Integrated Project 2

Projet intégré 2

**Responses to violence in everyday life in a
democratic society
Reponses à la violence quotidienne dans une societe
democratique**

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Youth Policy Recommendations on Violence and Young People

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1

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1. Introduction

My violence infringes your human rights, and yours mine, full stop!
Adapted from ***Youth Work with Boys and Young Men as a Means to Prevent Violence in Everyday Life***
Seminar Report, p 6.

We can aim to inspire the young people with whom we work to act not only on themselves but also on the world around them. We can try to inspire them to become, in their own right, mini-educators and mini-activists who will themselves assist in the defence of human rights - even when the issues do not appear to touch them personally. There is nothing unachievable about that aim: it does not mean that we should expect young people to devote their lives to the defence of human rights, but only that they 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.
Compass – Manual on Human Rights Education with Young People, p18.

Violence is a serious issue in the lives of many young people, and various types of violence inflict crushing damage on their well-being, integrity and life possibilities. In Europe today, many young people are acting to alter this 'the existing state of affairs' by placing violence prevention at the heart of human rights advocacy. This document discusses and presents policy recommendations that can support the work of young people, and aid violence prevention and dealing with the consequences of violence. Based on a Europe-wide synthesis of experience, research and practice, this document refuses simplistic divisions of young people into victims, perpetrators or bystanders. As with every individual in our societies today, any young person can be in any of these roles at one and the same time. Similarly, these recommendations do not equate discussions of youth and violence with a reductive focus on questions of juvenile delinquency. Young people's experiences of the dimensions of violence are far more wide-ranging and involved than this notion suggests.

While these recommendations partially emerge from the experiences of young people as victims and perpetrators of multiple forms of violence, they emphasise the key role that young people can and do play as *protagonists of violence prevention*. While it is something of a generalisation, there is a tendency to see young people as either natural perpetrators of violence in need of correction or maturation, or as helpless victims in need of protection. This is particularly the case with young men, who in many European contexts recur as feared and faceless perpetrators of meaningless violence. Such polarisations are of limited use in analysing the contextual relationships of young people with different forms of violence. Approaching violence needs to analyse its causes and motivations, and develop strategies for dealing with its consequences while concentrating on violence prevention and the promotion of human rights.

Violence is not a theoretical phenomenon; the experiences and stories recounted during the activities of the Human Rights Programme testify to the trauma, anger, fear, secrecy and helplessness that result from being confronted by violence. Furthermore, violence is not an abstract phenomenon; it must always be seen and understood in its context. The violence of individuals, institutions and political-economic processes intersect, therefore working with young people and violence entails a commitment to analysing the realities and actions of young people in their social environment. This document, based on the experience and expertise of young people in very different contexts, approaches violence as anything

avoidable that hinders human self-realisation1. This encompasses the types of physical violence that hinder self-realisation in very stark and obvious ways, but also verbal and psychological violence, institutional violence of different kinds, the socio-economic violence of exclusion, poverty and multiple discriminations, and the hindering of self-realisation through rigid gender roles and expectations.

A further dimension of stressing the contextual nature of violence emphases that the hindering of the self or other is not restricted to what is prescribed as illegal. Violence needs to be perceived and recognised as violence, and across the realities of the Council of Europe great diversity exists in the social recognition of violence. Every context witnesses some forms of violence that are regarded as more acceptable than others, and actions that are not normally regarded as violent at all. Different levels of awareness and action on domestic violence bluntly attest to this. The activities that generated these recommendations recognised that everyone is a potential victim or perpetrator of violence. Nobody is free of violence, and everyone has attitudes, reactions and behaviours that are in this broad and fundamental sense violent. Thus violence prevention implicates everybody and holds everybody responsible; it is not about deferring culpability and action to a 'them' out there. Moving away from condemnatory polarities of good and bad allows those involved in violence prevention to stress that violence is learned, and can be unlearned if the beliefs and assumptions that underpin it are engaged with and responsibility for them is taken. The importance of non-formal and formal education is of paramount importance in guiding young people to realise the choices and consequences involved in violence, and in promoting strategies for alternative behaviours and approaches to be developed.

If violence is rooted in context and continually changing, then policy and educational practice must recognise that preventative strategies need to be monitored and constantly re-appraised. Central to this is the meaningful involvement of young people as partners in violence prevention. Tackling the consequences and causes of violence against, committed by and experienced by young people can only be achieved with their active participation and consultation, and through the involvement of young people and civil society at large. This is particularly the case in preventative education; education for non-violence can never be based in an attempt to transmit correct values and ways to behave, but must engage young people in developing strategies that are rooted in their experience and situation. The educational programmes instrumental in developing these recommendations place a central importance on participative education, and on the integration of these practices in schools as well as in young people's associations and initiatives.

The policy recommendations presented here testify to the fact that the needs, realities and contributions of young people need to be addressed continually in political practice and policymaking. They conceive of young people as partners in society now, and not just as the architects of the future. The policy recommendations centre on education, and on the social and public policies that work to minimise violence and support the work of education in promoting non-violence and the centrality of human rights. They highlight dimensions of general policy making that are of relevance to young people and the factors that contribute to violence. By addressing violence prevention and tackling the causes of violence, the recommendations stress that violence must be tackled in an integrated fashion; in partnerships

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1. *Youth Work with Boys and Young Men as a Means to Prevent Violence in Everyday Life* Seminar Report, pp22-24.

and networks, but also by recognising the relationships of different forms of violence to each other. Anything less merely transfers violence from situation to situation.

As a whole, the recommendations mainstream a focus on youth in the work of the Council of Europe, national and local authorities, schools, NGOs and civil society in general. The recommendations were generated by a series of seminars and activities that involved the participation of more than five hundred people from the Council of Europe member states. They acted as fora for young people and those that work with them to exchange their experiences of violence, and of working to prevent further violence while supporting victims. The recommendations were collated from reports and related documentation that employ a synthesis of the experience and good practices of young people, their associations and experienced practitioners in violence prevention and education, and complementary sociological and social psychological research. A full list of these reports and publications can be found in Appendix 1. These activities have formed a central focus of the Human Rights Education programme of the Directorate of Youth and Sport between 2000 and 2003, as well as being vital to the Integrated Project 'Responses to violence in everyday life in democratic society', instigated by the Council of Europe in 2002.

The first section focuses on the many forms that gender-based violence continues to take, and focuses on violence directed at young women, young men, and young people on the basis of their sexual identity. The subsection on domestic violence emphases that women remain vulnerable to forms of violence that are regarded as private rather than public problems, and situations where mitigating factors are introduced to implicate the victim in her own victimisation. The second subsection attempts to rectify the prevailing concentration on women's issues in gender-awareness work. It argues that dominant and restrictive expectations of masculinity need to be addressed, not only because of the naturalised relationship of young men to violence, but also because of the broader influence of masculinities on the socialisation of young men in complex societies. The final subsection examines the ongoing problem of violence directed against young people on the basis of their sexual identity, and argues that concerted work remains to be done in many societies by individuals and institutions to guarantee the safety and integrity of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth.

Section three concentrates on the ongoing problem of violence and hate crimes directed against young people on the basis of their racial, ethnic or national background, and as with the section on homophobic violence, the recommendations stress that confronting these kinds of violence involves a close examination of the institutions and services that deal with victims. Section four on violence in schools regards the school as a space where different kinds of social tensions and violence are transplanted and often intensified, and emphasises the need for broad-ranging community partnerships working towards prevention and awareness-raising. Section five on urban violence and youth argues that unsustainable and politicised attempts to 'get youth off the streets' must be balanced and superseded by youth-centred strategies built on youth empowerment and partnership, decentralisation of services, the support of integrated government and ongoing evaluation.

2. Gender-based violence

We are able to convey the message that we too are persons that have suffered, at the same time as we are the living examples that things can change
Violence against Young Women in Europe Seminar Report, p 98.

Combating gender-based violence and promoting gender equality requires education and the active involvement of all sectors of society, especially young women and men and members of minority groups, from the beginning.
Violence against Young Women in Europe Seminar Report, p46.

Gender-based violence remains a key human rights challenge in contemporary Europe. Central to this is a recognition that gender-based violence takes many forms, is perceived and evaluated differently in different societies, and involves men and women as victims, perpetrators and agents of change. This section examines types of violence perpetrated against women in the domestic sphere and in wider socio-economic injustices, and further examines gender-based violence against women in relation to the impact of dominating masculinities on men and women. A consideration of masculinity is presented not only as a key issue in addressing violence against women, but as instrumental in examining the victimisation of men in different contexts, and as being a central factor in working towards wider self-development. Homophobic violence - which stems from social processes of differentiation and disempowerment inherent to gender-based violence - is also considered in this section. As a whole this section argues that gender-based violence must be combated by men and women in solidarity, and through forms of prevention and education that are gender-aware and responsive to the needs of victims at all times.

Anybody can become the victim of gender-based violence, and in our societies it remains an unacceptable reality that women are especially vulnerable to violations of their rights. Nevertheless, gender-based violence as a core human rights issue has garnered scant attention in European youth policy until relatively recently. Similarly, while many young people throughout Europe are deeply engaged with human rights advocacy and education, there has been a distinct tendency to leave the prioritisation of gender-awareness and violence prevention to women's organisations. Indeed, gender-education is often seen as a synonym for women's issues. Meaningful consultation between youth organisations and relevant authorities is also negligible in many situations.

This absence of focus is complicated by the complex nature of gender-based violence. It encompasses not only breaches of criminal law, but also direct and indirect violations of a person's integrity, security and dignity in socio-cultural contexts where perceptions of rights and possibilities vary significantly. Gender-based violence that particularly affects young women ranges from direct physical and sexual assault to the effects of socio-economic exclusion. Fundamentally, violence of this kind compounds the perceived inferiority and lesser status of women, and contributes to ongoing patterns and relationships of domination.

Analysing instances of gender-based violence must always take account of contexts of social marginalisation and economic injustice. The scope of these issues is complex, however it is clear that the situation of many victims of gender-based violence is worsened by conditions that make escape and independence difficult if not impossible. Many voices currently express a fear that market-driven globalisation and the increased inequalities that it entails further expose women and men to the possibility of gender-based violence. For women this ranges

from various forms of economic dependency, to difficulties in caring for children, and exploitation including forms of sexual exploitation. A pressing illustration of this is the increase in trafficking of young women in Europe for forced prostitution and sexual exploitation.

Women allow themselves to be violated as a result of poverty.
Violence against Young Women in Europe Seminar Report, p67.

When the opportunity to make high salaries, travel to other countries and send money home to the family is offered, young women do not know that they may instead be heading for a life of prostitution, violence, sexual abuse and virtual slavery.
Violence against Young Women in Europe Seminar Report, p108.

Traffic in this form of modern day slavery flows primarily from East and South East Europe, Africa and South East Asia to Western European urban centres. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe defines traffic in women and forced prostitution as any legal or illegal transporting of women and\or trade in them, with or without their initial consent, for economic gain, with the purpose of subsequent forced prostitution, forced marriage, or other forms of forced sexual exploitation. The entrapment of women may involve the use of physical, sexual and\or psychological force, and include intimidation, rape, abuse of authority or a situation of dependence. Women may consider the possibility of migration as a consequence of poverty and lack of employment opportunities, the promise of non-existent jobs and contracts in the migration destination, and the public silence and ignorance of trafficking in the country of origin.

Human rights involve access to justice, and place responsibility on the state to respect, protect and fulfil its obligations. Many of the stakeholders involved in this series of activities expressed a fear that while admirable political resolutions exist, they may be partially implemented or of limited efficacy. Similarly, it is broadly held that too much responsibility is placed on NGOs to provide adequate support services for victims of gender-based violence, and that the work of civil society is often seen as a substitute for sustained and satisfactory public commitment. The non-provision of adequate support structures for victims and survivors can be seen as a minimisation of the gravity of these problems, and as contributing to the social invisibility and lack of awareness that often surrounds gender-based violence.

The variety of personal, legal and socio-economic factors that intersect in gender-based violence suggests that stakeholders need to centre the idea of *multiple discrimination.* In particular, young women from minority or immigrant backgrounds are, in many current European climates, exposed to increased risk of violence, including racism and discrimination in many forms. In general, gender-based violence may be sustained and exacerbated by socio-economic context, geo-political location, political situation, and so forth.

On the basis of the intersecting issues involved in gender-based violence, international institutions, national and local authorities and youth organisations should recognise that:

- Combating gender-based violence and promoting gender equality requires the active involvement of all sections of society. It is to be emphasised that there is a need for men to be actively involved in action and education against violence directed at women, and that gender education also involves a focus on masculinity and men's issues.

- Human rights education must embrace education about gender equality as a central imperative. A gender dimension must therefore be fully incorporated in any curriculum or educational programme dealing with citizenship or human rights.

- Awareness raising and education must be combined with multi-level prevention measures on specific issues, and the provision of effective support for victims and survivors.

- Addressing violence against young women entails paying attention to multiple discrimination on the basis of minority status and socio-economic marginalisation.

The Council of Europe is asked to: maintain a priority focus on gender equality in European youth policy agendas.

It is imperative that national authorities:

- Treat gender-based violence as a crime and apply existing laws at national level.

- Develop rehabilitative policies and restorative justice for victims of gender-based human rights violations.

- Develop and implement adequate measures to combat trafficking in women, including public education campaigns. It is also necessary that government officials and their institutions be educated and aware of the need to protect victims and prosecute criminal traffickers.

- Prioritise and support education on gender-awareness and equality in formal and non-formal education.

- Examine whether nationally funded youth programmes are equally targeting both boys and girls.

It is important that local authorities: promote the participation of young people in anti-violence activities through programmes and funding, with particular emphasis on programmes aimed to raise awareness among young women and children on their rights and remedies.

It is recommended that youth organisations:

- Ensure that the issue of gender equality become a priority in their work at all levels.

- Create networks and partnerships between organisations and general human rights initiatives that address gender equality.

- Contribute to public education campaigns addressing the trafficking of young women, and especially address young women with regard to their rights under national and international law, contact points and support services in countries of origin and in potential migration destinations.

- Undertake gender mainstreaming in their organisational bodies, activities and programmes.

- Promote and contribute to the ongoing education of youth workers by including human rights, conflict resolution and gender-awareness education in training curricula and programmes.

- Develop activities and approaches that encourage alternative and non-violent gender roles for boys and young men.

Domestic violence

Violation of the human rights of women is not something that happens in war. It is something that happens in your own home.
Violence against Young Women in Europe Seminar Report, p93.

We shouldn't speak about violence against women separately from politics, nationally or internationally. The family is the unit of society. Where there is violence inside the family, it is a reflection of violence in the state; where there is violence in the state, it is a reflection of violence in the whole world.
Violence against Young Women in Europe Seminar Report, p38

Domestic violence of a physical, sexual and psychological nature remains an enormous problem for many women in Europe, and the widespread nature of this problem undermines meaningful notions of gender equality. It is a problem, however, that is complicated both by rights to privacy, and by different social conceptions of what constitutes a private problem or a public issue. Several available studies suggest that despite the gravity of domestic abuse and the serious and often fatal consequences, domestic crime remains under-reported through a combination of shame, fear, isolation and a lack of economic independence. Domestic abuse must also be seen as an issue for all members of a family that share a living space. It is highly probable that children growing up in an atmosphere of domestic abuse will suffer some form of immediate and long-term health and psychological consequences, even if they are not themselves physically abused.

Like domestic violence, rape and sexual assault - including 'date rape' and partner rape – are forms of severe violence whose consequences may often be exacerbated by the way in which victims are perceived and treated. The continuing influence of patriarchal assumptions entails that women may face an additional victimisation during a criminal investigation or consideration of their case. Women may have the right to protection from violence and remedy subsequent to the violation of that right, yet they may also be subjected to evaluations of how their behaviour, demeanour or other factors may have 'contributed' to the crime inflicted on them. Awareness-raising and human rights education on gender-based violence involves the central task of asserting that women carry no blame or guilt for the crimes directed against them. In a number of primarily western European countries the issue of honour killings and honour-related crimes against women is gaining attention. The idea of 'honour' in this formulation is a contentious one; it is argued that it may be interpreted as mediating the gender-based nature of the crime, and that sociologically it is a reductive notion that freezes questions of power, gender, migration and majority\minority relations as 'tradition'. While a great deal of research is currently being generated in Europe, and formal

and non-formal educational approaches are emerging, a great deal of work remains to be done on this issue.

On the basis of the intersecting issues involved in gender-based violence, international institutions, national and local authorities and youth organisations should recognise that:

- Women's rights are human rights, and the violation of these rights constitutes violence.

- The violation of women's rights often intrinsically implies the violation of children's rights.

- Domestic abuse is a problem in all social contexts. It should be viewed as a public concern for society as a whole and treated as a crime.

The Council of Europe is asked to: monitor legislation and the application of laws with regard to domestic violence and gender-based violence.

It is imperative that national authorities:

- Treat gender-based and domestic violence as crimes and apply existing laws at national level.

- Develop national policy-formulation processes that include sustained consultation with relevant NGOs, and further develop multi-agency approaches to problems that include government, government agencies and national and local NGOs.

- Initiate and fund national action plans on domestic and gender-based violence, including national standards for working with children and young people who have witnessed or experienced violence, the promotion of clear ethical standards and procedures that aim to protect abused children, and state-financed independent support services.

- Provide free legal aid to women survivors of violence, and finance safe shelters and other services provided to survivors by women's NGOs. It is a further imperative that undocumented women be able to use these services in full confidentiality.

It is important that local authorities: ensure that service providers adopt a broad definition of domestic violence in order to offer support and shelter to all potential victims, including domestic workers.

It is recommended that youth organisations:

- Play an active role in disseminating information on women's rights and relevant services for victims and young women at risk.

- Give space and visibility to the realities of survivors of domestic violence as a key element in human rights education.

Addressing masculinity

I prefer to say that I have a complex masculinity, and just 'being a man' doesn't describe the things I value and identify with.
Youth Work with Boys and Young Men as a Means to Prevent Violence in Everyday Life Seminar Report, p13.

Boys work needs to develop early training and sensitisation. If you ask young boys 'what do you want to be' you get an indication of the roles, images and myths they have absorbed. We need to find pedagogy that can engage in these questions at the appropriate times.
Youth Work with Boys and Young Men as a Means to Prevent Violence in Everyday Life Seminar Report, p15.

Despite the prevailing perception of young men as perpetrators and victims of violence, considerations of masculinity are often marginal to discussions of the causes of violence and criminality. In many contexts, discussions of gender predominantly centre on women and femininity, and considerations of the gendered socialisation of boys and young men are largely the preserve of researchers and specialised youth and social workers. Cultivating non-violent and rights-based societies involves committed analyses of social problems and their consequences, and in this light, analysing the expected roles and identities available to young men in changing societies is a pressing issue.

Young men are regarded in many contexts as a problem category; stereotyped and subject to moral panic concerning different types of violent activity. In some political contexts in Europe today, the category of young men provides potent political capital for authoritarian political platforms. This kind of generalisation and instrumentalisation often ignores the fact that the perpetrators of violence are often simultaneously victims of similar or different forms of violence, and that attempting to understand and analyse violent behaviour in its social context does not equate with justification. Addressing masculinity moves beyond condemnation to examining the motivations for violence and how alternatives to violence can be fostered and sustained.

Masculinity can be understood as cultural expectations of male behaviour. Using the term masculinity does not denote a coherent set of behaviours, attitudes, or ideas of manhood within and across nations, societies and groups. It must be remembered that different men - with different experiences, relationships and pressures - may perform their masculinity differently and inconsistently. Nevertheless, expectations of masculinity in most contexts presume a greater tendency to violence and aggression among men, and social experience tends to normalise and regulate this to significant extents. Male roles and assumptions of masculinity are arguably naturalised from birth; in language, in relationships and social roles, in sport and recreation, in education, and to still to a significant extent in career choice.

Boys and young men learn and internalise elements of masculinity from accepted sources of socialisation, including roles and relationships within the family and peer groups, expectations of roles and behaviours in institutional settings such as work and education, and to varying extents through interpreting and valuing representations of masculinity. Continuing national military service in many countries must be seen as reinforcing masculine roles and stereotypes, and as involving institutional and routine violence.

Phrases such as 'be a man' and 'real man' denote ideas of traditional masculinity that remain influential and apparently commonsensical. Men should control themselves and their emotions – apart from acceptable displays of anger – be competitive and self-sufficient, and

male senses of esteem and value are often bound up in public acclaim and achievement. This separation from the private sphere mirrors the ways in which masculinity is usually defined in opposition to common ideas of femininity. Masculine roles have been historically defined in terms of protection and provision, and these publicly expected and validated roles have provided men with privilege in relation to the status of women and other men.

While these elements of masculinity are relevant to different men to different extents, research currently argues that what could be termed traditional masculinity has been in crisis and transition for quite some time. Changes in work, health, the family and socio-political life have unsettled and challenged the accepted roles and privileges of men, while rarely providing the means to deal with confused roles and identities. The public status of men and traditional markers of manhood have been challenged by a range of factors that naturally vary across the Council of Europe member states. Socio-economic changes have been of central importance; deindustrialisation has limited or destroyed jobs historically associated with male workers, and permanent and seemingly acceptable levels of unemployment in many countries have weakened the link between being a father and husband on the one hand, and a provider and protector on the other. Such changes have led not only to losses of family income and security, but also to sources of belonging and prestige.

For many young men, changes in the well-trodden public route to male adulthood have been mirrored by changes in the family and boundaries between public and private life. Relevant research suggests that for many young men, work, marriage and family remain interconnected as important markers on a path to full manhood. These expectations must now negotiate a range of social changes, including divergent experiences of family life, changing expectations and practices of marriage and cohabitation, and of work and child rearing.

It is also worth noting that feminist critiques of patriarchal structures and of the invisibility of gender have contributed to the private sphere nolonger being the kingdom of a masculine man, but a space where relationships involve a reflection of gendered roles. Challenges to the assumptions of masculinity have also come through changed public discourses on health and disease prevention, a focus that is in conflict with masculine practices of control and denial of weakness. In general, many social changes posit a tension between control and risk. While masculinity values control and self-sufficiency, experiences of these broad-ranging changes demand an ability to cope with change and risk as potential elements of public and private life.

There is no simple or straightforward links between masculinity and violence, but it is suggested here as a key issue to consider in relation to ways in which violence is viewed, portrayed and justified. In the context of masculinity, violence is often seen as empowering, despite the attendant physical and psychological disempowerment of victims. Violence often stems from a lack of equivalence in relationships of power, and it involves not just physical but psychological survival; where other opportunities for empowerment are lacking, self-respect can be temporarily regained through power over somebody else. Youth workers in the field constantly stress the relationship between young men who are socio-economically disempowered and recourse to violence as a way of reclaiming self-esteem and prestige.

Masculinity does not cause or justify violence, but in important ways it licences violence. Attempting to live up to masculine stereotypes may involve projecting an uncompromising image, and one that has to be defended and legitimised in certain male peer hierarchies where violence is central to their construction of masculinity. In situations where other traditional

markers of masculinity are unachievable, physical prowess and toughness become key ways of proving oneself as a man. This notion of proving is important in understanding the tendency towards 'recreational' violence within and between groups of young men, particularly but by no means exclusively among the socio-economically excluded. With regard to this it is important to emphasise that violence and masculinity is contextual, and to guard against an over-concentration or potentially essential link between marginalised young men and violence.

In relation to other categories of recommendations included here, it is worth emphasising that dominant masculinity places women as victims of male power in a range of ways. In some contexts beating women is dishonourable, as it proves nothing or may even indicate weakness on the part of the victimiser. On the other hand, increased domestic violence often goes hand-in-hand with male involvement in other forms of 'public' violence. It is crucial to bear in mind that domestic violence directed against women remains a central problem in most societies, and can be linked, among other factors, to masculine reclamation of power in the so-called *private* sphere. Relatedly, while silence often surrounds domestic violence in general, it is particularly pronounced with regard to violence directed at men, as this form of victimhood involves increased dimensions of disempowerment.

Research and consultation emphasise that a prevalent lack of emotional development and interpersonal skills have negative consequences in many young men's lives. Violence may often become a means of expressing anger, fear or aggression within the codes of masculinity; a violent act is an emotional display devoid of apparent weakness, and it is an active outgoing response. Young men's built-up frustrations at their social situation are often released through violence, and accumulate through a lack of spaces and channels to express emotional needs. Anger is easily channelled into violence, and as an emotion that dominates all others, is also harmful to the health of the perpetrator. Emotional development is crucial in the area of sexuality and masculinity, where stereotypes of male potency and images of dominant masculine sexuality may be difficult and damaging influences for boys and young men to evaluate and counter-act.

This limited and partial introduction to the recommendations in this section serves to emphasise that addressing the relationships of young men to violence in situated social contexts is a necessary contribution to ongoing efforts at violence prevention, conflict transformation and securing a human rights agenda. Working with boys and young men needs to be centred as a way of analysing the roots of violent behaviour and exploring alternatives to violence. Youth workers in this field consistently contend that boys and young men are asking for support of this kind in indirect ways. It is also important to acknowledge the need to address masculinity in relation to other issues covered by this document; sexism, homophobia, gang violence and violence in schools.

Mainstreaming gender as a way of approaching violence and young people is important, as it entails that violent behaviour is learnt socially, and can therefore be changed. Youth work with young people involved in violence concentrates on change, and emphasises the non-transferable responsibility of the perpetrator. Equally, it can only achieve change if it consistently stresses the social, economic and political contexts in which youth violence is perpetrated, and the need for policy and programmes to set short, medium and long term aims. Youth work with boys and young men takes many forms, but to be successful it must:

- Build meaningful relationships and spaces in which young men can reflect upon their lives.

- Aim to free young men from pressures to conform to or measure themselves against dominating masculine stereotypes.

- Encourage young men to play an active role in their community and to address the issues that impact upon their lives.

- Find innovative forms and strategies to actively support young men who do not actively seek support.

- Train youth workers to develop the skills, awareness and attitudes necessary to work effectively with boys and young men.

- Be recognised, valued and supported by broader youth work actors and initiatives.

Achieving these aims involves a re-thinking of relationships between formal and non-formal education, a prioritisation of youth work with boys and young men and gender mainstreaming in policy and support agendas, and a social shift away from a simplistic relationship between crime and retributative justice. Moralising about violence to young people involved in violence is next to useless; moral frameworks become shared when they have purchase in very different realities. For many young men, an involvement in violence brings material gain, hierarchical advantage or distraction. Working with young perpetrators of violence involves the need to facilitate the realisation that violence is avoidable, and brings other gains for themselves and others.

Youth work with boys and young men exists to varying extents in different European countries, and involves both a general concentration on young people negotiating protracted and difficult transitions to adulthood, and work specifically aimed at preventing violence or re-offending. To this end, methodologies and approaches are quite diverse, and include outreach and street work, youth clubs and young men's groups, and projects based on sport, music and arts. Nevertheless, much more work is required, and the offer of current services needs to be revised in recognition of the fact that the requirement of one young man may be very different from the requirements of another.

The Council of Europe is asked to: support the further development of educational approaches to youth work with boys and young men, and to promote the mainstreaming of this work in existing youth work practices and frameworks.

National authorities should:

- Recognise that people have a basic human right to personal integrity and security, and that the needs and actions of young men must be addressed within this imperative.

- Realise that violence prevention and youth work of this nature needs long-term funding, commitment, time and patience to develop sustainable programmes.

– Commission and utilise research that analyses the needs and specific problems of boys and young men, particularly in relation to minority experiences and socio-economic disadvantage.

– Support the development of work with boys and young men and the necessary training and re-training of youth workers.

– Integrate a focus on life skills, personal development and gender-awareness to formal educational curricula.

It is important that local authorities:

– Support training for youth workers in gender-mainstreaming, conflict resolution and intercultural learning, and integrate these aspects in all relevant educational offers.

– Recognise that boys and young men need to engage in long-term development, and commit to long-term support and funding for sustainable programmes.

– Consult with young people to ensure that different gender viewpoints have an influence on the aims and outcomes of local initiatives.

– Facilitate partnerships for relevant activities, involving boys, young men and their parents, youth organisations and schools, and where feasible, representatives of community groups.

– Support the development of educational material that addresses issues of masculinity, gender and non-violence and that is developed with an awareness of language and representation.

– Recognise the significance of peer influence and support the development of peer education initiatives that offer credible alternatives to masculine stereotypes.

Youth organisations should:

– Support the emergence of youth work with boys and young men through increased training in project management, organisational skills and educational planning and implementation.

– Strive to provide safe environments for young men to express their feelings, and monitor the inclusiveness of their environments and work practices.

– Support peer education initiatives, particularly in partnership with formal educational institutions and other community organisations.

– Encourage and support youth workers to engage in an ongoing reflection of themselves as youth workers, including working to achieve realistic goals and evaluating their practice.

–   Ensure that youth workers be given adequate education on issues of gender, power and sexuality, and in skills and methodology for integrating gender awareness into their work.

–   Specifically address masculinity and related issues in their human rights education, and work to address the current prevalent imbalance between physical and emotional health in general education.

Homophobic violence

If your only crime is to be different, what on earth can you do about that?
Youth Work with Boys and Young Men as a Means to Prevent Violence in Everyday Life Seminar Report, p 27.

Young people continue to suffer physical, verbal and institutional violence on the basis of their sexual identities. Fear of and prejudice towards lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth (LGTB) manifests itself in hate crimes, in bullying at school and in the workplace and in various forms of emotional violence. Factors that contribute to homophobia across the Council of Europe member states are diverse, and the differences in the living conditions and possibilities of LGTB youth vary enormously across national and local contexts. Nevertheless is it possible to point to such general issues as a lack of coherent information on and awareness of sexual diversity in families, social institutions and media organisations, and sustained stereotyping in religious, political and cultural discourses.

As Section 2 has contended, violence against women and other vulnerable groups in society can in many contexts be seen as assertions of aggressive masculinity, and young gay men are particularly targeted in this respect. To varying extents, homosexuality is still defined against 'proper' masculinity, and related to such categories of difference as femininity and weakness. This idea of difference, and the justification that cultural prejudice against homosexuality provides, fuels ongoing violence against young homosexual men. Victims also include young men who are not gay, but whose appearance, demeanour or behaviour allows them to be categorised as different, not 'truly masculine or homosexual and thus rationalised as targets of violence.

Evidence suggests that the threat of and experience of violence remains a pervasive aspect of young gay men's lives. This is particularly the case in East and South-Eastern Europe, and despite the prevalence of legal protection and shifts in prevailing social attitudes it remains an important issue in Western European countries as well. Relevant research emphasises high rates of non-reporting of homophobic violence in many European countries, an absence which suggests that a significant proportion of hate crime victims do not feel secure in dealing with police and social services.

In common with all forms of violence addressed by these recommendations, physical and verbal violence directed at LGBT youth in general and young gay men in particular can be related to a range of distressing consequences. Violence, and the threat of violence, may result ultimately in violence to the self. Europe is witnessing rising rates of suicide among young men in general, and several studies contend that young gay men are significantly more likely to attempt suicide than their straight counterparts. Insecurity, fear and feelings of isolation and helplessness are frequently linked to high levels of drug addiction and alcoholism, depression, homelessness, and an inability to complete various levels of education and training.

Advocacy groups dealing with lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth issues report a constant need to question the hidden values and normative assumptions that permeate the different structures that young people must interact with. This includes frequent invisibility in institutional provisions and definitions, the continued reinforcement of traditional gender roles in schools, workplaces and institutions, and non-inclusive approaches in educational curricula. Thus education and awareness raising on issues of homophobic prejudice need to take account not only of instances of physical and overt verbal abuse, but also social contexts that contribute covertly to ignorance and invisibility.

Working to counter fear and ignorance while building self-esteem among LGBT youth must involve both formal school curricula and initiatives, and non-formal education and youth work. Awareness-raising work should take place in the context of education on gender and sexuality, as prejudice on the basis of sexual orientation is linked to a lack of focus on complex yet fundamental issues of sexuality and identity. The remit of this kind of education must extend to teachers, youth workers social workers, police and medical professionals, and involve an examination of personal and institutional normatives and prejudices. Police and medical professionals should also receive complementary training in dealing with victims of hate crimes.

National authorities should:

– Enact legal change in all areas where discrimination on the basis of gender, sexualities or sexual orientation remains, and in so doing promote public awareness of discrimination and the substantive issues involved.

– Ensure that definitions of and legal approaches to hate crime mainstream offences motivated by hostility or prejudice based on sexual orientation.

– Support the development of training programmes for police officers, social service providers and medical professionals that deal with victims of hate crimes to ensure security and adequate support.

– Ensure that school curricula concerning sexual education also include LGTB issues, aimed at providing adequate and coherent information to all students.

– Involve LGTB organisations and movements in shaping relevant elements of national youth policies; for example sex education in schools.

– Include anti-homophobia training in rehabilitation programmes for hate crime offenders and people convicted of committing discriminatory crimes.

It is important that local authorities:

– Instigate and monitor adequate training for police and medical professionals that deal with victims of hate crimes to ensure security and support and to contribute to an increase in crime reporting and investigation.

– Provide relevant in-service training to support the inclusion of LGTB issues in school curricula, and support teachers with adequate materials and information.

- Be prepared to support general awareness-raising activities, and adequate education for youth workers on dealing with issues of gender, sexuality and power.

- Provide resources for easily accessible health and lifestyle-related information for young people who are still 'in the closet'.

- Support complementary training and research for young LGBT activists on the issue of working with violence and counselling young victims of violence.

It is essential for youth organisations to:

- Ensure the representation of LGTB young people in youth institutions such as youth councils at regional, national and European levels.

- Demand legal change in all areas where discrimination on the basis of gender, sexualities or sexual orientation remains.

- Recognise that youth work should include different points of view, diverse images of sexuality and inclusive language to avoid reinforcing stereotypes of gender, sexuality and sexual orientation.

- Develop and lobby for adequate education for youth workers to work with issues of gender, sexuality and power. This education should address the self-awareness of the youth worker, and is particularly crucial in working with boys and young men on their feelings, emotions and fears concerning sexuality.

- Develop partnerships between organisations and LGBT organisations to address violence prevention and gender-awareness.

3. Racism and discrimination

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 another.
Learning from Violence Symposium Report, p 53.

The Council of Europe and its many partner youth organisations have been involved for a significant period of time in actively campaigning against racism and related discrimination. Given the current climate in many European countries, this committed work will have to continue indefinitely. Hate crimes, racist violence and manifestations of racism takes many forms, and prejudices based on ethnic, national or class differences constantly mutate and change. Therefore youth policy, anti-racism activities and activists need to be constantly aware of the forms and agents of racism and discrimination at work in their societies.

Racial prejudice in many European countries is a product of inequalities of power in the historical relationships that have produced the multi-ethnic Europe of today. Prejudice is often compounded and activated by socio-economic differences between individuals, groups and communities, and all too often used in contemporary societies to justify individual and institutional actions and inaction. While biological theories of racism have to a large extent been expunged from the European landscape, culturally legitimised racism employs the same tactics of differentiation and inferiorisation of different people on the basis of ascribed differences and supposed social characteristics and effects.

The term racism may mask the fact that racism is not a coherent or unified practice, and that individuals and institutions tend to hold opinions and engage in practices that discriminate against some people but not others, or that discriminate to varying extents in conscious or unwitting ways. The last decades in Europe have seen increased political and educational concentration not only on individual expressions of racism, but on racially-based inequalities and discrimination in social provision, education, employment and 'institutional racism' in state bodies and services. Many European countries are facing or being forced to face the profound relationship between racial discrimination and poverty, although countervailing responses vary enormously.

Despite an increase in the attention paid to racism and discrimination - and the increased sophistication with which it is analysed and addressed - racism in Europe continues to fester and hinder the security and development of individuals through harassment, exclusion and physical violence. Racist and discriminatory violence differs in different contexts; it can be perpetrated by organised gangs and extreme-right organisations, or can be the product of street-level tensions and chance encounters. It is a depressing fact in many European countries that violence directed against national minorities, migrant and asylum-seekers gains and seeks legitimacy through the statements and policies of certain political parties. Equally, the criminalisation and media demonisation of migrants and asylum-seekers is a contributory factor to violence and the justification of violence against them. In this context the idea of *hate crime* is becoming more widely recognised. While legislative situations and horizons of recognition vary significantly in Europe, hate crime can broadly be seen as "a crime where the perpetrator's prejudice against any identifiable group of people is a factor in determining who

is victimised".2 It is important to develop from this definition a recognition that 'being identifiable' is a question of perception; people may be victimised on the basis of skin colour, ethnicity, nationality or religious background and the characteristics that are ascribed to them, regardless of how they may perceive themselves. Hate crimes not only damage victims physically and psychologically, but have the potential to increase intra and inter community tensions.

Racist policies and practices in contemporary Europe must be seen in the context of globalised poverty and inequality. The effects of highly competitive global capitalism involve increased domestic economic instability and the mass movement of people within the global South to destinations in the South and North. This has led in many instances to charged political climates where social entitlement is increasingly linked to the legitimacy of national belonging, as opposed to citizenship or human rights provision. Racism in Europe and beyond must also be related to the changed global political climate since 2001. In some contexts human rights and civil liberties have been diluted or ignored in the name of security prerogatives, and the reported increase in Islamophobic and anti-Semitic sentiments and actions across Europe also poses new challenges for anti-racist activism.

Young people are particularly vulnerable to the effects and exclusions of racism and discrimination. Young people with multiple identities and loyalties are subject to particular pressures in situations of tension and polarisation, and young men and women who are marked as visually different are vulnerable to attack and marginalisation. Such marginalisation may be long-term, and imply unequal access to and possibilities for education and employment. In many European countries, citizenship and marriage laws discriminate against young couples of mixed nationality and heritage. At the same time, young people are at the forefront of anti-racist activism. Given the impact of racism and the ways in which discrimination shifts and changes, it is imperative that young people are meaningfully consulted and integrated into decision-making, and that their grassroots initiatives are valued and supported.

The Council of Europe should:

- Make a particular effort to ensure that racism in its multiple forms remains central to its human rights commitments and educational programmes, and further ensure that relevant material is made available in translation to schools, youth organisations and institutions engaged in antiracist training.

- Focus on renewed anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in many European societies.

- Direct a European-level exchange on definitions of and legislative approaches to hate crime.

- Use its privileged position and authority to provide spaces for dialogue and networking between governmental representatives and civil society actors, and encourage and support such cooperation across sectors and disciplines.

It is imperative that national authorities:

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2. Definition developed by the Association of Chief Police Officers (APCO) UK, sourced from
http://www.c21project.org.uk/citizenship_21/information_centre/violent_hate_crime/

– Review and reform policies that are discriminatory and contrary to human rights standards and instruments, and that potentially fuel or legitimise wider social violence and discrimination.

– Ensure that recent intensifications of security policies and provisions do not infringe on the relevant human rights of individuals or contribute to renewed discrimination against vulnerable groups and communities.

– Develop hate crime legislation in relation to racist, xenophobic, homophobic and gender-based violence and support the provision of relevant services for victims of these crimes.

– Support the development and implementation of training activities for all actors in the field of violence prevention and discrimination, including police officers, teachers and social service professionals. Such activities may benefit from the involvement of civil society expertise.

Local authorities are encouraged to:

– Train staff to deal with racism-based crimes and violence, including by and against young people.

– Support the integration of non-formal and intercultural educational practices to school and formal education settings. Partnerships with local communities, students and NGOs in the design and delivery of these strategies are also encouraged.

– Make sure that teacher training pays special attention to human rights education as a subject in itself and as an integrated approach to other subjects and activities.

– Ensure that human rights education programmes include specific provisions for informing people from vulnerable groups about their rights and potential remedies.

Youth organisations are asked to:

– Prioritise the fight against racism and discrimination in their activities and organisational life.

– Develop partnerships with formal education actors to increase the emphasis on and quality of participative human rights education.

– Ensure that human rights education programmes include specific provisions for informing people from vulnerable groups about their rights and potential remedies.

4. Violence in Schools

While schools may strive to create and sustain safe environments for learning and personal development, for many students violence of various kinds is a direct or indirect presence in their school realities. Violence in schools exists in all countries, and its prevention should be a priority in national youth and education policies.

Violence in schools is not a new phenomenon, however it is only in recent years that it has begun to register strongly in public awareness, particularly as a consequence of highly reported homicides and bullying-related suicides in Europe and beyond. These tragedies can be regarded as visible and extreme manifestations of ongoing and arguably escalating levels of violence in schools. While forms of violence, trends and causes vary significantly within Council of Europe member states, there is broad agreement that schools can increasingly be seen as microcosms of wider social anxieties, where the school environment cannot be insulated from the tensions and violence prevalent in societies in general, and the local communities in which schools are located in particular. This lack of insulation is compounded by the over-burdening of school as an agent of socialisation in complex and disparate youth transitions to adulthood and working life. However traditional factors such as school regulations and teacher-pupil relationships now count for little in terms of violence deterrence.

Violence in schools is a category that includes incidents that differ enormously in their scale, intent, motivation, causes and victims. Violence can be sporadic and random, or it can amount to consistent, repetitive harassment and victimisation. Bullying and mobbing can range from constant verbal and emotional abuse, to theft of personal belongings, to physical attacks upon the person. It is necessary to emphasise that what is perceived and classified – and therefore addressed – as bullying may vary, and actions that threaten the integrity and security of the person may sometimes remain invisible and out of awareness until consequences manifest themselves. Student-to-student violence is most frequently discussed in relation to violence in schools, and while teacher-to-student violence remains an issue in some contexts, student-to-teacher violence is progressively becoming a cause for concern. This development is complex, but violence against teachers must arguably be placed against a background of the general devaluation of the teaching profession in European societies.

As in other social and institutional contexts, becoming a victim of violence in school is often a consequence of perceived difference and inferiority, and racist, discriminatory, homophobic and gender-based violence also intersect in school environments. Yet violence in schools must be approached as a shifting fusion of wider social influences and school-specific dynamics and relationships. Bullies may justify their actions in, for example, racist terms, yet they may often also relate to the establishment and maintenance of hierarchies within school populations. In some contexts, this form of school violence has been linked to the continuance and even intensification of gang activities within the school environment.

School violence has been related directly and indirectly with damaging short and long term consequences; from individual instances of depression, substance abuse and educational underdevelopment to wider issues of unemployment, society-wide levels of numeracy and literacy, and the normalisation of violence as a response to conflict of all kinds. Violence in schools destabilises not only individual educational institutions, but also ongoing attempts to foster social and political participation and sustainable peace. This is particularly the case where school violence is both a consequence of neighbourhood poverty and social

marginalisation, and instrumental in compounding them. Violence involves inter-personal acts, but in order to develop integrated and contextualised approaches to its prevention and consequences, school violence must be monitored and addressed within socio-economic context.

It is often the case that preventative strategies are adopted in reaction to the visible emergence of violent incidents in a school population. Given the often-extreme nature of violence and its enormous social cost, preventative action and sustainable strategies need to be enacted as priorities. Violence prevention is a core aspect of education for democratic citizenship, and school education that attempts to foster pluralism, gender inequality, active respect for human rights and peaceful conflict transformation must be consistent and proactive in addressing the manifestations and underlying causes of violence in the school environment. This may also involve a fundamental shift in formal education towards learner-centred, participative education. The issue of violence and power is most meaningfully addressed where existing power is openly discussed, democracy is learnt best in a democratic school, and responsibility in a participative institutional environment.

As the previous point suggests, an essential, framing recommendation for this section is the development of *partnerships for sustainable violence prevention*. The underlying causes and effects of violence freely cross the fluid borders between school and society, and therefore concerted action needs to bring together particular social networks around every individual school. While the diverse range of national, regional and local situations influences the feasibility and development of different partnerships, a recommended list of stakeholders includes:

- School students - both individually and through their representative bodies – including very young pupils, and potentially former students.

- The school community in its widest sense; teachers and their organisations, administrative staff and managerial bodies, non-teaching staff, parents and their representatives, social and health services that liaise with schools.

- The local and regional authorities, with particular emphasis on those specialised services that are generally involved in violence prevention.

- Youth organisations and youth clubs that are active in the school or local area.

- Non-governmental organisations involved in accessible and complementary activities - such as non-formal education and cultural activism – and organisations that work in and perhaps represent different communities in the school catchment area.

- The national authority responsible for policy on education, in close cooperation with those involved in policy on youth, justice and law-enforcement, regional planning and urban policy, and issues of socio-economic import.

- Local, community and regional media in particular, and broader media networks where feasible.

- Representatives of social research circles from academic, governmental and non-governmental structures.

Such partnerships should aim at developing an ongoing process of monitoring, consultation and joint initiative rather than rigid formal structures. The need for partnership is based on evidence that violence and bullying is reduced in school by the concerted interaction of strong parental involvement and collaboration, supported and supportive teaching staff, experienced and reflexive leadership from school authorities, and the involvement of and consultation with community organisations, youth organisations and actors in the community as a whole.

Thus the recommendations presented in this section, while being addressed specifically to relevant stakeholders, are designed to be read inter-relationally.

The Council of Europe is encouraged to:

- Sanction and distribute a comprehensive, international comparative study on problems of school violence.

- Extend the Council of Europe guidelines on youth policy to encompass violence, bullying and mobbing in schools.

- Make a particular effort to promote Human Rights Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship as important instruments for addressing violence in schools and for developing preventative measures. To this end, the institution should ensure that its existing relevant materials for human rights education and teacher training are made available to teachers and schools and in translation.

- Prepare and distribute as a priority a handbook on the implementation of strategies to prevent violence in school, on the basis of the research, consultation and conclusions generated during the integrated project "Responses to Violence in Everyday Life".

National authorities are requested to:

- Promote respect for the profession of teaching at every opportunity, and commit to sustainable support for addressing the problems and tensions encountered in the classroom.

- Ensure that preventing and addressing violence in schools is an integral part of every national youth policy.

- Support this focus in national youth policy through up-to-date research on violence in schools and the development of a national action plan.

- Secure a sustainable strategy for prevention through the establishment of national monitoring bodies where none exist, and by empowering them to provide assistance and support to local partnerships.

- Adopt appropriate budgetary measures to support the development and proper functioning of local partnerships.

It is important that local and regional authorities:

- Integrate the prevention of violence at school into their general programmes for preventing violence in everyday life.

- Implement youth policies that incorporate participation and consultation by young people in local and regional democratic life.

- Support the development of prevention strategies and local partnerships in material and financial terms

- Ensure that teacher training and re-training include skills that equip them to deal with violence and conflict in the classroom, including human rights education, non-formal educational approaches, conflict management strategies and social communication.

School establishments are encouraged to:

- Introduce violence prevention and awareness initiatives in the curricula in anticipation of violent incidents.

- Guarantee the democratic functioning of schools, with particular recognition of the rightful place of pupils and their parents.

- Support teachers and pupils in undertaking joint action to prevent school violence.

- Facilitate formal and informal peer education in school, recognising that peer influence is of great significance in the lives of young people, and that it potentially offers real and credible alternatives to violence and its social glamourisation.

- Engage in local partnerships for violence prevention, and to this end, integrate the school and its facilities into the life of the surrounding community.

Youth organisations should: seek to develop partnerships with schools that increase the voice and participation of young people, and that promote non-formal education in violence prevention programmes and strategies.

5. Urban violence and young people

Urban spaces have long been associated with both possibility and insecurity, and young people have been seen as emblematic of both the vitality of 'city life' and the threats that walk the streets. While once again it is necessary to move beyond such simple images, it is important to place many of the types of violence involving young people in the content of urban dwelling. While far from being exclusively urban, hate crimes and crimes linked to discrimination - for example - manifest themselves randomly and concertedly in multicultural cities and spaces where "difference" is visible and vulnerable. Many forms of violence involving young people as victims, perpetrators and activists are strongly related to the impact of multiple social exclusions that are keenly felt in cities and towns. Several documents produced by the Council of Europe within the aegis of the Integrated Project on "Responses to violence in everyday life in a democratic society" have detailed the ways in which urban social exclusion potentially relate to crime and violence. According to *Urban crime prevention: a guide for local authorities*:

> While major cities have traditionally been the arena for economic development and cultural achievement, they are also inevitably the places where problems of society, such as crime, are most acutely felt. Why has this happened? It is generally accepted that the principal causes of crime include unemployment and difficulties in legally securing an adequate income or living conditions; increased opportunity for crime and decreased social control; social deprivation and exclusion; a monotonous or dilapidated physical environment; inadequate housing...(2002: 9)

While this statement does no more than detail what should be a form of social commonsense, it must be noted that current debates on security and law and order in several European countries relegate an adequate analysis of social circumstances in favour of a variety of populist rhetorics. The complexity of this picture across European contexts is obviously beyond the scope of this document, however it is clear that the preoccupation with security and terrorism, high-pitched debates on immigration and general populist discourses of 'law and order' bleed into each other. The influential position of populist and extreme right-wing parties in many European countries has resulted not only in an asocial emphasis on 'individual responsibility,' but also in a predictable swing towards repressive approaches emphasising increased police presence and police powers, tougher prison sentences that 'send out a message' and an increase in overall incarceration. In some scenarios young people are specifically policed by the creation of new offences, an extreme example of which is the French Ministry of the Interior's prohibition of 'youth congregating in stairwells'. The weighting towards repression over prevention is exacerbated by the nature of the electoral cycle, where short-term, high profile punitive initiatives are deemed more reassuring than long-term commitments to prevention, partnership and social cohesion.

However the fact that some form of preventative strategy accompanies most repressive approaches indicates that the limited sustainability of increased surveillance, policing and imprisonment is recognised. This chapter argues that this is a basic recognition, and that sustainable approaches to violence reduction and prevention must involve young people as partners and actors in policies that emphasise social cohesion and inclusion. This core recommendation is borne out by the in-depth study *Social Inclusion of Young People in Disadvantaged Urban Areas: Guidelines for tackling the causes of violence*. This recent comparative study, analysing approaches to the social inclusion of young people in

disadvantaged urban areas in six different neighbourhoods,3 found common patterns of deprivation, exclusion and violence beyond the differences in socio-political and local context. Young people - consulted as stakeholders in their social environment - contended that violence in their urban contexts is far more complex than the stereotypes of youth deviancy that remain popular currency. Specifically, key findings in the report highlighted the 'adult violence' of domestic violence, substance abuse, ethnic tensions and police harassment that many young people are subjected to.

The study found that all of the neighbourhoods surveyed suffered from higher than city average levels of poverty and educational failure, while also acting as significant immigration destinations. Relatedly, these neighbourhoods experienced forms of economic dislocation associated with hegemonic globalisation, most notably the dominance of poorly paid and 'flexible' (i.e. insecure) service sector employment in a context where 'the education system also loses its capacity to provide access to better paid jobs'. Social exclusion is compounded for many young people by job insecurity and widespread dependence on social security benefits. As the report emphasises; "All the case studies stressed the difference between being poor which could be remedied with more resources, and being excluded which creates a severe rift between the person affected and the main institutions and customs of society".4

Exclusion from possibility is often accompanied by the marginalisation of 'problem' areas themselves; a common process in the neighbourhoods in question is the departure of those who can afford to move away, leading inevitably to a decline in the range and quality of services and amenities locally available. In relation to this, urban sociology has generally noted tendencies towards urban spatialisation based on policing the interaction of 'cultures of affluence and poverty'.5 This includes increased surveillance, bounded residential areas and the privatisation of public spaces, which compounds social exclusion and particularly acts to exclude and stigmatise certain young people who seem to embody insecurity. Current policy work in the Council of Europe emphasises the need to address the relationship between housing and crime, urban regeneration and the need for open spaces and street planning, and planning urban transport to reduce crime. In addressing youth and violence however, this set of policy recommendations follows the detailed analysis carried out in the *Social Inclusion of Young People* report by advocating that youth strategies – based on participation and integrated planning – need to be mainstreamed and integral from the inception of an initiative. To quote:

> In preventative and rights based approaches, the causes of violence and crime are seen to be a complex result of physical, psychological, social and economic factors. There are no linear relationships – but violence and crime thrive in environments of *multiple* deprivation. As a result the response also has to be *multi-sectoral, integrated, and holistic.* (p. 8).

The guidelines for youth-centred strategies to combat urban violence as an element of social cohesion enhancement concentrate on these core pillars; youth empowerment, decentralisation, integrated policy making and implementation, partnership and evaluation.

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3. The neighbourhoods chosen for the study were the Spanish Quarter of Naples, El Raval in Barcelona, Slotvaard in Amsterdam, Derwent in Derby, Fakulteta in Sofia and the Southern District of Moscow. See Soto Hardiman, Paul (2003) *Social Inclusion of Young People in Disadvantaged Urban Areas: Guidelines for tackling the causes of violence.* Final Report to the Council of Europe Department of Social Cohesion.
4. Executive Summary, p2.
5. Stevenson, Nick (2003) *Cultural Citizenship, Cosmopolitan Questions.* Open University Press. P58.

These pillars are briefly discussed in the following sub-sections, and recommendations to key actors are offered.

Youth empowerment

In keeping with the approaches advocated in other sections, genuine youth empowerment is held to be fundamental to developing neighbourhood strategies. Consultation and committed dialogue is not a luxury, optional extra or potential stage in a process, it must be the bedrock on which initiatives are built if they are to be credible, realistic and owned. At the heart of such a process are consultation with and the involvement of young people as local stakeholders, allowing for a range of opinions held by young people to be integrated with those of other stakeholders in the locality and overall strategy. A basic lesson from the qualitative research conducted as part of the *Social Inclusion of Young People* report is that a 'problem' is experienced and understood in often divergent ways, therefore sustainable responses can only be built on sustained and wide-ranging dialogue. In short, youth-centred strategies can only develop realistically if they are holistically youth-centred and aware of the needs, opinions, social capital, social and economic survival strategies and potentials of the young people they are addressing. A further aspect of empowerment strategies, stressed by a variety of research reports and practice-based testimony, is that strategies take place within agreed frameworks of expectations, rights and responsibilities. The report under discussion suggests that this is a key element in a shift from the welfare state (where beneficiaries are characterised as passive recipients) to the idea of a *welfare society*, where citizens are "empowered to take responsibility, individually and collectively for shaping their own futures. They and not just state suppliers must shape social policies" (p. 8).

Based on this analysis, international institutions, national and local authorities and youth associations and initiatives should recognise that:

- Crime involving young people in urban areas cannot be tackled by short-term repressive measures, nor cannot it be meaningfully addressed by urban programmes that do not mainstream youth involvement and empowerment.

- The social inclusion of young people in deprived urban areas demands integrated and multi-sectoral responses built on partnership, long-term commitment and evaluation, and decentralisation to the points of maximum effectiveness.

National authorities are urged to:

- Enact integrated policies that recognise young people as stakeholders in their own social environments and further recognise that youth empowerment is the fundamental basis for meaningful local strategies.

- Support local authorities in the development and support of partnerships that can work securely and credibly in deprived neighbourhoods.

It is imperative that local authorities:

- Support the development of integrated local initiatives based on multi-stakeholder dialogue and involvement. Such initiatives should avoid building false expectations.

– Build this dialogue through supporting spaces and channels for interaction between stakeholders and the networks involved in social intervention.

– Invest in actions that are negotiated between young people and their social networks and that aim to build self-confidence, autonomy and both individual and collective capacities to act socially and in the job market.

– Support public buildings and places as potential spaces of cooperation and cultural expression, rather than as areas to be 'cleared' of young people.

Youth associations and initiatives can:

– Develop activities and projects based on similar core approaches to youth empowerment and that strive to be relevant to the needs and realities of the young people involved.

– Train and cooperate on the provision of street educators, youth mentors and outreach workers that aim to engage young people who are not attracted by or feel excluded from the customary places and routines of youth associations.

Decentralisation, integrated policy making and implementation

The *holistic* emphasis in the strategies under discussion clearly depends on processes of decentralisation that enhance the power of local authorities, neighbourhood associations and initiatives and young people to develop and implement strategies that work. However, the *Social Inclusion of Young People* report generally contends that the decentralisation of decision-making and budgeting to a local level is still quite limited in the contexts that the study considered. While some innovative approaches are detailed in the study, in the main it argues that the main public services that shape social cohesion – social security, education, health – often remain under the control of separate national ministries. The horizontal cooperation of local actors is difficult if 'vertical lines of support' (leadership and top-down support from responsible national departments) are unclear, lacking in vision, and complicated by intra-governmental rivalry and resource competition. Another dimension of vertical support is the necessity of arriving at long-term understandings and commitments across political parties. Real change demands a long-term planning, implementation and evaluation cycle which can be endangered by political competition, policy reversal and excessive overlaps and duplication. Yet as the report makes clear, integration seems to be present in many repressive policy initiatives, yet relatively lacking in preventative approaches. In general, the report also contended that much personal social service provision tends to be reactive, and there is a need to develop and invest in forward-thinking strategic approaches.

Both effective vertical support and local involvement are central to urban renewal as a factor in enhancing social cohesion. The report suggests that urban renewal must be developed in relation to social policy, and in particular a coherent social and economic vision and strategy must be developed for deprived neighbourhoods. This is particularly important where a long-term commitment to social cohesion involves a commitment to benefits and services in employment, education and health that are largely outside local control. While local authorities tend to have the experience for and possibility of intervening, certain strategies – most notably in housing and urban redevelopment – involve considerable expense and a

commitment to long-term investment. Therefore 'joined up and integrated government' involves effective vertical lines of support working within clear boundaries that act as a necessary complement to strategies involving local stakeholders.

In terms of young people as social actors, many projects exist in youth associations, clubs and initiatives that seek to address the consequences of urban social exclusion, and in particular the effects of violence. These projects, and the expertise and experience stemming from them, are an invaluable source of consultation and partnership for local and regional authorities. This is particularly the case in relation to projects that tackle 'gang-based' crime in urban areas. Gangs are often sensationalised, and different European societies have witnessed moral panics surrounding gangs, youth groups, their subcultural or affective identities and alleged activities. Nevertheless gang-based violence is attracting increased attention once again in European cities, and many local youth initiatives are well-placed to participate in the kinds of multi-level multi-partner interventions that are crucial for meaningful intervention in complex urban contexts. Yet a criticism levelled in the report on social cohesion, young people and violence prevention is that NGO activities tend to be supported as pilot projects, or as surrogates for limitations in mainstream services. A dependence on pilot projects and support for short-term initiatives can lead to a lack of momentum, disillusionment, burnout and competition for resources.

In order to provide young people with coherent and credible pathways out of social exclusion, international institutions, national and local authorities and youth associations and initiatives should recognise:

– That top-down leadership supports the development and sustainability of local multi-stakeholder strategies and youth centred approaches.

– The role being played by young people and their initiatives in urban violence and crime prevention, and to include and consult with them as partners in decisions that concern them and their urban locales.

National governments are requested to:

– Recognise that the long-term nature of social intervention requires clear and unambiguous support, integrated departmental cooperation and a commitment beyond the vagaries of the electoral cycle.

– Clarify the vertical lines of support and coordination that sustain and enhance horizontal cooperation and integration.

– Work with local stakeholders to elucidate a socio-economic vision and plan for deprived areas, where urban renewal is framed by social policy and ongoing social support is central to long-term strategy.

Local authorities should:

– Ensure that mainstream social services develop forward-thinking strategies while dealing with pressing reactive issues.

- Clearly plan the aims and remit of pilot projects in order to avoid these projects playing a 'pseudo structural' role.

Young people and their organisation and initiatives should:

- Seek to clarify the ways and terms in which they are integrated into local strategies, and lobby to mainstream youth in the development of all such approaches.

- Ensure that pilot projects they are involved in play a clear role within agreed time frames.

Partnership and evaluation

Partnerships are not only central to working towards social cohesion; if managed well they can increase social cohesion themselves. Transparent, reflexive and well-supported partnerships promote the kinds of local ownership that build sustainability. Therefore partnership is clearly central to multi-stakeholder approaches and integrated strategies, and equally clearly, functioning partnerships must be more than a re-branding of existing approaches and hierarchies. The aims, terms of reference and rights and responsibilities of partners must be transparent and agreed, and it is in the development of partnership that the integral involvement of young people must be centrally secured. This requires a reflexive development of partnership, where roles within and responsibilities to the partnership and respective constituencies are clear, where local and institutional legitimacies are balanced, and where processes and working styles are calibrated to the different partners involved.

Partnership can sometimes be seen as a way of broadening representation, however it is also a pragmatic approach to harnessing the knowledge and experience of local community groups, NGOs and initiatives run by young people. In particular, working with young people on their issues in a deprived urban context involves long-term partnerships between the public sector and the variety of relevant groups and networks. It needs to be emphasised that partnership does not involve mere consultation or the outsourcing of implementation, but a holistic involvement in defining objectives, designing and implementing strategies and participating in evaluation. This also implies that NGOs take seriously their partnership obligations, particularly in relation to transparency and relations with other community initiatives.

The report *Social Inclusion of Young People in Disadvantaged Urban Areas* places considerable importance on the design and implementation of evaluation within partnerships and their strategies. To quote:

> There is a major deficit in the evaluation of place-based strategies for increasing social cohesion among young people and analysing the effects this has on levels of violence. This deficit, which applies to most local economic and social development strategies, is one of the main barriers to extending and mainstreaming the results. It is possible to point to a series of good practices and promising results but it is not possible to know whether these results justify the means used or under which conditions it would be possible to transfer them. (*Executive summary*, p. 11)

The report goes on to argue that dominant preferences for quantitative output indicators must necessarily be complemented by qualitative evaluations of social impact, as these kind of results give a far more fine-grained picture of the impacts, successes, consequences and problems that need to be integrated into ongoing strategies. Furthermore, participation in

process of evaluation is a central aspect of partnership, and cannot become the sole preserve of certain forms of expertise. Ownership of a project and of partnerships includes the possibility to contribute to and influence the way it is assessed.

National governments are requested to: recognise the need to give young people, NGOs and local actors an integral role in partnerships working to build social cohesion, and to provide the resources necessary to ensure that such partnerships can be maintained over long periods of time.

Local authorities should:

  – Guarantee that multi-stakeholder approaches include young people from their inception, and develop partnership structures and processes that take into account the need to integrate a range of different actors and constituencies.

  – Ensure the transparency of partnerships through the delineation and monitoring of clear aims, terms of reference, and rights and responsibilities.

  – Recognise that evaluation is crucial both to ongoing efficacy of strategies and to the credibility and shared ownership of those strategies and partnerships.

Young people and their associations should:

  – Lobby for central integration in locally-based partnerships, and take an active role in shaping the direction, aims and approaches of that partnership.

  – Ensure that their involvement in partnership is transparent and involves regular communication with and input from their members and the broader youth constituency.

Violence in and around sports arenas

In recent years instances of hooliganism and violence at high-profile soccer matches have brought the question of violence in and around sports arenas back to public consciousness. Analyses of this form of violence are involved and vary in different socio-cultural contexts, and opinion is divided on the ways and degrees in which fandom and feelings of belonging in otherwise fragmented and individualised societies find extreme expression in both planned and spontaneous violence. While being a fan is often regarded as an 'episodic identity' that is expressed in coming together around shared sporting rituals, in sports-related violence it can also be related to the expression of nationalist or racist sentiments and politics. There is also evidence that unsurprisingly links drug and alcohol use to violence that already takes place in a situation where emotions and tensions are heightened.

Current thinking on this kind of violence and the partnerships necessary to tackle it emphasise that while arena security in many countries is well-regulated and networked internationally, violence cannot merely be displaced from sports arenas, as it is then likely to be re-placed to the domestic sphere and urban spaces. Instead, sports-related violence needs to be tackled through the kinds of concentrated partnerships that have been central to the kinds of recommendations made in this chapter. Such partnerships already include in some instances the arena management, sports clubs, local community and authorities, relevant police bodies,

ministries of sport and\or culture, and importantly, the fans, fan clubs and associations that work with young fans. Currently, the Council of Europe is involved in trying to develop a Supporter's Charter that would engage individual fans and fan clubs in promoting non-violence and anti-racism in all aspects of soccer matches and fandom. Such initiatives need to be grounded in meaningful consultation with and the involvement of fan clubs, as this is central to developing credible frameworks grounded in the experiences of people involved in the sport.

Appendix 1

Activities and publications taken into consideration for these policy recommendations

Publications of the Directorate of Youth and Sport

Violence Against Young Women in Europe

Seminar, 21-27 May 2001, European Youth Centre Budapest
Seminar report *"Violence Against Young Women in Europe"* by Ingrid Ramberg, 2001 [189 pages, available in English, French and Russian;]
ISBN 92-871-4834-1

Youth Against Violence

Seminar, 15-21 October 2001, European Youth Centre Budapest
Seminar report *"Youth Against Violence"* by Bryony L. Hoskins and Marie-Laure Lemineur, 2002 [88 pages, available in English and Russian]

Researching Violence
Researchers' Meeting, 26 – 27 October 2002, European Youth Centre Budapest,
Contributions to the researchers' seminar *"Learning from violence – the youth dimension"*,
Editor Alana Lentin, 2003 (114 pages, bilingual English-French)
ISBN 92-871-5358-2

Learning from Violence

Symposium, 28-30 October 2002, European Youth Centre Budapest
Symposium report *"Learning from Violence"* by Ingrid Ramberg, 2003 [95 pages, available in English, French and Russian]
ISBN 92-8715085-0

Violence in Schools – a Challenge for the Local Community

Local partnerships for preventing and combating violence at school

Conference, 2-4 December 2002, Palais de l'Europe Strasbourg, Council of Europe;
in co-operation with the CLRAE, DG II Equality Division and the Directorate of Education
Final report [79 pages, available in English], Council of Europe Publishing
ISBN 92-871-5326-4

Youth Work with Boys and Young Men as a Means to Prevent Violence in Everyday Life
Seminar, 17-23 March 2003, European Youth Centre Budapest
Seminar report *"Youth Work with Boys and young Men as a Means to Prevent Violence in Everyday Life "* by Gavan Titley, 2003 [80 pages, available in English]
ISBN 92-871-5324-8

Youth Work with Fan Clubs as a Means to Prevent Violence in and around Sports Arenas

Seminar, 24-28 September 2003, European Youth Centre Budapest
Draft Seminar report by Mark Taylor
Other reference documents:

6th Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Youth, Final Report, Thessaloniki, Greece, November 2002, in particular *"Conclusion of the Round Table Prevention of and the fight against violence in everyday life",*

Social inclusion of young people in disadvantaged urban areas: guidelines for tackling the causes of violence.
Final report to the Council of Europe Department of Social Cohesion, by Paul Soto Hardiman, December 2003.

Urban crime prevention: a guide for local authorities. Council of Europe Publishing, 2002. ISBN: 92-871-4943-7