unilateral (sorry, sold out!) and focused on reducing numbers.

In a world undergoing these changes, we can no longer believe in easily defined youth trajectories, divided into entities of childhood, youth and adulthood. Also, we must ask ourselves what we want to prepare and educate the young generation for. One world or two?” (*Mr Peter Lauritzen, Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe*)

“The highly competitive system of global capitalism is at the origin of many developments relating to violence. This ranges from the rich Northern hemisphere living at the cost of the South, through brusque movements of capital creating unemployment and misery in one place and initiating employment and new social infrastructure in another, to whole areas of the world with no chance to overcome their misery and others living in incredible luxury.” (*From the summary of the researchers’ and experts’ meeting*)

THE VERY TERMINOLOGY we use is permeated with meanings and interpretations. When urban unrest is labelled “racial riots” the wording itself seems to define the origin of the problem – but do we know it does? When “Paki-bashing” becomes a set phrase, it brings the phenomenon into the normal – but is it? And when we speak of integration, then what do we mean? A flattening process, accepting the dominant culture? Then we should rather call it assimilation. (*Ms Rupa Hucq, from Manchester, England, participating in the researchers’ and experts’ meeting*)

THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF FEAR AND DANGER do not relate logically to one another. Old people, in spite of being little exposed to violence, are often more afraid than, for instance, young people, who are statistically much more often the targets of violence. Likewise, as was mentioned by *Ms Hiroko Goto*, the fear of crime in Japan is higher than in Western European countries, in spite of a comparatively low crime rate.

MORAL BLIND SPOTS distort our ways of both seeing and thinking. *Mr Karim Murji*, from the Open University, UK, gave many examples of paradoxes related to race and age. “Blackness”, for instance, is perceived simultaneously as a ground for trouble (criminals) and as an argument for consumption (style icons). Likewise, there is a great deal of ambiguity in the majority / adult /white reaction towards the lyrics of certain groups. The selling potential is embraced but what do the groups with their music and words represent? Do they simply mirror their own background in the ghetto, or do they have an intentional approach? And, if the latter is the case, what is the audience’s reaction? Do they take everything in like sponges? Adults allow themselves to use and reinterpret a lot of things, designer goods for instance, that they regard differently once in the hands of young people. Acting no differently, young people are more likely to be described as seduced victims of consumption.

“Distorted perceptions related to colour may have paved the way for the boys at Columbine High School: Had they not been white, they might have been stopped . . .” (*Mr Karim Murji, at the researchers’ and experts’ meeting*)

STILL A MAN'S WORLD. By virtue, not of biological sex, but of position in society, men and women rarely share the same experiences or live under the same conditions. Given the structurally based differences between the sexes, it is essential to have a consistent gender perspective when treating a topic such as violence.

The symposium, however successful on other levels, did not break new ground in this respect. The gender dimension was not used for cutting across issues. Instead it was made the focus of one working group (on domestic and, precisely, gender-based violence) at the same time as it was hardly touched upon in the other groups. For future activities, I think it represents a real challenge to identify and follow up systematically the possible gender dimensions of over-arching subjects, rather than to pick the one box in which to put “women’s issues”. In some areas women may have special experiences; in others they may hold views different from those of boys or men. I think it could be most enriching not to reduce this variety to be treated among women and for women only.

“Many participants found the picture presented on Tuesday morning very incomplete. Among other things, participants missed the mentioning of possible sources of juvenile violence, noting that domestic violence and parental violence were not mentioned in the context of young people’s troubling behaviour or activities. Some of us pointed out that work with young people means in reality often work with boys, that reaching girls is somehow more difficult, that girls’ realities are not included in the picture painted of young people, despite some obvious differences, and thus girls’ visions are also missing from the possible future of youth programmes.” (*From the working group report on domestic and gender-based violence*)

“In our study on attitudes among adolescents in Bulgaria, we found differences in that boys, but not girls, saw violence as inevitable. We also found a difference in age, in that younger children more often saw violence as the only way out. The older ones more often mentioned alternatives to violence, such as ‘talking’.” (*Ms Jivka Marinova, Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation, at the researchers’ and experts’ meeting*)

RESEARCHING VIOLENCE with young people is a demanding process, often requiring a very elaborate methodological approach. In certain field studies, this approach has to go together with clearly defined ethical standards. Not all that is said in interviews can be reported, not all that is said can be evaluated. If care and responsibility govern the research, the rewards will often be a very rich and unexpected insight into the nature of violence and its relation to young people. Research may, in this way, open an avenue towards prevention. (*From the summary of the researchers' and experts' meeting*)

“Our thoughts, on whatever subject, are shaped by our ways of measuring, talking and categorising.” (*Violence against young women in Europe. Seminar Report. EYCB 21–27 May 2001.*)

We Have the Violence We Deserve

Youth violence in the suburbs of Paris

Violence is not equally distributed in a society. Some residential areas are more affected than others, and some categories of individuals appear more often than others in the roles of both perpetrators and victims. In his input to the symposium, ethnologist *André Iteanu* presented good arguments for which directions we should look in when seeking to understand, or contextualise, what goes on in, as in his case, Parisian suburbs. He explored, and subsequently dismissed, the explicatory value of “cultures of origin” for the behaviour of young people of immigrant background. Contrary to the general tendency to look back at what is believed to be the “cultural background” of young people in troublesome situations, he argues that youth culture, irrespective of town or country, is something in itself. In relation to the numerous “settlers” that have always populated the suburbs (whether or not they have crossed a national border on their way there), *André Iteanu* describes the suburb as a sort of time machine designed to effect the transition from holism to individualism. Within this framework, violence becomes the response to the present absence of social ties. Below follows, in full, *Mr Iteanu’s* presentation to the symposium.

“EVERY DAY, the incidence of youth violence brings us face to face with our powerlessness to build a perfect world. Because the perpetrators are our children and heirs to the future of humankind, rather than unknown, insignificant delinquents, we have to suspend our judgement and take society to task, in order to bear some of the burden of their responsibility. There is general agree-

Mr André Iteanu, Director of Research, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS)

ment, therefore, that even if violence breaks out, develops and is perpetuated as a result of the state of mind of a particular young person, that state of mind itself, whether temporary or permanent, often has social, family, financial or other causes. Moreover, the sociology of youth violence consists largely in highlighting these causes.

Although this point of view appears to attribute an important role to society, paradoxically it actually reduces its importance. Fundamentally, what sociologists of this persuasion are interested in is to what extent the social situation of those who commit violence influences their state of mind, their internal contradictions, their frustration, their despair, their desire for power, etc. In this way they reduce social situations to a simplistic psychological typology. And yet these same analyses consider the specific nature of the violence, the manner in which it is perpetrated, what is said about it and the differences in the context in which it occurs to be epiphenomena, dressing up the naked event, a cultural nuance which only reflects the superficial social identity of the individuals in question. The social aspect is thus subordinated to the universal psychological features.

As an ethnologist, I have a different view on the issue, which I have gained from my experience with societies in distant countries. This anthropological view may, perhaps, be surprising, because although it contradicts the sociology we have just been discussing, it also takes the opposite stance from what one would expect of an ethnologist, that is to say the defence of the "culture of origin". The ethnological element of my approach is that I deal with violence as if it were a ritual, by which I mean that I try to understand it in its context, both in relation to the global ideology of the society in which it occurs and in relation to the living environment of the young people who engage in it. By explaining the social element in social, rather than psychological, terms, I believe I am being faithful to Durkheim.

Indeed, in our multiethnic suburbs, we cannot say that violence is the cultural attitude of a given population (Moslems, for example) that is reproduced down the generations and will be transported with its immigrants to another country. If that were so, the parents of our young people, who are closer to their original culture than their children, would obviously be the first per-

petrators of violence. This is clearly not true. Violence is not, therefore, associated with any particular culture of origin. On the contrary, what never fails to strike me in the multiethnic suburbs of Paris, where I have been studying young people for over twenty years alongside literature on the subject, is the incredible homogeneity of the youth culture of the suburbs, both across France and over time. The fact that all these young people – whose parents come from the four corners of the world, practise different religions, have experienced different migratory journeys, are as likely these days to be living in the North as the South, are engaged in a variety of jobs or may be unemployed – should have a similar culture is very surprising. This fact, which is often neglected in spite of its extraordinary nature, needs to be clarified before we can understand the phenomenon of youth violence.

At this point, I would like to make a comment in passing. This uniformity of youth culture at once refutes the numerous theories based on psychology, which attribute youth violence to the cultural conflicts to which young people are allegedly subjected between their culture of origin and that of the host country. This homogeneity is, in fact, acquired at the expense of an almost total ignorance on the part of these young people of their parents' culture of origin. This observation is true in every respect. The young people in question do not speak their parents' language of origin, know nothing about their culture, do not take part in religious rites, refuse arranged marriages, feel very uncomfortable when they return to the "home" country, and so on.

How, then, can we explain this particularly rapid obliteration of cultures of origin and the concomitant emergence of a homogeneous youth culture?

Twenty years in the field have enabled me to identify a systematic population movement which pointed me in the right direction. Throughout these years, numerous waves of migrants have succeeded one another in the suburbs where I work. When I first started, the young people engaged in violence were the children of French people who had come to the capital from the provinces (known as *Zonards*) at the end of the major migration from the countryside that followed the second world war. Later came Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese, also from rural backgrounds. Then

it was the turn of the North Africans. Nowadays, it is families from black Africa who are settling in France. Regardless of nationality, colour, religion or custom, these different migratory waves bear a strong resemblance to one another. First in their rhythm; every time, the parents moved into the suburbs and then, at the earliest opportunity, their children left to live another life elsewhere. Next, what interests us is that one migratory wave of young people appeared to transmit characteristic social attitudes to the next wave. More specifically, youth violence always closely follows systematic rules of development. On arriving in the suburbs, young people always start by provoking or participating in violent incidents; then, after a while, this violence diminishes and gives way to problems involving the use and buying and selling of drugs. Finally, these give way to the organisation of a parallel economy based essentially on stealing and receiving stolen goods, which these young people call “business”.

In view of the similarity of the different waves of migrants, including the French, I was obliged, when considering the suburbs, to change my definition of the concept of immigration. Applying the contrast between holism and individualism described by Louis Dumont, I therefore suggested that all these migratory waves had two common features: first, they all originate from local societies where holistic values are more predominant than in the local host society – the suburbs – and, secondly, they have in common the fact that the children of migrants are all keen to become genuine individualists. Consequently, I have defined immigration in the context of the suburbs as the transition from a surplus of holism to the individualism of the host society. This definition, while valid in the context of the suburbs in France, does not, of course, apply to many other kinds of immigration, such as immigration from Central Europe. But in France these immigrants never settle in the suburbs. If we accept this definition, we can say that, in France, for both immigrants and the host society, the suburbs constitute a sort of social machine designed to effect the transition from holism to individualism for all those who settle there.

Specifically, on arriving in the suburbs, migrant parents still feel that they belong to the community of origin and that they are sustained by their own values, but find it difficult to adapt

to the individualism surrounding them, whereas their children, during the course of a generation, become individuals who hold themselves aloof from any kind of holistic or neo-holistic socialisation. For confirmation of this, it is sufficient to note that one of the representative sociological characteristics of all the young people in question is that they never join any kind of social group, whether it be one that their parents belong to, such as a cultural association, or a group formed by people from the same country of origin, tenants' association, trade union, etc., or one they might have direct access to themselves, such as a school group, sports club, musical band, etc. Although it may be disturbing, this inability to lead a sociable life has at least one advantage: the youth of the French suburbs never enrol in totalitarian, political, sectarian, religious or other groups.

So, if the suburbs are a machine, how does that machine work?

Transforming people from cultures with holistic tendencies into individuals is not very difficult. History has recorded many similar transformations and this is something that we can still see happening today in many developing countries. However, such transformations have always taken place over long periods of time. In the suburbs, it happens quickly, in a single generation. The process must, therefore, be intense. As the aim is above all to transform the child of a family that values relationships into someone who sees himself or herself as a self-sufficient autonomous individual, the French suburbs have chosen to effect this rapid transformation by ensuring that all local relationships with the young people in question are broken off.

Very briefly, this takes place essentially in three areas:

- ♦ **IN THE CITY:** for fear of creating a ghetto, all French institutions make it a golden rule to split up and disperse families and ethnic groups, so that in a social housing block or at school, every effort is made to disperse people from the same place of origin. In the city, too, local shops disappear to make way for big impersonal shopping centres, teachers frequently move from one school to another for a pay rise, and in blocks of flats young people are marked out as unruly. In short, the city cannot offer these young people any reliable or stable relationship.

- ♦ **IN THE FAMILY:** as I have already said, the parents' culture is not passed on and the young people never participate in the activities of their parents' ethnic or religious associations, which they find old-fashioned and often even "shameful".
- ♦ **AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE:** in the French suburbs, the concept of gangs of young people is unknown. Relationships between young people are fluid and egalitarian. They are formed according to the principle of "anyone can join". There is little solidarity. Often the young people denigrate one another, fight amongst themselves and give one another up to the police.

In the three most important dimensions of their lives, the city (including school), the family and the peer group, the youth of the suburbs have no reliable relationships to support them. They, in turn, exacerbate their isolation with provocative or violent attitudes that extinguish any remaining relationships which might have escaped the isolation to which the suburbs, as a social machine, subject them.

What are the consequences of this? The suburbs transform young people into individuals – we, in France, call this integration – by creating a relationship vacuum which prevents young people from acquiring new social relationships during the time it takes to divest them of the culture of their parents.

During this time, young people are not part of any local community and have no reliable relationship on which they can count. They are what we could call over-integrated into individualism. This trait, as is understandable, does not result from their particular psychological sensitivity to such values. But, whereas the individualism of the majority of young French people is tempered by local values (religion, family, good manners, etc.), passed on by their parents and by their social milieu, the young people with whom we are concerned, on the other hand, have no experience of anything like this and their individualism is almost pure, being devoid of any secondary value that might temper it.

It should be stressed that, although this condition is common to all sons and daughters of migrants living in the suburbs, for the great majority of them it is only a transitional experience, at

the end of which they join “normal” local communities through school, marriage, etc. This affiliation enables them to find a place in society.

However, the experience proves to be disastrous for a few who never manage to complete the transition. Even in extreme cases it is difficult, impossible even, to find signs of a family cause, because this failure hardly ever affects groups of siblings in the same way. As a rule, of a group of brothers and sisters who embrace “normal” life in different ways, only one or two remain prisoners of the process.

These young people who fail to complete the transition are those who become involved in violence. More than all the others, their individualism is extreme and is characterised by four main features:

- ♦ an exaggerated sensitivity to all fashions permeating global ideology, with particular regard to clothing or status, but also to ideological commitment (willingness to become involved in humanitarian activities, play football and so on).
- ♦ the fact that these young people are not involved in any local or cultural association, etc. but also, when they do get together, the fact that they never form cohesive and hierarchical groups.
- ♦ their inability to accept the slightest form of hierarchy, at school, within associations, in the family, at work, in the peer group. Any hierarchy, whatever its nature, is always denounced as an “injustice” in the light of egalitarian values.
- ♦ their inability to define their own place in society. What they have to say on the subject is always contradictory.

The young people who are unable to make a success of this leap into the social void are like caricatures of individuals. This involuntary mockery of the essential value of the society that surrounds them further intensifies the break in the social ties with those around them.

VIOLENCE. Reports of violent incidents by young people in the suburbs differ enormously, but on the whole they display common, precise and repetitive features which make it possible to associate them with two types.

Violence amongst themselves. The first kind involves reports of young people fighting amongst themselves or with people who form part of their close environment, their parents, etc. The young people are always reluctant to talk about this. However, the following is a report, not by those involved, who were arrested, but by one of their friends:

“It was winter. Two young people were hanging around their neighbourhood with nothing to do. They bumped into a friend, a well-known alcoholic, attacked him, beat him up, burnt him with cigarettes and finally threw him naked into the freezing water of a nearby river with his hands tied.”

Our interviewee found that amusing. He did not justify the attack spontaneously. When questioned, he mentioned some “funny business” on the part of the victim involving the girlfriend of one of the assailants. But it was all very vague. What he stressed was the comical aspect of the situation, the fact that the lad was naked and the water freezing, and so on. He didn’t think that the assailants were wrong to attack a friend. The consequences of the act were not even mentioned and yet, in this case, they were serious; the victim could have died and the assailants were charged with attempted murder.

It is as if it were all a game, or perhaps a soap opera on television. The sequence has its own logic, but no human depth. There is no real cause because, to my knowledge, the assailant has no girlfriend. The characters do not suffer, because they cannot “really” die. They have no future. The prison sentences they are going to serve are irrelevant. The assailants are driven by a kind of internal force, a cold logic of challenging and trying to outdo one another. They start with minor acts of cruelty and are gradually drawn into excess.

These same characteristics feature in a second story, told this time by the aggressor himself.

He is seventeen and has a girlfriend. But he also has a friend and he agrees that his girlfriend will sleep with the friend. He arranges everything, tells them both it's alright, but while they are together he "flips", gets a gun, bursts into the room and kills the girl.

The story is confused and I find it impossible to get him to go into more detail about what he did. Why did he organise this intimate get-together? It doesn't make sense. Was his friend really such a good friend? He is unable to say anything about it. Was he really fond of the girl? Not really. Why did he do what he did? He has no idea, even after several years in prison, where he has had plenty of time to think about it. Does he feel any remorse? No, "it was a stupid thing to do".

We have here the same transparency of a situation with no emotion, no reason and no future, the same excessive behaviour and the same confused recounting of the story. Just as if this had happened to someone else and the perpetrator was, in fact, merely a witness.

My last story of this kind is the victim's story. He tells me how, during a drinking session in a bar, his good friend suddenly smashed a bottle and slashed his arm, as a result of which he spent several days in hospital.

He laughs about it now, as if it were a good joke. He doesn't know why the other person did it. But it wasn't really serious, they were both drunk. When he left hospital, his friend came to meet him, as if nothing had happened, so that they could go for a few drinks together.

Just like the observer and the assailant in the previous accounts, the victim does not take the matter seriously. For him, as for the others, it is just a game. For him, as for the others, the lack of a reason is not a problem and he bears no grudge against his aggressor. He is one of the characters in a scene that really took place and is happy to have come out of it alive.

In all of these accounts, the violence these young people engage in amongst themselves has common features. It is a sort of joke. There is no real reason for it. It increases in intensity and ends in extreme violence. No moral judgement is passed and its consequences are ignored. There is an absence of emotion and pain that is suggestive of fiction.

Territorial violence. As opposed to violence that takes place amongst themselves, which they are reluctant to discuss, violence perpetrated in defence of territory is something the youths like to go over and over, filling their accounts with exaggeration. This form of violence is the one with which we are most familiar. Deep down, we find it less shocking. What is more normal than defending your home ground? Isn't that a good, albeit clumsy, sign of integration into the dominant society?

This is what happened. For several weeks, the youths had been gathering in the evening in the arrivals hall at Saint-Simon station, the RER terminus. When a train arrived, they formed a line and demanded money from the passengers who were not local.

Or in another case, youths from a neighbouring municipality occasionally came to steal bottles of beer from the mini-market in Saint-Exupéry. One day, however, the local youths attacked them and beat them up. They claimed that it was up to them to steal the bottles, not outsiders. This incident gave rise to a series of shows of group strength between young people from the two municipalities.

Finally, at Saint-Bertrand, young adults had for some time systematically been frightening off all social workers operating in the neighbourhood, saying that they wanted no outside influences, but wanted to be responsible themselves for the future of their younger members and for their neighbourhood in general.

These accounts will, I am sure, put you in mind of many more about which you have heard or read. Indeed, territorial violence takes many forms. First, it is the attack on any outsider who happens to be passing by. The assault is collective and excessive, with no particular reason other than the fact that the victim is an outsider. As for the young people, no-one is responsible, because "everybody pitched in". It is also the confrontation between neighbourhood groups, often on Saturday nights after a dance or concert. Then the violence regularly degenerates into a general rampage, with the young people destroying whatever is within reach, even right in front of their own front door. There are also attacks on local institutions, which are seen as outside institutions and as intrusive: the police station, a supermarket, the employment office, the youth workers' office, etc. Finally, and it is easy to see that the same logic is at work here, there

are the attacks on institutions (shops, public buildings) during mass political demonstrations. In this context, such institutions are targeted as parasites at local level.

Territorial violence and local violence are radically different in their characteristics. Territorial violence is serious and, for young people, no laughing matter. Its cause, the appropriation of territory, appears to be indisputable. Its collective aspect gives it an air of popular democracy. It is fed by great anger against outsiders, intrusion, injustice; a sudden and uncontrollable emotion. On home territory, it is brutal and immediate. There is no discussion, just blows. Away from home territory, it is a simple show of strength. In each case, it often degenerates into a destructive fury against property. Finally, it takes on a time element because a thousand vengeance are promised or feared in return for what has been suffered.

What is said and what is left unsaid. What are we dealing with in these two forms of violence? First, violence amongst themselves. Young people describe this as if the senselessness were the result of a substantial instability of the environment in which they live, so much so, for example, that some of the tattoos they have on their bodies represent it in the form of a zigzag. For them, in the suburbs, moral standards have been suspended. Parents, friends, neighbours can, at any time, surprise you with an inexplicable burst of violence. In short, in a fraction of a second, the local social universe can come tumbling about your ears.

In the face of this situation, which for them is deplorable, the young people seek to present a different view. Not only are they reluctant to relate accounts of violence amongst themselves; they also invent a solidarity which does not, in fact, exist. When asked what had happened to him, a young man with a bruised face replied that he had been attacked by a gang from another neighbourhood. Later, he admitted that he had been beaten by his own friends. In his shame, he had invented a story about territorial violence. In order to disguise the violence that takes place amongst themselves, young people create the concept of the “better form” of territorial violence, which they depict, to anyone who will listen, as a durable system of relations between cohesive and sustainable communities.

But how convincing is this vision of their local community? Not very, because, as I have already pointed out, in the suburbs there is no real cohesion among young people. Their friendship groups are neither well-defined nor stable and no-one takes part in local life or belongs to a club. Contrary to what happens in the United States, where violence is generated when gangs form, in France the incidence of violence falls as soon as there is any organisation.

In terms of status, young people are fiercely critical of the place where they live, seeing it as down-at-heel and unworthy. Consequently, in line with their own logic, the first place the “vandals” attack is their own neighbourhood, their street, their block of flats and even the corridor that leads to their door.

In short, in the absence of any local cohesion, territorial violence is, at best, a desperate attempt on the part of young people to create local social relations, which violence amongst themselves belies every time.

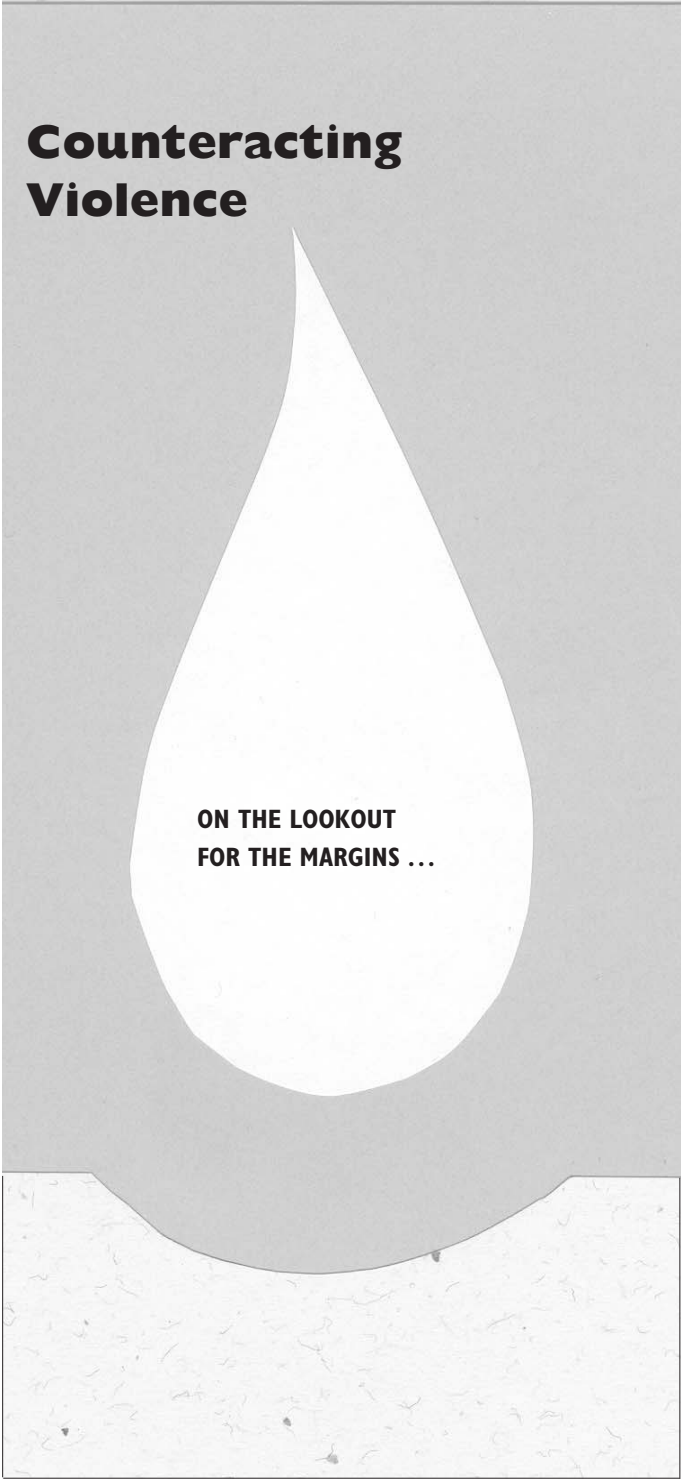
The paradox of proximity. The two forms of violence perpetrated by young people are therefore related to the sociological issue of the definition of what constitutes a local unit. Is it possible for them to fight amongst themselves yet still be cohesive? Is it necessary to defend oneself from outsiders in order to assert oneself? As we understand it, far from being a psychological issue, the violence of the suburbs, in both its forms, corresponds to the sociological void experienced by young people as they move from holism to individualism. By being violent amongst themselves and towards others, the youth of the suburbs are simply attempting to create or simulate a universe of proximity which they feel is missing. However, this attempt is destined to failure. Confrontations between two neighbourhoods do not create any more sociability than a brawl between two friends. Territorial violence produces no more than a temporary and deceptive semblance of alliance. The individualism that dominates makes any vague desire to create a society purely illusory.

TO CONCLUDE, I would like to stress two points to which I have already alluded but which, I believe, deserve our full attention, if we care about a democratic vision of the future.

First, in the contemporary context of extremism, the real importance of which is not genuinely appreciated because the issue is so subject to political manipulation, our first concern ought somehow to be to prevent young people from becoming engaged in totalitarianism. As we have seen, in France this is not the case at the moment, because the suburbs, as a social institution, appear to constitute an effective protective barrier. But we need to be on our guard because, in the suburbs, the response to the present absence of social ties is a desire to re-establish a community, through the use of violence. And from there, the slide into extremism is not dependent on the young people in question, but on the general context in which they live. If this context changes for the worse, their super-individualism can turn into something altogether different.

Secondly, as you will have understood, youth violence in the suburbs of France is proportional to the speed of the process of transformation to which young people are subjected. This speed is not merely the result of a blind wish for integration; it also has its justification. Most social workers, democratic political leaders and teachers promote it in order to reduce the impact of the arguments of political parties of the extreme right. But young people themselves, like the local community generally, accelerate the process by means of constant intensification. The greater the individuation, the more appreciable and recurrent the effects of intensification. Our young people are at the height of individualism and the intensification for which they are responsible is in keeping with that. This phenomenon often takes those who are in contact with these young people by surprise and confuses them, giving the impression that the situation is beyond them. But this is avoidable, as long as the amplification resulting from the effects of intensification is taken into account in advance.

Counteracting Violence



**ON THE LOOKOUT
FOR THE MARGINS ...**

... WHERE ACTION CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Counteracting violence means addressing individuals – victims and perpetrators – but does not end with that.

Counteracting violence also means putting the searchlight on structures, institutions and paragraphs that oversee or that in themselves embody inequalities, ignorance and neglect.

“WHERE ARE THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND?” asks *Mr John Johnston*, from Belfast, a participant at the symposium, “when punishments like beating, shooting, knee-capping become part of an accepted level of violence?”

“Every single night you have young people ending up in hospitals. I’ve been there, I’ve seen it myself. Young people wheeled in on trolleys screaming their heads off. And there is nothing said about this!!! It is not addressed in the peace process. To me this is a symptom of a sickness in society.”

“The problem I see is the level of violence and the degree of acceptance. Parents, teachers, doctors – *they are all involved*. There is a need to address the real issue of violence, which is not the bombs, but the fact that young people are being damaged, physically and psychologically. The only boy who is not in the paramilitaries – he can’t afford to have an argument on the football pitch, in the street or in school. The paramilitaries are more in control than the police – an unchallenged normality.”

”YOU CAN’T JUST SIT AND WATCH ...

... YOU HAVE TO DO SOMETHING!"

"In my organisation, 80:20 *Educating and Acting for a Better World*, we have an international network while at the same time working at street-level. Some time ago we had the following workshop with a group of young Protestants from Belfast together with visiting guests from Australia. In short, it was a way of using the traumatic experiences of others to approach our own traumas."

This is how, in *John's* words, the workshop went:

25 people. Two Aborigines circulate in the room; the rest of us are divided into groups. In each group there is a white Australian, whose telling makes us part of Australian history. We choose our own group names, and settle in the land explained to us. On a big sheet of paper we draw it all: the bay, the forest, the mountain . . .

My group builds a village and boats; we pick places for prayers and for women to give birth. And we find out what it takes to live on and from that land. We make spears to hunt koalas (good meat), nets for fishing, but also more contemporary things like footballs and prams for babies. Thousands of years go by during the course of 30 minutes. Then we are encouraged to write down the proper names of family members “hold them in your hand, put them on your land.”

Suddenly, the music changes, the light is turned down and one Aborigine girl starts: “In 1770 Cook arrives . . . He fires an attack on his ‘enemies’. 700 killed”. She takes names from our hands, names that end up crumpled on the floor in the middle of the room. Next, Cook attacks our land, seeking a good port. Now persons are displaced, lifted and moved away from sacred places: “But – that is where our women used to have their babies?!”

The whole thing lasts for 45 minutes, with no response to protests.

Only afterwards were we asked: “You were removed, how did you feel?” “Completely strange; these are not my people, not my team . . .” “I felt totally lost when our map was torn up: where is my land?”

To be put in a position where we could not ask questions was a very efficient way to bring the issue home. What about Belfast? What about our streets? What about stone throwing?

“We too have no choice . . .” “There is no point in fighting back – against whom?” “Who did this?”

“OF COURSE THERE ARE LIMITS to what an NGO can do. In our day-to-day work, we try to undermine the authority of the paramilitaries. We can get at individuals, but we cannot move structures. What we need is mobilisation on a broad scale.

We need another dimension to our problem. We need eyes from the outside to put pressure on both sides to the conflict. Northern Ireland must be declared a European problem. If we could be part of an arrangement that put the searchlight on Northern Ireland, I think it could make a difference. **AT LEAST IT WOULD BE A START.”**

(Mr John Johnson, Belfast)

A Government Cannot Have “No Youth Policy”

“What is done or is not done in respect of young people is always a statement about the future envisaged for a society.”
(*Mr Peter Lauritzen*)

“Values are invisible, like the wind. From the flutter of leaves you know there is wind. And you realise values through the actions of people.” (*Mr Peter Lauritzen quoting Ms Eva Ancsel*)

IT SEEMS THE right thing to do, before moving on to the long lists of possible and/or necessary forms of action to take, to try and sketch the outlines of the framework for the individual efforts. This framework, or formalised youth policy, is the best way of making sure that what is set up today will not be counter-acted, forgotten or (if a failure) unnecessarily repeated tomorrow. I will continue to make use of *Peter Lauritzen*'s description of what youth policy is all about, access and inclusion, and hence:

- ♦ education and life-long learning
- ♦ labour market opportunities for young people
- ♦ tackling health and substance abuse, HIV prevention and sexual education
- ♦ housing
- ♦ social protection
- ♦ family policy and child welfare
- ♦ leisure and culture
- ♦ youth justice

- ♦ military service
- ♦ community service
- ♦ youth work practice
- ♦ civil society and active citizenship
- ♦ participation
- ♦ gender
- ♦ minority youth
- ♦ social exclusion

Possible problems which might arise

- ♦ lack of co-ordination between government and NGOs
- ♦ lack of intra-ministerial co-operation
- ♦ lack of NGO co-operation
- ♦ dependency on specific budgets (also: international and European)
- ♦ competition
- ♦ monopolisation of access and information
- ♦ dominance by a larger field of governance (e.g. welfare, education)

Checklist on youth policy delivery:

In a country, is there the following?

- ♦ youth legislation
- ♦ a youth budget
- ♦ democratic representation of young people
- ♦ a Parliamentary Committee
- ♦ administration at governmental level (Minister, State Secretary, other)
- ♦ a special system of advising on young people
- ♦ a youth information policy and practice
- ♦ a regional and local level of youth involvement
- ♦ a youth worker training scheme
- ♦ youth research
- ♦ a contribution to non-formal education
- ♦ an innovative function for young people

Racism and Related Discrimination

Working group report

RACISM IS AN expression of power and means of expressing control and domination, by groups over other groups. It can be found as much in the practice of institutions as in the minds of people. Whether manifested as biologically or culturally based, or in other forms, racism has far-reaching effects and terrible consequences and must never be underestimated.

Discrimination, whether or not based on racism, is deeply rooted in most of our societies and, therefore, difficult to eradicate. Discrimination in itself is violence, in that it creates victims denied access to what society has to offer. Whether this discrimination also takes the form of physical violence does not really matter. At most it is a question of degree. Important themes touched upon in the group discussion were:

- ♦ the “tolerance” of discrimination. Partly an outcome of the events of September 11, this shift to the negative affects especially Muslim communities, as well as other migrant groups. Another manifestation of this negative tolerance is the frequent denial of basic human dignity to asylum-seekers.
- ♦ the globalisation of poverty and inequality. The widening gap between rich and poor (countries and people) creates a background that supports the creation of negative images of otherness. The perception of certain African or Asian countries as being “doomed” or “ungovernable” is in itself a factor for discriminating against people associated with them.
- ♦ segregation with regard to ethnic background, language, religion, etc. Segregation permeating the fields of, for instance,

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Resource person: *Ms Iram Ahmed*,
European Confederation of Youth
Clubs (ECYC), and Monitoring
Group of the Human Rights
Education Programme

education and housing is both a symptom and a cause for racist-based violence, persistent in the treatment of minorities (e.g. the Roma) and foreigners (e.g. asylum-seekers). Urban-development policies that lead to ghettoisation are sometimes the expression of institutionalised prejudice.

- ♦ politics and policies. The role of politics and policies in shaping or confirming prejudice cannot be overestimated. Policies towards foreigners may generate and fuel violence and discrimination. Nationality laws often force young people to choose either-or, or they may deliberately leave young people born from foreign parents to grow up with the onus of having to prove themselves “good citizens”. Also, the existence of “undocumented” or “illegal” immigrants creates situations that foster crime, violence and human trafficking.
- ♦ media stereotypes. The mass media tend to confirm widespread prejudice and stereotyping of minority groups (including foreigners), making it particularly difficult to develop educational measures to counter it.

... AND THINGS TO DO ABOUT IT

- ♦ Education is the most important means of responding to racism and discrimination. There is a need for educational strategies.
- ♦ Formal education systems should include more non-formal approaches and intercultural learning in their work. Local communities, students and NGOs should be involved and used as resources in the design and delivery processes.
- ♦ Human Rights Education activities should be developed for the media.
- ♦ Joint training activities should be designed for all actors in the field of prevention of violence and discrimination (e.g. police officers, school teachers, youth workers, etc.). Communication among them is essential.
- ♦ Local authorities should train staff to deal with racism-based crimes and violence by/against young people. This should include mediation possibilities for the offenders.
- ♦ Teacher training should pay special attention to Human Rights Education as the basis for education methodologies.

- ♦ Multi-disciplinary approaches, including co-operation and communication among all parties concerned with young people, should be encouraged, particularly with youth organisations and associations.
- ♦ The Council of Europe should make a particular effort that its Human Rights Education and other relevant material is made available to teachers and schools, including translations into the local languages.
- ♦ The Council of Europe and its partners should use its resources and channels to better disseminate examples of good practice in intercultural education.
- ♦ Human rights education programmes should also include specific provisions for informing people from vulnerable groups about their rights.

“There is a need for educators to become activists or change-agents in the journey toward promoting non-racist attitudes. Toward indicates that combating racism is an ongoing journey that cannot be completely eradicated because the nature of racism is constantly changing. It has been prevalent throughout the history of mankind and will continue to be present in some form or other.” (*Mr Pepe Hendricks, South Africa*)

Gender-based Violence and Domestic Violence

Working group report

Facilitator: *Ms Györgyi Tóth*,
Women's Rights Association
(NaNE)

Resource person: *Ms Birgit
Appelt*, European Information
Centre Against Violence

THE DEFINITION OF violence must take into account not only what is said to be wrong by criminal law, but also personal perceptions and the right to integrity. This being said, a list of gender-based violence and domestic violence includes:

- ♦ economic violence in institutional and private forms, such as discrimination in the job market, the economic dependence of women on their partners or parents, the double burden for women working and raising children, violence aimed at stopping the woman from getting an independent income;
- ♦ patriarchal values in education: teaching children that women are inferior to men and have to fulfil a subordinate position in society compared to the position of men. It also contributes to teaching women a victim mentality, i.e. learned helplessness, so that, if trouble, they do not trust their own capacities to change their own situation;
- ♦ child abuse in the form of children witnessing the physical-psychological-verbal-sexual abuse of their mother or sibling;
- ♦ gang rapes and date rapes: two phenomena especially connected with young people both as victims and as perpetrators; victims suffer secondary victimisation through victim blaming, while perpetrators are not held responsible, and the behaviour of the victim delivers excuses for the crime that has been committed;
- ♦ date rape and partner rape;
- ♦ domestic violence: statistics show that young women have a higher risk of becoming victims of domestic violence;

- ♦ stalking: a highly dangerous and still not completely acknowledged phenomena, which often costs lives and always causes a drop in the quality of life of the victim. In extreme cases, stalking can result in murder or acid-throwing;
- ♦ negligence of women's health, often a form of violence: in rural areas of certain countries there are still strongly held beliefs about the segregation of sexes, and it is not uncommon that women suffer and even die of untreated conditions because they are not allowed to see a doctor or are not allowed to travel on their own to medical facilities;
- ♦ incest: we have agreed that it is appropriate to use the definition of incest coming from organisations that assist survivors – the core theme of incest is the abuse of a trust relationship and of the disadvantaged position of a child for sexual purposes;
- ♦ child custody: abusers often use the custody or their visitation rights to continue the abuse of the mother. This has further grave effects on all non-abusing family members;
- ♦ psychological violence: it damages the self-esteem of victims as well as causing isolation of women and children. Domestic violence interferes with the normal socialisation processes of children (e.g. they do not like or are not allowed to invite school friends into their homes);
- ♦ lack of information about rights, about the fact that nobody deserves abusive treatment;
- ♦ rigid gender roles, which limit the sphere of both sexes, promote abusive behaviour by men or boys and submissive behaviour by women and girls;
- ♦ children growing up in violent homes getting relatively little support. During later interactions, the possible exposure to violence in the family is an issue that is not brought up.

STATEMENTS OF THE GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE GROUP

- ♦ Women's rights and children's rights are human rights.
- ♦ The violation of women's rights equals violence and often implies the violation of children's rights as well.
- ♦ There are specific groups of women which are especially vulnerable to the violation of their rights.

- ♦ Children and young people often suffer from the indirect effects of violence in their social environments.
- ♦ Domestic violence is a public concern and should be treated as a crime.
- ♦ Domestic violence is a problem for all social groups.
- ♦ Youth problems are often symptoms of domestic abuse. Real solutions require the real causes to be addressed.

... AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend to European organisations

- ♦ awareness-raising by European bodies/institutions, e.g. a “European Year Against Gender-Based Violence”;
- ♦ the monitoring of legislation and of the application of laws with regard to domestic violence and gender-based violence;
- ♦ the collection of up-to-date European data on gender-based violence and the promotion of accurate registration of the criminal records, to give a clearer picture of the youth dimension. The data should be gender-sensitive, describing the relationship between perpetrators and victims and also highlight the secondary effects on relatives and family members;
- ♦ the implementation of effective strategies to prevent children and young people from becoming victims and perpetrators of violence;
- ♦ the financial support of successful existing programmes in the field of violence intervention and prevention;
- ♦ equal representation according to gender criteria in all bodies regarding gender-based violence and domestic violence and youth policy.

We recommend that national governments and institutions and youth organisations should

- ♦ initiate and fund national action plans on gender-based violence and domestic violence. This should include national standards for working with children and young people who have witnessed or experienced violence; the creation of a multi-agency approach towards the problem through the lateral cooperation of government, government agencies and national and local NGOs; the promotion of clear ethical standards and

procedures with the aim of protecting abused children; state financed, independent support services (including toll-free anonymous hotlines) for children and young people who have experienced or witnessed violence;

- ◆ ensure women's (incl. young women's) participation in decision-making; the permanent establishment of women's representation at ministerial level;
- ◆ promote and implement the training and education of professionals and youth workers on human rights, conflict resolution, gender-based violence and domestic violence and alternative (non-violent) gender roles for boys, by including the topic in curricula and basic training;
- ◆ treat domestic violence and gender-based violence as crimes and apply existing laws and to gather gender-sensitive data (criminal records, health services, etc.) at national level;
- ◆ promote ongoing media programmes and on-line education on gender-based violence and domestic violence which especially target a young audience and parents with the clear message that there is no excuse for gender-based violence and domestic violence;
- ◆ promote the participation of young people in anti-violence activities through programmes and funding; examine whether nationally funded youth programmes are equally targeting both boys and girls; implement and promote programmes for girls with regard to raising awareness (information about their rights and, empowerment (e.g. by teaching self-defence).

Homophobia

Working group report

Facilitator: *Mr Dariusz Grzenny*, Association for Children and Young People, CHANCE

Resource person: *Mr Arjos Vendrig*, Federation of Dutch associations for the integration of homosexuality (COC Netherlands)

WORKING AGAINST HOMOPHOBIA is very closely related to dispelling the fear (in itself a possible cause of violence) of people who are usually not very well informed about homosexuality. Also, the building of self-esteem among lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGTB) young people is an important tool to make them less vulnerable to violence. Recommendations therefore include informing young people (both heterosexual and LGBT) on issues such as the coming-out process, homosexuality and bisexuality in general, transgender issues, etc.

Causes

- ◆ lack of information and awareness
- ◆ reinforcing stereotypes (e.g. by media) and common views (represented in different religious denominations)
- ◆ lack of understanding of the coming-out process
- ◆ lack of understanding and/or willingness to support by close relatives
- ◆ non-inclusive approach in the school curricula (e.g. sexual education classes, literature classes, etc.) and sometimes a negative approach from teachers towards the issue
- ◆ reinforcement of traditional gender roles in most programmes and areas (school, sport, etc.)

Manifestations of violence

- ◆ hate crimes
- ◆ bullying at schools
- ◆ mobbing at the workplace

- ♦ blackmailing and threatening (“if you do not give me this or that, I will tell everybody that you are gay”)
- ♦ emotional violence
- ♦ self-denial that can lead to later start of self-development (sexual, relational, etc.)
- ♦ suicide and suicide attempts (violence against self)

CHANGES FOR THE BETTER COULD COME THROUGH ...

- ♦ ensuring the inclusion of LGTB issues in the school curricula, aimed at raising awareness and providing information to all students in order to increase the understanding and encourage positive attitudes towards LGTB people. LGTB students could specially benefit from this inclusive curriculum as it will assist and empower them to lead a healthy lifestyle;
- ♦ students who want to become teachers, youth counsellors and social workers being provided with specific training on how to deal with homophobia and how to encourage positive attitudes towards LGTB people. (This should also include training for teachers and social workers on how to deal with their own stereotypes and prejudices);
- ♦ police officers and doctors being trained in dealing with victims of hate crimes. As victims are not always ready to come out about the actual reason for the attack it is important that they do give the support needed to keep the victim comfortable in reporting to the police. Homophobic attitudes among these professionals should not be permitted;
- ♦ developing general anti-homophobia training for hate crime offenders and people who are accused of committing discriminatory crimes;
- ♦ easy access to information for young people who are still “in the closet”, with information about and a positive attitude towards LGTB lifestyles. (e.g. websites which are anonymous and easily accessible);
- ♦ involving LGTB movements in shaping national youth policies concerning, for example, sex education in schools;
- ♦ aiming to develop campaigns against homophobia at a European and/or national level that could include the introduction of positive role models (e.g. through soap characters or publi-

city campaigns) and could combat negative language towards LGTBs in the (youth) media;

- ♦ LGTB-friendliness being required from youth organisations applying for national and/or European funding;
- ♦ providing training and support (finance, research, etc.) for young LGTB activists on the issues of working with violence and counselling young LGTB people;
- ♦ ensuring the representation of LGTB young people in youth institutions such as youth councils at regional, national and European levels. Involving LGTB people in such networks will result in affecting positively the leadership of youth NGOs and this will play a role in building an LGTB-friendly civil society.

Group-Based Violence

(Including hooliganism and gangs)

Working group report

GROUP-BASED VIOLENCE is an increasing problem, a negative tool used in order to obtain and/or maintain power.

Group dynamics play a significant role in the functioning of the group. A sense of ownership of a group and a sense of belonging are both important, as is being identified and respected by your peers. Once the individual is assimilated into the dynamics of the group, individual moral boundaries become invisible. Mischief happens in groups and when young people take risks it is often in groups.

Violence is a response to what goes on in society. Self-confidence and negative self-perception, often mirroring the attitudes of the rest of society, have considerable explanatory value for the attraction of the group identity. Many “young people at risk” prefer negative attention to no attention at all. Almost everybody who is violent has at some point been exposed to violence themselves.

The following themes were touched upon in the discussion.

- ♦ *Hate crimes.* Frustration and marginalisation breed hate crimes. Marginalised groups who are socially excluded, whether ethnic minority groups or groups belonging to the majority population, use violence towards each other. The media often over-expose incidents, resulting in further animosity, in particular towards the minority groups.
- ♦ *Hooliganism.* There are groups that try to use football matches as arenas for displaying and promoting violence and racism. Identifying the motives behind hooliganism is difficult (or, for

Facilitator: *Mr Peter Wötsch*

Resource person: *Mr Ronni Abergel*, European Youth Against Violence Network

that matter, the reasons for choosing a particular team to support), since both sides can be seen fighting each other without it leading to anything except the violence. Whether or not the clubs are against violence is very important, as are their relations with and reactions to fans and militant fan groups (firms) who are violent and racist. Looking historically, clubs have not renounced violence. It is probable that many issues which need to be addressed in football are being suppressed because of the enormous amount of money involved in the game.

- ♦ *Killing time.* Group-based phenomena include street gangs with territorial clashes, motorcycle gangs with fear creating gatherings and street races. But not all groups or gangs have a stable structure; they are more responses to young people having nothing to do. Because of this, situations easily get out of hand.
- ♦ *Values.* Not everybody shares the same values. “Sharp skins” are the left wing of the skinhead movement; they are against racism and have violent responses to racism. “Block heads” are right wing racists that often identify with the neo-nazi movement.
- ♦ *Responses.* Young people may want to react, but they often lack the necessary tools to react towards and counteract violent behaviour. Public response, through public authorities, does not necessarily provide alternatives. There is a form of institutionalised violence, in that violence is used to stop violence.

... AND IDEAS FOR GOOD RESPONSES

- ♦ We need to be physically present in order to follow the developments in the lives of young people.
- ♦ Social workers need to have a perspective of reaching out in order to meet young people where they are and to establish trustful relationships with them.
- ♦ Parental networks should be supported, involving parents in the daily lives of their children.
- ♦ Football associations, players, clubs and fans should be sensitised to the issue, so that they take responsibility and denounce the actions of hooligans.
- ♦ We should encourage the right to say no to violence. This may be idealistic, but it is necessary to have an opinion on violence.

- ♦ There is violence in football itself, which often goes unpunished, but this does not explain why racism has become such a big element in football. On this topic, more needs to be learned about other sports.
- ♦ Police education should include an understanding of cultural and subcultural mechanisms.
- ♦ The media should be invited to adopt a code of ethics about writing and reporting on crime and violence.
- ♦ Rehabilitation programmes for offenders need to be developed, including a key role for communities' integration of offenders.
- ♦ Society needs to reclaim the open spaces in which groups violence takes place.
- ♦ Interactivity is important. Young people should be more involved in the resolution of problems. In conclusion: Young people should be perceived as part of the solution and not only as part of the problem.

Politically Motivated Violence

(In liberal democracies)

Working group report

Facilitator: *Mr Giacomo Filibeck*,
European Youth Forum

Resource person: *Mr Enzo Amendola*, International Union
of Socialist Youth (IUSY)

WHEN TALKING ABOUT politically motivated violence it makes sense to distinguish between old and new forms of movements/activities.

The old form of politically motivated violence can be characterised by the following:

- ♦ ideological roots
- ♦ necessary links with youth movement/youth political protagonism
- ♦ being the avant-garde of the movement
- ♦ a rejection of the official political and economical system (system = enemy)
- ♦ the use of youth language and trends (music and subculture)

The new form of politically motivated violence that is gaining ground can be described by the following:

- ♦ possible internationalism: a common agenda/common tactics/a common target of the violence at a global level
- ♦ less ideologically defined borders
- ♦ short-term ideological targets
- ♦ the use of technology for the violence

On the demonstrations connected with the meetings of the WTO, the IMF, the European Council or the G8, thousands of – mainly young – people directly expressed their concerns. The majority did this in a peaceful and non-violent way. But there were also parties that hijacked the huge number of peaceful demonstrators to represent their traditional fight against the state and the police

and that used violence as a tool for their ideology. Their objectives include:

- ♦ mass media coverage
- ♦ public attention, because of the colourful images the media gained from burning barricades
- ♦ the recruitment of new members
- ♦ the delivery of an ideological message

Causes

- ♦ Psychological aspects. Violence is a constant and therefore an integral part of politics
- ♦ Disenfranchisement with regard to the institutions of power/authority. The consequent withdrawal due to lack of faith in the system and alternatives to create an impact
- ♦ External manipulation/misinformation deriving from media and mass culture
- ♦ European enlargement
- ♦ Flexible borders
- ♦ Increased mobility of fluxes of migration creates feelings of fear, mistrust, instability, and a consequent perception of a threat to the native culture.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- ♦ Interaction between formal and non-formal education systems. Working partnerships between educational authorities and NGOs to develop common methodologies.
- ♦ Conflict management
- ♦ Institutions should work to develop a flexible framework that establishes a dialogue between the relevant authorities and youth actors at all levels.
- ♦ NGOs and social movements must work together to marginalise the agents of violence.
- ♦ Tackling disenfranchisement. Institutions and society as a whole need to recognise the role of young people and youth organisations (all inclusive) to facilitate their impact in the decision-making process in order to be seen as actors for change.
- ♦ The mass media. Establish a working relationship between young people and youth organisations and the media to pro-

mote the positive contribution of young people to social and political development. In addition, the media should promote and nurture a greater understanding, free of stereotypical prejudices, of the challenges for our changing societies.

Institutional Violence

Working group report

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE OPERATES on the basis of creating fear and suspicion, neglecting rights, exploiting power, and creating structures which lead to exclusion, produce domination and represent norms and practices against human rights.

Therefore it is important to raise awareness on the forms of institutional violence, to promote and defend human rights, to initiate research to gather data on the presence of institutional violence to help to recognise the fact that diversity cannot be a basis for discrimination.

From the wide range of suggestions we formulated ...

... THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS:

Education

- ♦ involve young people, public officials, teachers and NGOs in training programmes of non-violence, conflict resolution, human rights and citizen participation. We find it important to create opportunities where young people can share stories and feelings, and where they receive attention in a non-hierarchical system;
- ♦ strengthen professional support for young people. To provide consultation and help on any form of violence and to establish national help-lines in all countries;
- ♦ publish flyers about violence and rights to inform people how they can act against institutional violence;

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ACCOOR (Association socio-culturelle de la ville de Nantes)

Resource person: *Ms Anikó Kaposvári*, The Foundation for Human Rights and Peace Education

Media

- ♦ to provide alternatives to violence through presenting peaceful news and the opportunity for young people to organise youth channels.

Legislation

- ♦ create a database on good working practices that work against institutional violence;
- ♦ lobby against punishment-centred approaches and practices and maintain mediation, professional support, and re-integration instead of imprisoning young people for petty crime;
- ♦ lobby for young people's involvement in formulating legislation;
- ♦ lobby for research (monitoring) into the police and, court proceedings, on how they deal with young people;
- ♦ force governments to take steps against trafficking, child labour and child prostitution.

Bullying and Mobbing

(Including violence against teachers)

Working group report

PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL violence, as a form of violence in general, are present in all countries. Its prevention should be a priority in national youth and education policies. To achieve that end, it is essential to consolidate the efforts of all players to expose and prevent latent manifestations of violence.

The working group discussed problems of school violence at three levels: students-to-students (including both students and pupils), teachers-to-students, and student-to-teachers violence.

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Resource person: *Ms Evgenia Pavlenko*, Moscow School of
Human Rights

CONSTRUCTIVE METHODS OF COUNTERACTION MIGHT INCLUDE

- 1 *A social network around each and every school should be set up*, which will include students and pupils, including students' councils, teachers, parents, local authorities, the non-governmental sector (civil society) and former students. It is also important to include the media, and inform them about the positive attitudes and results achieved in the schools (to break the usual routine of informing only about incidents). This will help open schools to public scrutiny and make teachers and students alike more accountable to the local community.
- 2 *Every school in Europe should promote a positive atmosphere* that establishes the school as a space conducive to learning, personal growth and as a violence-free environment. An atmosphere of mutual respect, trust and dialogue should be created so that:

- ◆ Both students and teachers can, if necessary, receive the qualified assistance of psychologists, social workers, experts in conflict resolution, school ombudsmen and other relevant experts.
- ◆ Teachers should be trained in social communication, conflict management skills and co-operative teaching skills.
- ◆ In schools today, there is a “hidden bullying and mobbing” (mainly psychological) that is never reported. There is a need to create an atmosphere and attitudes that will raise the awareness about this issue and encourage teachers and students to identify and report this “hidden bullying and mobbing” and consequently prevent future violence.
- ◆ The education system should be flexible, and curricula should flexibly take into account the interests of all parties concerned (teachers, students, parents etc.).
- ◆ Students and teachers should have the opportunity to create their councils or committees in order to claim their rights.

3 *It is essential to prepare students and teachers for joint actions to prevent violence:*

- ◆ The training of teachers should focus on individual approaches to students and respect for their rights, seeing each of them as a personality in their own right.
- ◆ Training and re-training programmes for teachers should include the development of violence prevention skills, using primarily interactive methods, non-formal educational techniques, and human rights education.
- ◆ Respect for the profession of teachers should be promoted in society. Teachers should get every possible support from society.
- ◆ It is essential to educate students in the spirit of human rights, tolerance and mutual respect, using interactive techniques of non-formal and peer education.

4 *Preventing and addressing the violence in schools should be a part of every national youth policy.* On a practical level, every national youth policy should, among other things:

- ◆ include research on violence in schools (relevant statistics)
- ◆ include developing a strategy and/or a national action plan
- ◆ include reserve funds

- ♦ be all-encompassing at local, regional and national levels
- ♦ Council of Europe Guidelines on Youth Policy should cover violence in schools (bullying and mobbing).
- ♦ In this respect, Human Rights Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship should be used as important instruments addressing this issue and preventing violence in schools.

For the purpose of preventing bullying and mobbing in schools it is necessary to allocate responsibilities at all levels

- ♦ International (co-operation and integration)
- ♦ National (methodology and supervision)
- ♦ Regional (provision of resources and co-ordination)
- ♦ Local (implementation)
- ♦ Mass media (public awareness raising, promotion of good practices)

We propose that the following projects be carried out at the European level:

- ♦ a comprehensive international comparative study on problems of school violence;
- ♦ the establishing of a form of exchange of good school practices, projects, definitions and understanding of the bullying and mobbing (school violence) at European level (e.g. a trilingual English-French-Russian guidebook on the prevention of school violence, a network of school projects addressing violence in schools, or similar).

Parental Violence

Working group report

Facilitator: *Mr Herwig Reiter*,
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Resource person: *Ms Danuta
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for Children and Young
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PARENTAL VIOLENCE IS not a country-, class-, age- or gender-specific problem. It is an old phenomenon that has only recently (depending on the country, during the last 10 to 40 years) become the subject of systematic intervention, prevention, support, legislation and research. Parental violence includes such different forms as physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse and neglect.

The problems that were identified in association with parental violence refer specifically to the following areas:

institutional

- ♦ lack of support systems, coherent policy, legislation, resources, training (of police, teachers etc.), lack of tradition of certain professions (e.g. psychologists)
- ♦ insufficient involvement of NGOs, of co-operation between institutions, and of access to health and welfare services (costs)
- ♦ absence of the public (closed problem)
- ♦ low level of prevention
- ♦ conflicting interests: the child, and the privacy of the family

socio-economic

- ♦ unemployment, poverty, bad health, substance abuse (especially alcohol), lack of space, uncertainty (social, economic and political transformation; especially for the CEE countries), young mothers, 'domestic' child labour (begging, farming, etc.)

cultural/traditional

- ♦ the family (size, relationship between parents, with children,

etc.), 'restrictive' education, traditional 'parenting', the role of the man in the family, domestic child labour (begging, farming, etc.), lack of reporting (to teacher, police, friends, etc.)

emotional

- ♦ frustration leading to aggression, unsatisfactory private life

Considering the means of support already available in the countries of the participants we identified the following needs:

institutional

- ♦ a systematic approach (from legislation to implementation)
- ♦ the support of trained professionals (psychologists, teachers, social and youth workers, police, judges, etc.)
- ♦ free public services
- ♦ free and accessible psychological aid
- ♦ structures for mediation between parents and children
- ♦ research (statistics, roots and causes, evaluation)
- ♦ psychological services

legal

- ♦ legislation on parental violence (separate acts) and for the protection of the child (e.g. the UN convention)
- ♦ prosecution of perpetrators
- ♦ the improvement of legal proceedings (e.g. testimony, involvement of institutions, avoidance of the confrontation between victim and offender)
- ♦ legal means to remove the offender
- ♦ follow-up of the case after court trials

education/training

- ♦ training for all groups in the treatment of parental violence
- ♦ education and training of police
- ♦ education and training of judges and other legal staff
- ♦ educational work with parents
- ♦ education and training for medical care professionals
- ♦ education for children (awareness, resistance)
- ♦ education and training for teachers

public

- ♦ raising awareness (media and information campaigns, educational work)

... AND A FEW GOOD SUGGESTIONS

international level

- ♦ systematic and structured approach to parental violence (holistic, dealing with the issue globally) especially in youth policy
- ♦ enforcement of national commitments to international standards (e.g. the UN convention)
- ♦ making the issue of parental violence a priority for social policy (education, institutions, legislation, etc.)
- ♦ adaptation of the whole process of intervention, prevention, treatment (incl. laws) according to the needs of the child
- ♦ involvement of youth NGOs at all levels

regional

- ♦ comparative research and exchange of best practices
- ♦ exemption from the principle of co-funding: the distribution of special funds by the European Commission for CEE countries also without the principle of co-funding

national

- ♦ awareness raising (NGOs with public funding)
- ♦ interministerial committee
 - to participate in the drafting of legislation
 - to follow up (available and/or new) legislation
 - to promote exchange/co-operation between ministries
- ♦ interdisciplinary teams and working groups (including NGOs)
- ♦ funds for prevention and support
- ♦ no isolation of the child from the natural social environment, considering the child's best interest
- ♦ preventing access to the child by the perpetrator
- ♦ training and education at the levels of
 - individuals (parents, child, teachers, police officers, etc.)
 - institutions (NGOs, public institutions, schools, shelters, street work institutions, etc.)

Ways Ahead



There Are No Ready-made Solutions ...

THERE ARE NO ready-made solutions to poverty, discrimination, violence or intolerance, says Walter Schwimmer, Council of Europe Secretary-General, in the preface to *Compass, A Manual on Human Rights Education with Young People* (p. 9). This being so, what aims and expectations can we allow ourselves in relation to the combating of violence, the core issue of this report and the symposium it refers to? One suggestion, with reference to the whole of human rights education, is laid down by the authors of *Compass* as they maintain that young people should be

“aware of the issues, concerned by the issues, and capable of acting to alter the existing state of affairs where they feel that this is necessary.” (p. 18)

Aware.

Concerned.

Capable.

I find this trinity of words very good to think with, in the way they tie together the whole process of knowledge-based, motivated action. I also find it very appropriate in relation to the view declared that “young people are not just the target groups for this manual (i.e. *Compass*): they are its main hope and its main resource.”

This strong emphasis on individuals – reflecting, concerned and capable individuals! – is indeed coherent with the aims of the manual. The human rights education manual is deliberately

orientated towards individuals. It is intended to be used with and by young people and, hence, addresses the straightforward question: “What can young people do for and among themselves?” Even if the fact remains that “there are no ready-made solutions”, there is a logic to inviting young people to explore, in a positive and action-orientated sense, the realms of “the possible.”

IF HUMAN RIGHTS education constitutes one framework of the symposium, the Integrated Project of “Responses to Violence in Everyday Life in a Democratic Society” makes up the other. According to an information note, the primary objectives of this latter project is “to help decision-makers and other protagonists concerned in member states to implement consistent policies on raising awareness, prevention and appropriate punitive measures for combating everyday violence” (IP 2 [2002] 5 rev. Strasbourg 22 May 2002). The Integrated Project addressing young people only indirectly is partly explained by the target group being the Council of Europe member states. In addition to this, however, the shifts in focus between the two frameworks mirror quite opposite stands vis-à-vis young people, differences worth reflecting upon.

CLEARLY, ACTION AND engagement is important, but it is equally important to recognise the limits of what can be achieved by individually based, direct action. Where is it that grass-root actions and reactions cease to have an impact on the course of events?

Seattle

Genova

Gothenburg

For the vast majority of participating protestors, whatever their age, I believe that the events tied to these three place names can be interpreted as tests for the realms of, precisely, direct action and dialogue. Does it work? Does it make a difference? Are we being listened to? Answering these questions goes clearly beyond the scope of this report, but it seems fairly uncontroversial to state that the aftermath of all these symbol-laden names (Seattle, Genova, Gothenburg, and the list could be extended) has depic-

ted violent troublemakers far more often than concerned and active citizens.

In order not to breed a generation of cynics, two distinctions are needed, distinctions that are simultaneously independent and intertwined, distinctions that have to do with change and with responsibility.

THE WAY PROBLEMS are explained is decisive for how they are later dealt with. One practical example of how dividing lines can be drawn up is found in the seminar report Youth Against Violence, where the authors speak of, on the one hand, “individual and internal causes of violence” and, on the other, “social and gender aspects that cause violence” In the Integrated Project presentation there is a tendency towards individualisation and categorisation. On the one hand, there is the action-centred “fist and fight-image”, and behind it the individual perpetrator. On the other hand, problems are described as emerging from supposedly distinguishable and homogeneous groups. To exemplify: among violence-producing effects of social developments such factors are mentioned as “cultural and religious diversity, social exclusion, trafficking in human beings and the mass media.” In consequence, prevention strategies include “fostering dialogue between cultures, communities and religions.”

The ever-present risk of stereotyping and generalising leaves us with the never-ending duty to contextualise, to ask ourselves, over and over again, the questions of ‘why?’ and ‘why not?’. When this is not done, our ability to understand and hence counteract violence in adequate ways, is correspondingly reduced. Leaving out structure and structurally based causes for violence in an attempt to analyse a situation is like trying to orientate oneself in a dark room deliberately choosing not to turn the light on.

WHEN, AS MENTIONED above, the Secretary-General speaks of poverty, discrimination, violence and intolerance as reasons for human rights being violated, he addresses fundamental sources of misery. The Integrated Project (within the framework of which the symposium took place) has been assigned a difficult task in that it is supposed to suggest concrete responses to big problems. When it is suggested that efforts to curb violence in towns include

“fostering dialogue between cultures, communities and religions” this emphasis, however, whether intended or not, conveys a message about where to place guilt and responsibility. Most likely, problems will be traced back to “cultures, communities and religions.” And likewise, to talk about “a strategy to prevent violence involving young people from disadvantaged urban areas”, without acknowledging the “disadvantage” in itself being part of the problem, paves the way for a conclusion saying that “violence is all in the minds of people.” But is it really? The problem I am trying to highlight is not the Integrated Project being unable to provide solutions to the big questions it addresses. No one can, and never ever in a short Information note. The problem is rather that the limits to the descriptions given are not spelled out, and that issues of guilt and responsibility seem not to be coherently dealt with. As Mr Jonathan Evans said:

“there can be no meaningful sense of responsibility without some measure of meaningful power.”

Striving for a balance in this respect, I think, is the best possible investment for respectful, and peaceful, everyday interaction, as well as for fruitful outcomes of joint ventures to combat violence.

The words and experiences of practitioners remain forever essential in that they allow us to go beyond the stereotyped images. They allow us to notice each tree in the forest, and the forest in its environment.

The very same day that I struggle with formulating this plea for a more consistent emphasis on structure I receive a “letter to all members” from the Swedish section of Amnesty International. From having had an exclusive focus on individuals and individual rights, the organisation is now also fighting against structurally based discrimination and mistreatment. “We have expanded our engagement”, says the letter.

“The world is changing, and we change accordingly. The infringements of human rights are changing character and Amnesty has to adjust its work to the reality of today. Amnesty International’s vision is a world in which every human being enjoys all the rights included in the UN’s Declaration of Human Rights. In practice the enlarged engagement means that Amnesty has now added a field of work that primarily concerns people exposed to serious and systematic discrimination.”

In my interpretation: the best way to help individuals and to change whatever state of affairs is to see and address the issues at stake in their comprehensive contexts.

The reformed mandate, including economic and social rights and the right to develop, was accepted at the General Assembly, held in Dakar in 2001.

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Synthesis

of the proposals and recommendations of the symposium

THE SYMPOSIUM *Learning from Violence* is a contribution to the Council of Europe Integrated Project “Responses to violence in everyday life in a democratic society.” The participants of the symposium, representing over forty different organisations alongside research institutions and policy-making bodies, and coming from more than thirty countries, met at the European Youth Centre Budapest to:

- ♦ deepen the analyses of forces at work in the context of youth and violence;
- ♦ share experiences and methods in dealing with the issue;
- ♦ discuss youth policy responses and proposals for policy implementation.

The symposium addressed various forms of violence, through eight working groups on:

- ♦ Racism and related discrimination
- ♦ Gender-based violence and domestic violence
- ♦ Homophobia
- ♦ Group-based violence (including hooliganism and gangs)
- ♦ Politically motivated violence
- ♦ Institutional violence
- ♦ Bullying and mobbing (including violence against teachers)
- ♦ Parental violence

The participants concluded, among other things, that:

- ♦ Violence as an integral part of society cannot be eradicated, but it is a phenomenon that can be, and needs to be, channelled and controlled.

- ♦ There is no necessary connection between the concepts of violence and young people. Very little violence originates from young people, and only a small minority of young people are violent or exhibit violent behaviour.
- ♦ Violence needs to be seen in context, in order both to understand the processes at work in society at large, and among young people in particular, and to develop counteraction.

THE FOLLOWING GENERAL STANDPOINTS WERE BROUGHT FORWARD BY THE WORKING GROUPS

1 ♦ Prevention, not repression, is the main way ahead

Repressive measures aimed at young people associated with violence seem to be the main tools resorted to by governments. Participants were concerned about the overlooking of preventive and educational strategies as well as with the fact that current measures may indirectly target specific groups of young people, hence furthering and deepening discrimination against them. Young people should be perceived as part of the solution and not only as part of the problem.

2 ♦ Integration starts with building confidence

Institutions and society as a whole need to recognise the role of young people and youth organisations (all inclusive) to facilitate their impact in the decision-making process in order to be seen as an actor for change. Institutions should work to develop a flexible framework that establishes at all levels a dialogue between the authorities and youth actors.

3 ♦ Co-operation among institutions needs strengthening

Joint training activities should be designed for all actors in the field of prevention of violence and discrimination (e.g. police officers, school teachers and youth workers...). Communication among them is essential.

4 ♦ Formal and non-formal education must work closer together

There is a need to strengthen the interaction between formal

and non-formal education systems and to develop working partnerships between educational authorities and NGOs to develop common methodologies. NGOs and social movements must work together to marginalise the agents of violence.

5 ♦ Human rights are for everyone

The “extreme tolerance” of poverty and injustice creates a favourable ground for tolerance of discrimination which may in turn lead to violence. There is a need both for general sensitising and for specific provisions for informing people from vulnerable groups about their rights.

6 ♦ The role of the media and the power of interpretation need to be taken into account

The media plays an important role in the lives of young people, both as a transmitter of ideals and as an interpreter of what goes on in society. It makes a big difference if this position is used for public awareness raising and promotion of good practices, or if it opens the door to external manipulation and misinformation. There is a need for a working relationship between young people/youth organisations and the media to promote the positive contribution of young people to social and political development.

SPECIFIC CONCERNS AND RECOMMENDATIONS RELATED TO THE SUB-THEMES OF THE SYMPOSIUM

Racism and related discrimination ♦ Discrimination is violence. Whether or not based on racism, it is deeply rooted in most societies and, therefore, difficult to eradicate. Of particular concern today is the “tolerance” of discrimination, resulting partly from the consequences of September 11, especially affecting Muslim communities, as well as other migrant groups. All countries should have adequate legislation to address racism and related forms of discrimination and violence.

Gender-based violence and domestic violence ♦ Domestic violence, a problem of all social groups, is a public concern and should be treated as a crime. Youth problems are often symptoms of domes-

tic abuse. Real solutions require the real causes to be addressed. One way ahead could be to monitor and collect European data on gender-based violence and its youth dimensions. There is also a need for national ministries for the promotion of women's and children's rights (where these do not already exist).

Homophobia ♦ Working against homophobia includes both counteracting fear and ignorance, and the building of self-esteem among LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender) youth, so as to make them less vulnerable. School curricula should aim at raising awareness and provide adequate information to all students. Students who want to become teachers, youth counsellors, social workers, etc. should be provided with specific training on how to deal with homophobia, including their own prejudices. Police officers and doctors should be trained in dealing with victims of hate crimes.

Group-based violence ♦ Group violence dynamics are closely connected with power, a sense of belonging and respect. The importance of belonging to a group should not be underestimated, and can in fact be used as a means also to counteract violence. Young people should be more involved in the resolution of these problems. Football associations, together with players and fans, should be sensitised to take responsibility and denounce the actions of hooligans.

Politically motivated violence ♦ This type of violence may have its psychological causes but is also largely the symptom of a disenfranchisement with regards to institutions of power and authority. NGOs and social movements must work together to marginalise the agents of violence. In order to tackle alienation society as a whole needs to recognise the role of young people and youth organisations as actors for change.

Institutional violence ♦ Institutional violence operates on the basis of creating fear, exploiting power and creating structures which lead to exclusion. But since diversity can never be a basis for discrimination, there is a need to strengthen the legal representation of weak groups in society. There is also a need to lobby

against punishment-centred approaches and practices, and for young people's involvement in formulating legislation.

Bullying and mobbing ♦ Violence in schools exists in all countries and its prevention should be a priority in national youth and education policies. The training of teachers should focus on individual approach to students and respect for their rights, seeing each of them as a personality in their own right. Likewise, the respect for the profession of teachers should be promoted in society; teachers should get every possible support from society. As for the students, it is essential that they are educated in the spirit of human rights, tolerance, and mutual respect, using interactive techniques of non-formal and peer education.

Parental violence ♦ This form of violence, which exists in all societies and social strata, requires a systematic and structured approach. It is important that the whole process of prevention, intervention and treatment (incl. laws) is adapted according to the needs of the child /young person.

PROPOSALS AIMED AT THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

- ♦ The Council of Europe should make a particular effort at ensuring that its existing relevant materials for human rights education, teacher training and intercultural learning are made available to teachers and schools, including translations into the local languages.
- ♦ The Council of Europe and its partners should use its resources and channels to better disseminate examples of good practice in intercultural education.
- ♦ Appropriate education/training activities in the field of human rights education should be developed for the media.
- ♦ Joint training activities should be designed for all actors in the field of prevention of violence and discrimination (e.g. police

officers, school teachers and youth workers) since communication among these parties is essential.

- ◆ Council of Europe Guidelines on Youth Policy should cover violence in schools (bullying and mobbing). Human Rights Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship should be promoted as important instruments addressing this issue and preventing violence in schools.
- ◆ A comprehensive international comparative study on problems of school violence, including exchange of good school practices, projects, definitions and analyses, could result in a guidebook on the prevention of school violence, as well as a network of school projects addressing violence in schools.
- ◆ There is a need to provide training and support (finance, research, etc.) for young LGBT (lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender) activists on the issues of working with violence and counselling young LGBT people.
- ◆ The Council of Europe should promote the possibility of addressing old problems in new ways. Engagement in areas where it is possible to make a change must be a priority. An example of this could be conflict-ridden regions that have traditionally been seen through the eyes of the adult population and dealt with through political negotiations. Northern Ireland is but one of many places where the deep impact of violence on the everyday life of young people risks being overlooked.

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APPENDIX III

PROGRAMME

Sunday, 27 October

Arrival and registration of the participants

19:00 Dinner

20:30 Informal evening

Monday, 28 October

09:30 Welcome and introduction of the day – by the chairperson

09:40 Opening of the symposium by *Mr Mário Martins*,
Director of Youth and Sport, Council of Europe

10:00 Address by *Mr. István Hiller*, Political State Secretary,
Ministry of Education of the Hungarian Republic, and
Mr. Naoki Onishi, Consul, Consulate General of Japan in Strasbourg

10:15 Introduction of participants and of the programme and methods
of the symposium

10:45 Break

11:15 “Violence, young people and a culture of human rights for Europe”
Keynote speech by *Lord Russell-Johnston*, Parliamentary Assembly of
the Council of Europe, Sub-Committee on Youth and Sport,
Chairman of the Governing Board of the International Institute for
Democracy

12:00 Comments and reactions to the speech

12:30 Lunch

14:30 Presentation of the conclusions and results of the seminar
“Researching Violence”

15:00 Working groups on manifestations of violence and practices of
responding to violence.

16:30 Break (in working groups)

18:15 Conclusion of the work in groups.

19:00 Dinner

21:00 “Forum of Practices” – exhibits of projects and initiatives

Tuesday, 29 October

09:30 Opening and introduction to the day’s programme

09:40 Experts’ input on young people and violence, by
Ms Hiroko Goto, Professor at Tokyo Fuji University and volunteer
probation worker for the Ministry of Justice of Japan, and
Mr. André Iteanu, Director of Research, Centre National de la
Recherche Scientifique (C.N.R.S), France

11:00 Break

11:30 Introduction to the thematic working groups, by *Mr Peter Lauritzen*,
Head of Department, Department of Education, Training, Research
and Communication, Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council
of Europe

11:45 Thematic working groups on:

- ♦ Racism and related discrimination. Facilitator: *Mr Rui Gomes*,
Administrator responsible for Training and Programme, European
Youth Centre Budapest. Resource person: *Ms Iram Ahmed*, Monito
ring Group of the Human Rights Education Programme

- ◆ Gender-based violence and domestic violence. Facilitator: *Ms Györgyi Tóth*, Women’s Rights Association (NaNE). Resource person: *Ms Birgit Appelt*, European Information Centre Against Violence
- ◆ Homophobia. Facilitator: *Mr Dariusz Grzemny*, Association for Children and Young People CHANCE. Resource person: *Mr Arjos Vendrig*, Federation of Dutch associations for the integration of homosexuality (COC Netherlands)
- ◆ Group-based violence (including hooliganism and gangs) Facilitator: *Mr Peter Wótsch*. Resource person: *Mr Ronni Abergel*, European Youth Against Violence Network
- ◆ Politically motivated violence. Facilitator: *Mr Giacomo Filibeck*, European Youth Forum. Resource person: *Mr Enzo Amendola*, International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY)
- ◆ Institutional violence. Facilitator: *Ms Fatiha Tarib*, ACCOOR. Resource person: *Ms. Anikó Kaposvári*, The Foundation for Human Rights and Peace Education
- ◆ Bullying and mobbing (including violence against teachers) Facilitator: *Mr Goran Buldioski*, Educational Advisor, European Youth Centre Budapest. Resource person: *Ms Evgenia Pavlenko*, Moscow School of Human Rights
- ◆ Parental Violence. Facilitator: *Mr Herwig Reiter*, European University Institute, Florence. Resource person: *Ms Danuta Anna Lechowaska*, Association for Children and Young People CHANCE

12:45 Lunch

14:30 Working groups continued

18:15 End of the formal programme

19:00 Dinner-reception in the wine cellars of Budafok, provided by *Mr. Peter Medgyes*, Deputy State Secretary, Hungarian Ministry of Education

Wednesday, 30 October

09:30 Working groups resume

11:00 Conclusion of the working groups

11:45 Update

12:15 Questions and debate

12:45 Lunch

15:00 Presentation of the conclusions and of the recommendations of the thematic working groups

16:00 Conclusions of the symposium by *Ms Ingrid Ramberg*, General Rapporteur of the symposium

16:20 The follow-up of the symposium within the Council of Europe’s Integrated Project on “Responses to violence in everyday life in a modern society”, by *Mr. Jean-Pierre Titz*, Project Manager of IP2

16:30 Break

17:00 Closing session of the symposium, with:
Ms Antje Rothmund, Executive Director of the European Youth Centre Budapest,
Ms Maud Frouke de Boer-Buquicchio Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, and
Mr Attila Mesteházy, State Secretary for the Ministry of Children, Youth and Sport of the Hungarian Republic

18:00 Closing reception provided by the Directorate of Youth and Sport

19:00 Dinner

Thursday, 31 October

Departure of participants

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Violence is arguably the most common form of violation of human rights, affecting probably all human beings, directly or indirectly. Young people are as exposed to violence as the rest of society, but are more vulnerable to it and its consequences. The need to associate young people with the promotion of a culture of human rights and a non-violent society is at the root of the Human Rights Education Youth Programme.

A key element of this Programme, the activity "Learning from Violence - a Symposium on Youth Policy Responses to Everyday Violence" took place in the European Youth Centre Budapest in October 2002. The Symposium brought together youth and social workers, researchers and experts, representatives of NGOs, local and public authorities, politicians and policy-makers. The programme enabled participants to identify and discuss youth policy responses to everyday violence, and to make recommendations related to the issue for local, national and European youth policies.

In this report Ingrid Ramberg analyses the issues related to youth and violence as raised at the Symposium, and presents the recommendations produced.



The Council of Europe has forty-five member states, covering virtually the entire continent of Europe. It seeks to develop common democratic and legal principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals. Ever since it was founded in 1949, in the aftermath of the second world war, the Council of Europe has symbolised reconciliation.

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