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UNESCO

MALE ROLES AND MASCULINITIES IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF A CULTURE OF PEACE

REPORT

Expert Group Meeting
Oslo, Norway

24-28 September 1997

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace

"The Culture of Peace is a transition from the logic of force and fear to the force of reason and love"

Director-General of UNESCO
Mr. Federico Mayor

Oslo 24-28 September 1997

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EXPERT GROUP MEETING
ON
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Table of content

PREFACE

UNESCO organized through its "Women and the Culture of Peace" Programme the Expert Group Meeting on "Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace" in Oslo, Norway, from 24 to 28 September 1997. The meeting was organized in co-operation with the Norwegian National Commission for UNESCO and with the support of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Royal Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the Council of Europe and the Nordic Council of Ministers.

Whilst women's roles and status have been broadly debated over the last decades, men's roles and positions have hardly been discussed. Recently, however, the question of masculinities has been addressed in a series of publications; and the importance of a gender perspective, as underlined strongly in the Beijing Platform for Action and in the ECOSOC-meeting in July 1997, is more widely understood.

In a world in rapid transformation, characterized by high risk of unemployment, marginalization and exclusion, the linking of male identity primarily to positions of power and decision-making in public and private life seems to create frustration and severe problems that counteract and put at risk transformations from a culture of violence to a culture of peace.

Drawing on existing literature and theoretical knowledge in the relevant academic disciplines and interdisciplinary fields, the meeting, which brought together peace and gender researchers and activists with experience of anti-violence work among men, examined gender-related factors that hinder or sustain movements towards a culture of peace. It further explored the development of new, more egalitarian and partnership-oriented types of masculinities as opposed to traditional and stereotyped expectations of masculinity that might lead to undue acceptance of the use of authority, dominance, control, force, aggressiveness and violence.

The meeting further addressed the harmful consequences of rigid and stereotyped definitions of masculinity and femininity, roles of dominance and submission, the consequences of raising boy children to be tough and dominating and the social, cultural and economic conditions producing violence among men.

The meeting explored practical strategies for reducing men's violence, and the possibilities of raising boys in ways that emphasise the qualities (such as emotional response, caring, and communication skills) needed in building a culture of peace. It undertook the task of formulating recommendations, addressed to the UN, UNESCO, Member States and NGOs, for practical measures that enhance the development of a gender-sensitive culture of peace, in relation to society and its major institutions such as the family, the educational system, the media and political, military and religious structures. Special emphasis was given to how to develop insight and training in addressing conflicts and "disempowerment" without recourse to violent behaviour.

I - INTRODUCTION

1.   Attendance
The meeting was primarily European in scope. Resource persons from five continents ensured, however an inter-regional perspective. The meeting counted some 60 participants from 30 countries, including: 17 experts, 6 resource persons, 15 international observers, including from NGOs, governments and the UN system and some 20 Norwegian observers.

2.   Opening statements
Participants were welcomed to the meeting with short addresses from Ms Helga Hernes, Ambassador, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ms Ingrid Eide, Chairperson of the Norwegian National Commission for UNESCO. Ms Olöf Olafsdóttir, of the Council of Europe, reported from the related seminar "Promoting Equality: A Common Issue for Men and Women" recently held by the Council of Europe.
The Representative of the Director-General of UNESCO, Ms Ingeborg Breines, referred to the Information Note and the background of the meeting, the relevant UNESCO procedures, and UNESCO's hopes and expectations for the meeting, which included strengthening the conceptual framework and defining policies and action in order to move towards overcoming gender related obstacles to building a culture of peace.

3.   Presentations and election of officers
After a round of presentations, Mr. Øystein Gullvåg Holter was elected chairperson, and Ms Svetlana Slapšak and Mr. Michael Kaufman vice-chairpersons. Mr. Robert Connell was elected rapporteur and Ms Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Ms Marysia Zalewski and Mr. Robert Morrell co-rapporteurs.
Mr. Malvern Lumsden introduced in an informal session on the first day, diverse and creative ways of getting to know each other, and expanded on art as a means of developing non-violent conflict resolution.

4.   Adoption of the Agenda and working procedures
The proposed agenda and procedures were adopted. (See annex I). Participants chose to have small group discussions on most of the topics of the agenda in addition to the presentations of papers and the plenary discussions.
Two psychologists and peace researchers acted as process facilitators.

5.   Report and recommendations
The experts agreed on the last day on a set of recommendations. The rapporteur and the chairperson were given the responsibility to finalize the wording of the recommendations in accordance with the discussions and the spirit of the meeting and in co-operation with the representative of the Director General. (See Chapter III).
The experts further agreed to the rapporteur's summary of the issues and themes of the meeting. (See Chapter II).
Abstracts of the presented papers have been included in this report in order to provide a broader background for the recommendations. (See Chapter IV).
It is intended to publish a selection of papers in book form at a later date.

II - RAPPORTEUR'S SUMMARY OF ISSUES AND THEMES

Introduction

The Oslo meeting, 24-28 September 1997, on "Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace" arose from the work of UNESCO's program "Women and the Culture of Peace". Contemporary feminism has opened up important issues about gender and peace. Men are now invited to continue this discussion, and explore with women a new set of issues about masculinity, violence and peace.

1.   Why men and masculinity are an issue for a culture of peace

It is a familiar fact that most of the world's soldiers are men. It is men, almost exclusively, who make the decisions that launch international aggression and civil wars. It is further true that men are responsible for most crimes of violence in private life. Men rather than women are central to the symbolism of violence in mass media, sports, and political rhetoric.

In situations of sustained armed conflict, in situations where ethnic nationalism is being mobilized, and in violent racist movements, polarized models of manhood and womanhood are typical, with men encouraged to show dominance and aggression. It is common in military training all around the world to link manliness with brutality, and to discredit fear and sensitivity as unmanly.

There are, clearly, links between masculinity and violence. To recognize this is *not* to say that all men are violent, nor that men are naturally violent (ideas that the experts at the meeting clearly rejected). It is to pose important problems: How can men as men, as gendered beings, be drawn into the making of a culture of peace ? What alternative ways of being a man can be found ? How, especially, can violent masculinities change ?

2.   Problems and pitfalls

Work on these issues among men may have to take different forms from those familiar in women's programs, and will face certain difficulties.

Highlighting issues about masculinity is easily misunderstood. It may be seen as unfairly *blaming* all men for violence, implying that men are evil, or that women are inherently better people. This view would lead to instant alienation of most men from any program of change. Alternatively, highlighting masculinity may be seen as a way of *excusing* violent men, since their behaviour is attributed to a masculinity which many believe to be "natural" and unchangeable.

In responding to these misunderstandings, the experts emphasised that the focus should be on the characteristics of social masculinity that lead men towards violence, and on the institutions and ideologies that reinforce aggressive masculinities. This neither excuses violent behaviour nor simplistically blames men, but allows a focus on the prevention of violence and the building of positive alternatives.

Moving towards gender equity and equality is an important part of the culture of peace. Cooperation and dialogue between women and men create new knowledge and positive change. Therefore programs addressed to boys and men should not compete for funding with programs for girls and women. New programs for men should not pander to the "backlash" against feminist pressure for gender equality.

There is a further problem about the prominence of Western research and concepts in the new debates on masculinity. It is important to acknowledge cultural difference and local knowledge. At the same time we must recognize the hegemony of certain Western gender arrangements in a globalizing world, and their (often disruptive) impact on non-Western cultures. Some masculinities are now operating in a global arena, while most programs of reform operate only locally. International organizations like UNESCO are vital for addressing this problem.

3. New research and policy discussions

Efforts towards a culture of peace have an important new resource in recent research and policy discussions about masculinity.

A new generation of social-scientific research on men and masculinity has emerged, in many parts of the world, in the last 10 years. This embraces studies in sociology, ethnography, history, psychology, criminology, education and other fields. Empirical research has provided new understanding of:

- the diversity of masculinities
- the making of masculinities in childhood and social life
- hierarchies and power relations among men, and broader structures of patriarchy (conditions creating gender discrimination)
- the institutional contexts of masculinity
- historical and psychological changes in masculinity.

Such research has stimulated fresh efforts to understand gender relations and the position of men. Theorists have addressed questions of gender identity, the economic circumstances of men, and the patterns of male sexuality. This work helps to "make masculinity visible", and thus supports new practical initiatives and policy discussions.

For more than a decade there have been campaigns in a number of countries to reduce masculine violence, especially domestic violence and rape. Within the last decade, policy debates have emerged about boys' education, men's health, and men's involvement in road casualties. In a few countries, issues about masculinity have begun to enter policy documents about gender in education.

Thus we have new resources of empirical knowledge, concepts, and practical experience, to assist in addressing the problem of masculinity and peace.

4. How should we understand masculinities ?

The expert group meeting discussed traditional and new ways of understanding masculinities. There was agreement that the biology of sex does not explain the issues; biological differences are biological differences, while social patterns of violence require social explanations and social solutions.

The concept of a "male sex role" is helpful in calling attention to the social learning of gender (often called "socialization), and to the stereotypes in media and culture which offer boys only narrow, aggressive models of masculinity.

However, many contributions to the meeting illustrated the need to go beyond a focus on "role" stereotypes to a broader view of gender relations and masculinities. Our understanding of masculinities must embrace economic production, power and authority, sexuality and emotions, and identities and communication. The discussion emphasised :

- **The influence of economic circumstances.** Where men have economic advantages over women, they have a privilege to defend, which may be defended with violence, or may make women vulnerable to violence. Economic changes which put at risk or destroy men's traditional livelihoods, without providing alternatives, make violence or militarism attractive options.

- **The complexity of masculinities.** Masculinities are often interwoven with ethnic or generational identities, and violent confrontations may result. A hegemonic masculinity may have great social prestige, yet many men do not match it, nor desire to. Social conflicts and psychologic tensions about masculinity may lead to violence, but may also create possibilities for change. Latent "cultures of peace" may be found in many situations.

- **The importance of historical change.** Gender relations are dynamic, and can change rapidly ; though they are widely believed to change slowly or not at all. Masculinities do not move only from "traditional" to "modern". Young women can take on traditional masculine behaviour to achieve equality more easily. New militarized masculinities emerge in states or communities under threat. Even peacekeeping forces can provoke such a response. Globalization may introduce "Western" models of domesticated women and aggressive/competitive men, to communities that had relative gender equality; or may create other dislocations in patriarchy, resulting in an upsurge of violence.

5.   How are masculinities connected to violence ?

There are multiple causes of violence (including dispossession, poverty, greed, nationalism, racism, the concept of "honour"), and violence develops in diverse situations. There are, nevertheless, persistent connections with masculinities, including the following points.

- Social arrangements generally place the means of violence - such as weapons and military skills - in the hands of men, not women. This is true for privately owned weapons as well as military weapons.

- Boys' peer group life, military training, and mass media often promote a direct link between being a "real man" and the practice of dominance and violence.

- When men feel entitled to power and status (especially with respect to women) they are angered when they cannot achieve these "entitlements". Reactions to a sense of powerlessness may include violence against women, or joining a gang, a racist movement, an army or an armed revolutionary movement, that restore feelings of control.

- Racist, ethnic-nationalist, and extremist movements often express a "demand for dominance" which is centred on the figure of the man, with woman cast as supporter and mother-of-warriors. The psychological pressure to act the warrior or hunter can be intense.

- The maintenance of hegemonic masculinity requires disrespect for other forms of masculinity and for women's empowerment. This often takes the form of mutual harassment among boys, and serious violence against homosexual men by some young men.

Aggressive and dominating masculinities may be a direct source of violence. In many cases, however, gender ideologies serve as the means by which other causes of conflict are converted into violent conduct. When violent masculinities are created, men's and boys' recruitment may prolong or intensify armed conflicts. In all these cases, action to change masculinities is a relevant strategy for peace.

6. What kind of change is needed ?

It is often suggested with horror that reform of gender means turning men into women: emasculating men, making men "soft", and therefore unable to compete or stand with pride in the world.

Solving the problem of violence and building a culture of peace certainly requires change in masculinities. But it does not require men to become weak or incapable. On the contrary, violence often happens because masculinities are constructed to make violence the easy option, or the only option considered.

We would emphasise that building peace is an arduous and complex undertaking, worthy of heroic effort from men as well as women. The sense of competence important to some masculinities can be linked to equality rather than exclusiveness; democracy needs skilled practitioners too.

Education cannot "re-socialize" boys and men, in the sense of pressing them into a non-violent mould (to replace the violent mould). Rather, education can open up a diversity of pathways, and allow boys and men to use a broader spectrum of their capacities - emotional, communicative, and political. Education can show boys and men a variety of ways of being a man, and allow them to experience this diversity. It can develop boys' and men's capacities for non-violent action, training them in techniques of peace as they are now commonly trained in the techniques of combat.

An educational effort in this direction cannot work in isolation. It needs to be supported by action in other areas of life that will make greater diversity of experience possible for men, and non-violent conduct easier for them. This means action to reduce gender hierarchies and antagonisms across the spectrum of social life addressed in the recommendations from the meeting: the public arena, media, private sphere, workplaces, institutions.

A key example of the need for change is the essential social task of peacekeeping. This is currently performed by organizations, such as police and international peacekeeping forces, which are overwhelmingly staffed by men, have a heavily masculinized culture, and are liable to act in confrontational ways. Here there is need for change both in organizational culture and in the gender division of labour.

7.   How is change accomplished ?

It is an important conclusion of recent research that there are different masculinities , not just one dominating, violent form. There are many non-violent men in the world, and men already actively involved in work to reduce violence.

The expert meeting discussed examples of men's involvement in building a culture of peace. They included both community activism and governmental programs :

- The Canadian "White Ribbon" campaign, a broad program of community involvement to reduce men's violence against women, now spread to a number of other countries.

- The Nordic countries' "fathers' quota" (or "Dad's Month") of parental leave, and experience in recruiting significant numbers of men to work in child care centres.

- The South African "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" and community actions such as the "We Shall Remember Them" campaign about road deaths.

- Anti-sexist and anti-racist men's groups in a wide range of countries from Russia to Australia, such as the "National Organization of Men Against Sexism" in the United States.

- Efforts to change occupational cultures of violence by in-service programs for police, in countries such as El Salvador and the Philippines.

- Development of gender-specific programs for boys in Australian schools, addressing issues from literacy to human relations and violence, allowing boys to examine issues about masculinity.

Though it is still too early to design a comprehensive program of change, some significant principles have already emerged in this work :

- It is important to break down gender isolation. Though some activities need to be targeted to single-gender groups, programs should be planned by men and women in consultation.

- It is essential to find *respectful* ways of working with boys and men. Blame and antagonism are very likely to disrupt peace building.

- The institutional and structural causes of violence must be carefully considered. For instance if economic disruption has occurred, action needs to include a search for alternative bases of livelihood.

- Educational issues about peace and gender arise across the curriculum in schools and adult education. They should not be a tightly-defined specialty located in only one curriculum area.

8.   Issues for the future

Serious research on issues about masculinity is relatively new, and its connection with work for peace is even newer. The meeting acknowledged that many formulations and proposals must still be tentative, open to testing in new circumstances.

Certain issues were debated in the meeting and left open. These appeared to be fruitful themes for further discussions and research:

- How far the institutional masculinity of the state and corporations negates the effects of women's arrival in management and political leadership positions.

- To what extent violence arises from the fragility of masculine identities.

- The role of shame and humiliation in the origins of men's violence, an issue that appeared in many of the case studies discussed. Humiliation might not happen so easily if it were not for exaggerated ideas of masculine honour, an issue needing careful examination.

With participants from many European countries and other continents, the Oslo meeting itself was a unique opportunity for exchange of information and ideas. It became clear that the international circulation of practical experience in peace building work with men, as well as research and writing, is an important task for the future.

Concluding note

The constituency for work on masculinity and peace is not just a small group of marginalized men. It is all men - and indeed all women - since gender is inter-active, and all of us participate in, and shape, the gender arrangements of society.

While the historical record of men's violence is horrifying, masculinities differ greatly and there are many points where change may begin. Many experiences in personal life show men as well as women moving towards equality and nonviolence if given the chance. As long as institutional and cultural patterns block their way, they stop. Yet even small measures to unblock the path may create considerable effects.

The recommendations from the meeting reflect this sense of many possibilities, in the wide range of topics they address. Our proposals are starting-points. To develop a comprehensive strategy requires more work, by many hands.

In this discussion, we focus on gender polarities to find how we can move beyond them. "Masculinity" does not exhaust the character of any man. What men share with women is far more than what divides them. The common humanity they share - common capacities, shared languages, shared institutions, shared interests, and shared responsibilities for children - is the most important basis for a future of peace.

III - RECOMMENDATIONS

General

1.   The meeting of experts has agreed that work on men's issues about violence and peace can only be successful in the context of a broad movement towards gender equality and nonviolence. Accordingly we think it is essential to continue and strengthen the policies and initiatives currently being pursued to reduce violence, promote demilitarization, increase economic and political equality between women and men, combat discrimination of all kinds, promote creativity and peace related cultural manifestations and works of art, and disseminate the ideas and techniques of a culture of peace.

Within this context, we propose the following specific measures addressed to male roles and masculinities :

Parenthood

2.   Support initiatives which stress that men as well as women have responsibility for child rearing, and encourage child rearing practices based on emotional support, empathy and nonviolence.

3.   Support family planning programs which emphasize that reproductive responsibility is shared by men and women.

4.   Encourage all countries to adopt state-supported paternity leave, in addition to maternity leave, and encourage trade unions, professional associations and corporations to support such policies.

Education

5.   UNESCO should support school programs by

(i)   developing an international curriculum resource kit on diverse forms of masculinity and on men in relation to a culture of peace;

(ii)   organizing pilot projects for teacher training in effective methods against discrimination and violence (for example sexism, homophobia and racism).

6.   School systems should

(i)   provide training for boys, girls and educators in conflict resolution skills, emotional expressions and inter-group communication.

(ii)   develop curriculum resources and textbooks depicting nonviolent and non-aggressive behaviour of men.

7.   UNESCO, through its Chair program, should support university chairs on gender issues including men and masculinities in relation to a culture of peace, and support similar action in the UNITWIN program.

Community

8.   Support community-based groups and movements which involve men and boys in exploring changes in masculinity towards a culture of peace.

9.   Promote the organization of nonviolent and more cooperative sports and games.

Work and Economy

10.   Encourage governments, business, and unions to develop family-friendly forms of working life, including training programs to end workplace sexual harassment.

11.   Support and encourage men and women to choose non traditional jobs and reduce gender barriers in working life.

12.   Encourage the development of gender-inclusive management cultures in businesses and bureaucracies (including international aid), to replace cultures of masculine dominance.

Police and Military

13.   The United Nations should develop a gender-sensitive training program for the personnel of peace-keeping missions, including all functions represented in such missions.

14.   Police forces should develop a gender-sensitive approach to the policing of domestic violence.

15.   Military and police organizations should encourage participation by both women and men, and should include negotiation skills, gender sensivity and human rights education in the training of all personnel.

16.   UNESCO should encourage all countries to offer community service work which either replaces or is an alternative to military service.

Culture

17.   Promote debates on the representations of men in mass media, in video games, on the Internet, and in mass culture generally in order to create forums for community reflection on the impact of violent images of masculinity, and critical interventions to promote alternatives.

18.   Government and communities should acknowledge the legitimate diversity of nonviolent sexuality, including both homosexual and heterosexual masculinities.

19.   UNESCO should explore the potential of the creative arts in the construction of new masculinities and a gender-sensitive culture of peace.

Violence against women

20.   Support community-based programs among men and boys to prevent violence against women (such as Canada's White Ribbon Campaign and South Africa's ADAPT).

21.   Encourage programs for male batterers based on accountability to women in their community.

22.   UNESCO should compile an international directory of resources and men's organizations working to end violence against women.

Research

23.   Support the development of multidisciplinary studies of masculinities and male roles, especially research on the social and cultural conditions producing violent and patriarchal masculinities.

24.   UNESCO should support the establishment of international consortia and networks for collaborative research in this field.

Public sector organizations

25.   Encourage governments, United Nations bodies and other organizations to appoint staff specialists on masculinities and men's issues, locating them within gender-related programs and peace programs.

26.   UNESCO should sponsor leaflets, articles and bibliographical resources on male roles and masculinities, and disseminate them through National Commissions for UNESCO, unions, the military, police forces and NGOs.

Follow-up

27.   There should be follow-up to the Oslo meeting : translation and dissemination of documents, consultation with home governments and educators by participants, regional meetings, and (in a year's time) re-convening on the Internet of the Oslo participants to discuss progress.

13

IV - ABSTRACTS OF PRESENTED PAPERS

Robert Connell   *ARMS AND THE MAN*

There is overwhelming evidence that men are the main agents of violence in the modern world; and in most societies violence is culturally masculinized. New social research on masculinity is relevant to understanding this link. Masculinities exist only in structures of gender relations. These structures generate multiple forms of masculinitiy, including non-violent masculinities.

However, hierarchies among men tend to subordinate the less aggressive. Masculinities are embodied in institutions, culture and in personal life. Masculinities are dynamic and constantly changing. This gives reasons for hope, for more peaceable gender practice, though there is a risk of the emergence of more violent masculinities. New forms of masculinity are emerging, most importantly a transnational business masculinity. Also several forms of masculinity politics occur, with conflicting agendas.

Educational strategies for peace must operate across a broad terrain; and must be respectful of men while demanding substantial change of them. Men are not required to uniformly adopt a new character. Rather, effective strategies will support shifts towards a more democratic gender practice in a great diversity of situations. Useful models for such strategies already exist, and it is important to draw upon them.

Gioia Di Cristofaro Longo   *THE NEW MALE IDENTITY BETWEEN CRISIS AND NEW REDEFINITION. TOWARDS EQUIVALENCE OF THE TWO GENDERS*

The process of redefinition of female and male identities has been asymmetric: while for women it has progressed, for men it is just beginning. However, a historical process has begun which may lead to the redefinition of male identity towards a new cultural gender balance and new types of gender relations which is fundamental in the perspective of conflict resolution and a culture of peace.

The first step towards a culture of peace is overcoming discrimination and injustice against women and the creation of identity based on gender equality and values usually associated with feminine identity. Women have rediscovered maternity as a distinct but not excluding experience of their own gender, as an important "part", but not the only one, on which is based their identity as persons of female gender. It is the author's opinion that men should start thinking about reproduction as an experience which today can and must involve them more directly.

Today there is increased awareness in men that they have lost an important part of their human experience: the private and emotional sphere. It is important to bear in mind that this is a process in which men need to discover/rediscover the essential terms of masculinity defeating the cultural conditioning which originates stereotypes.

Alberto Godenzi   *DETERMINANTS OF CULTURE: MEN AND ECONOMIC POWER*

To develop a culture of peace, the underlying conditions which would favour such a development must first be established. As a culture of peace is mainly a result of interaction between human beings, and since the concept of peace to a large extent connotes egalitarian relationships, equality between men and women is a crucial condition. Inequality is a form of structural violence.

The paper discusses the relationship between gender inequality and violence or conversely between gender equality and non-violence. Furthermore, it stresses gender equality, which should be measured primarily by the level of economic parity. Recent statistics show clearly the imbalance in economic power between men and women, despite significant progress of women in education and increased participation in the labour force. A major transformation at the economic level between men and women would contribute to the construction of a culture of peace.

Øystein Gullvåg Holter   *GENDERING PEACE: ON WAR/PEACE MASCULINITIES AND PATRIARCHAL ORDERS*

In order to promote positive changes among men, masculinities must be interpreted in their social and cultural contexts, distinguishing between the differentiation and stratification aspects of the gender system.

The paper discusses inegalitarian or patriarchal social patterns that are reflected in this system and that have contributed to men's dominance, aggression and violence.

The author argues that egalitarian patterns must be identified in order to create room for change towards a culture of peace as a broad movement also among men themselves,.

Michel Kaufman   *WORKING WITH MEN AND BOYS TO CHALLENGE SEXISM AND END MEN'S VIOLENCE*

Men's violence is rooted, not in biology, but in the imperatives of a patriarchal society. It can be seen at all levels of relations among men (from relations between nations to the sports field), between men and women, between adults and children, within economic structures, and in relation to the natural environment - a relationship which has been aptly described as rape. This violence is unconsciously internalized by men in dominant definitions of masculinity, even by that majority of men who never act violently.

Social structures of unequal power (including the traditional privileges men have enjoyed), combined with the self-imposed demands of manhood, is the landscape that shapes men's violence in its myriad forms. The struggle to end men's violence and to develop a culture of peace requires an articulated response. We must challenge the ways that patriarchal violence extends throughout the fabric of society and human interactions.

The paper starts with this framework and examines two case studies of work with boys and men to end violence against women and interpersonal violence among men. These involve working with boys within the school system and the work of the White Ribbon Campaign, now the largest effort in the world to end violence against women.

Hassan Keynan   *MALE ROLES AND THE MAKING OF THE SOMALI TRAGEDY*

The paper explores the link between the male-dominated culture that pervades Somali society and politics and the protracted conflict and violence that have devastated Somalia. It outlines the foundations of Somali culture, with a view to underline the dominant position that men occupy in Somali society and how that dominance manifests itself and in what domain. The paper asserts that the Somali culture, which is based on three traditions: the clan system, Islam and Western influence, is unequivocally and unashamedly masculine. It marginalizes and at times excludes women in all aspects of public life: social, economic and political.

The paper also asserts that the Somali culture embodies a culture of peace which can be tapped to inspire and underpin the process towards a culture of peace. The Somali women symbolise the dormant culture of peace that exists within the Somali culture. The paper concludes with the suggestion that efforts aimed at assisting the Somali society in building a broader culture of peace should start with the Somalis and within the Somali culture.

Michael Kimmel   *REDUCING MEN'S VIOLENCE: THE PERSONAL MEETS THE POLITICAL*

The paper explores the links between micro and macro institutional levels of the origin of men's violence; drawing on examples of ethnic nationalist movements and domestic violence. The author suggests that the origin of violence lies not in men's experience of power (an expression of dominance and power as manifest), but rather in men's dual experience of feelings of powerlessness and their sense of their <u>entitlement to power</u>. Such an analysis leads to the identification of <u>which men</u> are most likely to join ethnic nationalist movements (younger lower middle class) and to commit acts of violence against women (those who feel their domestic entitlement dissolving).

The author then turns to a discussion of those cultures in which men's violence, micro + macro, is exceptionally low. What emerged from cross-cultural research is that violence is lowest under specific cultural configurations of male-female relationships, high levels of women's autonomy with specific definitions of masculinity, which includes high levels of male participation in child care prevail.

Uta Klein   *"OUR BEST BOYS" - THE MAKING OF MASCULINITY IN ISRAELI SOCIETY*

Using Israel as a case study, the findings support the suggestion that societies challenged by an environmental threat such as frequent warfare tend to be dominated by men and to develop a masculine oriented legitimating ethos.

The military in Israel is the main agent of society shaping gender roles, constructing masculinity as a military masculinity, and is thus the main source of maintaining gender inequality. The zionist ethos of masculine ideals of physical force and strength as a reaction to the long history of persecution of the Jewish people, intensified because of the Shoah, is engraved in Jewish Israeli society. Signs of weakness are regarded as threats to the male identity. The political situation in the Jewish-Arab conflict intensified this process.

In societies in a state of conflict and war, demands for unity are the main reason to drop the question of gender equality off the agenda. The high participation of women in the peace movement can be explained by the connection between armed conflict and militarization of society and gender inequality.

According to the author, demilitarisation of society must be the main goal. As the siege-mentality is leading to militarisation and thus to a hegemonic masculinity, dismantling the siege-mentality would therefore be an aim. Transformation of society from siege-mentality to universal principles; from military logic to civil logic; and from fighter masculinity to a multidimensional masculinity.

Bo Loggarfve   *TRAINING FOR PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS: HOW THE ROLE OF FEMALE AND CHILDREN ARE REFLECTED*

The presentation focused on how gender issues are reflected in different phases of the training of the Swedish armed forces:

Step 1: Basic training of officers
        Basic training of soldiers

Step 2: Preparatory training of officers for United Nations/International services

Step 3: During final training and final exercise, experts from outside are used.
        The results of the exercise are evaluated by the participating experts.
        Reference was also made to a report from Save the Children, Sweden, who were
        involved as partners.

        For the military observers and the United Nations civil police, special attention is given to the fact that they live with the local population.

        The presenter concluded that:
        - Training is the first step to progress within this special area and that it is fruitful to bring in outside experts.
        - United Nations Code of Conduct for Peace - keepers is very valuable to address gender issues in a coherent manner.

Robert Morrell   *SOUTH AFRICAN MEN IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA: RESPONSES, DANGERS AND OPPORTUNITIES*

The impression one gets, at least from government media release, is that post-Apartheid South Africa is, in terms of gender, one of the most progressive countries in the world. While there is some substance to this claim, the reality is somewhat different. Despite having a new constitution which statutorily prohibits discrimination on the grounds of gender and sexual orientation, there are high rates of violent crime and sexual harassment within the country and male power remains entrenched.

The paper examines the impact on men of policies designed to facilitate women's advancement. It argues that changes in patriarchy are occurring but that these are being contested. Within the government, different versions of a desired masculinity are advanced, and amongst the population there are widely varying responses to the changed social, political and economic conditions. Masculinities for peace are emerging and can be found in widely differing forms and places: in the role model of Nobel peace prize winner, Nelson Mandela, and amongst reformed, ex-girlfriend-beating township youth. The most beneficial effects on masculinity and hence long-term results for peace are likely to accrue from a number of different initiatives and not from one, rigid model of masculinity or state prescription of men's roles.

Mirjana Najacevska   *THE FIELDS OF GENDER EXCLUSIVITY: CONSTRUCTING THE MASCULINE ORIENTATION TOWARDS VIOLENCE IN THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION*

It is very probable that a significant penetration of women into public life and other fields that are regarded as classically masculine, can be expected in future. That will probably enable the adoption of a different vision, different approach and perspective to the issues of violence, war and peace. It would certainly release men from the pressure that only they are to bear responsibility for defence, conflicts and other issues of war and security. On the other hand it would deprive women of their "privileged status" of passivity in their resolution of conflicts without struggle.

The author argues that the expected equal participation of women both in public life and in fields that are regarded as typically masculine is not a guarantee that the traditional approach to violence would be changed. Nobody can guarantee that women will be oriented to peace after they achieve equal positions with men in public life. We shall be trapped once more in stereotypes if we assume in advance that a woman is more passive and peaceful by nature than a man; or that she is more inclined to peaceful resolution of conflicts.

The author is of the opinion that the different views of men and women in relation to war and peace issues are due to the different social status of the male and female persons in society, and cannot be attributed to some psychological characteristics immanent in the sexes.

Irina Novikova   *DECONSTRUCTING MASCULINITIES: MILITARY AND GENDER RELATIONS AND WOMEN'S MEMORIES (WORLD WAR II, AFGHANISTAN WAR)*

Masculinity as a post-Soviet gender relations discourse has to be analysed in historical terms. Hidden patriarchal gender politics in the Soviet regime resulted in a common belief in men's emasculation and effeminacy because of sex equality politics. It is popularly believed that men's historical sense of themselves was lost and had to be restored.

Social relations today are very much determined by masculine ideology and attitudes related to nationalist fundamentalism. Anti-feminism is also present in the post-Soviet societies. The construction and production of masculinity is a hybrid of the traditional and masculine practices, values and images, connected with replacing a recipient economy with a market economy. Nationalist-populist masculine projects range from public representations of the unknown soldier, saviour of the planet, the image of a strong and brave man to the hero of new technologies.

The author also enquires into women's positions, and influences on masculinity constructions and reproductions. A reading of women's autobiographical narratives about the politics of motherhood in the matrix of Soviet warfare ideology of masculinity and feminity constructions is part of this endeavour. Examples include Elena Rzhevskay's "A Distant Rumble" (1950s), which broke the rules of the canon of war memoirs, and the taboo around "sacral" myths about war, and Svetlana Alekslevich's "Zinky Boys" (late 1980s) which shattered the collective identity of the army at war. The voiced experiences may help to understand why many women today want only the right to forget the experience of activism, they want to play the virtuous role of wife and mother.

Knut Oftung   *MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES*

The paper gives examples of how men can be seen from a gender perspective and presents problems that arise when we want to make questions about men's roles visible in politics. According to the author, his contribution should be understood in the context of the Nordic countries, where large sections of the economy are part of the mixed economic system and where it is acceptable that the state use certain of its instruments to further a policy of gender equality.

Central to the question of a culture of peace is the question of equality between the sexes. Inequality and discrimination against women lead to strife whilst a gender perspective throws light on the problems of aggression and violence.

The paper also focuses on different aspects of men's lives, the way boys are brought up, dominant forms of masculinity, and not least, the absence of care-giving responsibilities in the lives of many men. These issues are relevant to the development of new ways of being a man and will play a decisive part in the development of a culture of peace.

The possibility for and willingness of men to take independent responsibility for caring for their children and to take a critical view of the, at times, insatiable demands of working life, are two fundamental aspects of men's process of change. Practical care is part of creating new forms of masculinity. These forms of masculinity are, to a greater degree, able to perceive the children's needs.

Being with a child provides basic training in communication with an understanding for other people's needs. New masculine roles linked with care-giving, can be an important safeguard against some of the rawest forms of capitalism. Men who practice care-giving will therefore provide an important basis for a culture of peace.

Daniel Ríos Pineda   *SEARCHING FOR OUR IDENTITY*

The author underlined that we must aspire to creating processes of socialization of the new generations within a framework of gender sensitivity where the culture of peace prevails over violence (against women, children and other men) without discrimination, establishing relations of equality and justice, not only in the rights recognized by the State for their citizens, but also in daily life, in schools, workplaces and within the Government.

Respecting the efforts of recent years by various organizations, the roles of women and gender equality have come to the forefront of the discussion world-wide. Specific policies regarding women have been established, these efforts are important but they limit themselves to the public sphere, while in the private sphere, in the family, the values they claim to be eradicating, are reproduced.

Lourdes Quisumbing   *CULTURAL FACTORS IN GENDER-SENSITIVE*
SOCIALIZATION TOWARDS A CULTURE OF PEACE, AND
VALUE FORMATION AND PEACE EDUCATION FOR
MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES.

The paper supports the view that masculine and feminine roles are more socially and culturally prescribed than biologically determined. Differences and diversities existing among men and women are complementary rather than exclusionary. The author espouses equality, not uniformity; partnership not superiority nor inferiority; empowerment of both sexes, and not dominance or submission of one sex.

The hypothesis of the paper is that gender roles and differentiations, perceptions of equality or inequality, acceptance or discrimination, dominance or submission, have their roots in the early socialization process within the family. Taking place within the context of a particular society and culture, patterns of upbringing children, of young boys and girls, are the result of parental norms and expectations.

Human beings are the product of their relationships with significant others in their lives, in their early socialization within the family, as well as in later interactions in adult society. Personality develops within the matrix of the interpersonal experiences of an individual, in early and adult life. Change in values, attitudes and behaviour can take place through meaningful experiences and interaction with others, such as in experiential values education programs for the military and police forces.

Identification and reinforcement of cultural norms, values and practices that are gender-sensitive and supportive of a culture of peace during the individual's early socialization in the family and later in adult life can be components of the strategies and approaches for a holistic and transformational education towards tolerance, justice and peace.

Constantina Safilios-Rothschild   *THE NEGATIVE SIDE OF DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS AND GENDER TRANSITIONS: IMPOVERISHED MALE ROLES THREATEN PEACE*

Men, particularly in the developing world, often perceive changes in their roles as being negative, since it makes them feel that they lose their long admired unique roles as breadwinners and protectors. Based on research in Sub-Saharan Africa, it was revealed that, traditionally, having many children with several wives and girlfriends has been perceived as a prestigious status symbol of manhood. At present, family planning campaigns stigmatize such behaviour as irresponsible and AIDS has made womanizing very dangerous.

The author argues that in the developing world men often face a troublesome identity crisis. They are at a loss as to how to define themselves and how to validate their masculinity. How are they to ensure that their identity is separate, different from that of women ? They are at a loss as to how to define themselves in order to be admired, esteemed, needed and loved.

In view of this profound identity crisis and the feelings of being socially and economically downgraded, the majority of African men tend to turn more and more to "revolutionary" activities including bloody political and ethnic conflicts that have swelled the ranks of the armed forces. According to the author, violence and war seem to be men's last resort, especially for the majority of poor, unemployed and uneducated men.

The author further argues that it is very difficult to make valid recommendations for effective change. First, such recommendations have to be cost-effective so that they can be implemented also in countries with low budgets. Second, they must have the potential of being implemented so as to reach the target group : the poor, uneducated men. Third, they have to include the provision of an income in addition to the psychological basis for the validation of new masculinity.

Andrei Sinelnikov   *MASCULINITY "A LA RUSSE"- GENDER ISSUES IN RUSSIA TODAY*

The history of the USSR shows that progressive ideology without practical work cannot change patriarchal reality. Such was the case for equality between the sexes, as a constitutional right, which was never realized in actual life. The collapse of the Soviet Union also revealed that underneath the weighty surface of communist ideology lay other ideological systems equally ridden with patriarchal intent.

But the situation is far from static - it is changing constantly. In 1993, the first coordinated services for women in crisis began to appear in Moscow and St. Petersburg, followed by a surge of hotlines and support groups in cities across Russia. Due to the pioneering work of these first centres and increased attention to women's issues in general, violence against women in Russia is beginning to be discussed on a societal level. The Russian women's liberation movement is growing ever-stronger, and men can no longer ignore this fact. The first men's groups - supporters for the women's movement - are appearing in Russia.

Svetlana Slapšak   *HUNTING, RULING, SACRIFICING: TRADITIONAL MALE*
                       PRACTICES IN CONTEMPORARY BALKAN CULTURES

During the recent war in Yugoslavia, foreign academics, researchers and political analysts - not to mention journalists - often had difficulties in understanding the behaviour of individuals, state representatives, ethnic and social groups. Misunderstandings and insufficient information led to new stereotypes.

The paper draws attention to some less known types of traditional cultural behaviour among malefolk in the Balkans. Reevaluation of traditional types of cultural inter-gender relationships has already been under way among pacifist groups in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and among Albanians in the region of Kosovo, shortly before and during the war. The author discusses the phenomena observed around three main traditional activities of malefolk in the Balkans: hunting, ruling and sacrificing.

Research in the domain of ancient anthropology has demonstrated that, in Antiquity, male citizen identity was constructed and self-identifiable not only in the state and its institutions (army, parliament, agora, public ritual, theatre), but also on the somewhat less structured margins like hunting and private rituals. Many types of behaviour displayed by men-warriors during the recent war in former Yugoslavia can be traced back to their hunting-habits: unorganized paramilitary actions, taking of prisoners to show-off, taking/raping of women as signs of provisory possession over the territory, hunting games and intensive communication with the opponents/enemies and interdiction taboos against touching special "prey" individuals, social groups or women from specific ethnic or social groups.

Judith Stiehm   *NEITHER MALE NOR FEMALE: NEITHER VICTIM NOR*
                    EXECUTIONER

The paper explores two issues. One is the effect of men's near monopoly on society's legitimate force, i.e. the police and the military. The second is how best to ensure that police and military personnel, in fact, protect all members of the community and do not themselves become a threat/menace.

It is argued that a military and police which are "neither male nor female" will help to break the link between masculinity and violence, that it will enhance the performance of both organizations by giving them more breadth of perspective and a wider range of skills and that it will make women more responsible citizens if they do not just dismiss police and military as "men's business".

The problem of ensuring that protective forces do not become executioners requires careful consideration of the recruitment, of the training, and of policies guiding the actions of the police and the military. It is essential that women be full participants in the shaping of such policies.

Georg Tillner   *MASCULINITY AND RACISM*

According to the author, power is the one aspect all variants of masculinity have in common, not necessarily as the real possession of power, but rather as a "demand for dominance" or an "entitlement to power". Masculinity is an identity; but identity should not be understood as the essential core of a person, but as the effect of practices. Masculinity then is the notion and practice of identity as power/dominance. Yet this is true not only in the relation between men and women, but also between different ethnicities. Racism, in fact, can similarly be described as a "demand for dominance", and as such it usually is combined with a notion of masculinity.

A policy against violence therefore should not be aimed at shaping the character of men, but their practices, and it should consider all relations of dominance. One strategy to further a culture of peace therefore is an "ethics of difference", one that allows us to respect the <u>otherness</u> and to recognize the sameness of (gender, ethnic,...) others - a sameness understood, not as some universal humanness, but as the possibility for a process of negotiation.

Marysia Zalewski   *QUESTIONS ABOUT CHANGE AND THE TRADITIONAL MALE APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS*

This paper begins by interrogating the question "how to change the traditional male approach to international politics" by challenging two assumptions embedded in this question: one about the subject of the "male"; one about the subject of "international politics". The author goes on to suggest that it makes more sense to talk about "masculinities" in international politics which has the result that our understandings about "male roles" become more complicated. An uncomplicated understanding tends to lead to simplistic views about what the effects of masculinities are in international politics.

To demonstrate some of these complexities, the paper briefly discusses four different kinds of "masculine behaviours" - raising questions about the different ways one can be a "woman" or be a "man" in the practices of international politics - two of these from "real world" examples and two from cinema.

This paper ends with a discussion of the wider context that thinking about "male roles and masculinities" should be involved in - namely the hierarchical structuring of gender and sexualities. Concluding with the question "can masculinity be terminated ?", the author recommends that education about gender (in the wide sense) be made compulsory.

Annex I

UNESCO
Expert Group Meeting on
Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective
of a Culture of Peace

Grand Hotel
Oslo, Norway
Karl Johan's gate 31
24-28 September 1997

AGENDA

Wednesday 24 September

Arrival of Participants

14.00	* Press Briefing
15.00	* Registration of Participants - Tea/Coffee

OPENING AND PLENARY SESSION
(Gerhardsen Room)

16.00 - 18.00   * Welcoming and Opening Statements
                                - Ms Helga Hernes, Ambassador, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs
                                - Ms Ingrid Eide, Chairperson, Norwegian National Commission for
                                  UNESCO
                                - Ms Ingeborg Breines, Director, Women and the Culture of Peace
                                  Partners
                                - Ms Ölöf Ölafsdöttir, Council of Europe

                      * Presentation of Participants

                      * Working Procedures of the Meeting
                                - Election of Chairperson, Vice-Chairpersons, Rapporteur and co-
                                  rapporteurs,
                                - Adoption of the Agenda

18.30   DINNER

20.00 - 22.00   Informal evening session
                      Art as a means of developing non-violent conflict resolution

                                - Mr Malvern Lumsden, PRIO, International Peace Research
                                  Institute, Oslo

Thursday 25 September

9.00   *Gender-related factors that hamper or inspire a development towards a culture of peace.*
            What masculinities for the next millennium ?

            Conceptual framework/Analytical Background.

            Introduction:
                    - Mr Robert Connell
                    - Mr Michael Kimmel
                    - Ms Marysia Zalewski
                    - Mr Alberto Godenzi

13.00   LUNCH

14.30   *Gender-sensitive socialisation for transformation of the culture of violence and war. Institutional/cultural/structural changes.*

            Policy Recommendations

            Introduction :
                    - Ms Gioia Di Cristofaro Longo
                    - Mr Michael Kaufman
                    - Mr Knut Oftung/Mr J. Kampmann
                    - Mr Øystein Gullvåg Holter

19.00   DINNER

20.30   Films/Videos

Friday 26 September

9.00   *Mechanisms, means and practices of transformation to a culture of peace in relation to:*

            - Education, socialization, child development and adult/child relations in families and classrooms.
            - Peer group, community life and leisure, including the issue of sports and youth subcultures as bearers of violent masculinities.
            - Cultural forms, including mass media, the arena of knowledge (science and technology, the internet, etc ...).
            - Workplaces and organizations, including large-scale organizations such as the state, labour market and governance.
            - Personal life, marital relations, and sexuality, including the role of domestic and sexual violence in constructions of masculinity.

            Case studies/Examples/Practical Recommendations

Introduction :
- Ms Constantinova Safilios Rothschild
- Ms Lourdes Quisumbing
- Ms Mirjana Najcevska
- Mr Georg Tillner
- Ms Irina Novikova

13.00   LUNCH

14.30   Continuation

Introduction :
- Ms Svetlana Slapsak
- Ms Uta Klein
- Mr Hassan Keynan
- Mr Robert Morrell
- Mr Andrei Sinelnikov

19.00   DINNER

20.00   Evening session : *Informal group discussion on processes and dynamics*

Process facilitators :
- Ms Evelin Lindner
- Mr Malvern Lumsden

Saturday 27 September

9.30   *Gender sensitive peace education for police, military, peace keeping
             forces, demobilized soldiers and emergency workers*
             (Case-studies/examples)

Introduction :
- Ms Judith Stiehm
- Mr Bo Loggarfve
- Mr Daniel Ríos Pineda

13.00   LUNCH

15.00   Drafting of Recommendations (Working Groups)

19.00   DINNER at Holmenkollen Restaurant offered by the Royal Ministry of
             Cultural Affairs. Host : Political Advisor, Ms Nita Kapoor
             Toril Gording, actress at the National Theatre in Oslo presents a portrait of the
             playwright Henrik Ibsen, his men and women and their quest for truth and
             freedom.

Sunday 28 September

10.00   Recommendations for action
             Adoption of final report
             Closing

13.00   LUNCH - DEPARTURE

Distribution : limited   EGM/MRMPCP/INF.3

UNESCO

Expert Group Meeting on
Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective
of a Culture of Peace

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