

# Culture and Global Violence

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This unit aims to develop an overall understanding of culture and violence –how culture informs violence and how cultures of violence are created, nurtured and sustained. The unit analyses the interconnectedness of structural (Johan Galtung, Scheper-Hughes Paul Farmer, Philippe Bourgois), symbolic (Pierre Bourdieu) cultural (Veena Das) and interpersonal violence (Liz Kelly, Elizabeth Stanko) in relation to Sub Saharan Africa, South Asia, Middle East and Latin America The unit analyses the role of men, women and children as actors and victims of violence. The construction of ‘vulnerable’ masculinity and femininity in relation to national and ethnic conflicts is critically explored. The role of global war and gendered violence in exacerbating and creating hunger and famine will be assessed. The ways in which international aid perpetuates violence will be explored through case studies, which highlight the ‘ambivalent’ role of international aid? Throughout the unit, structural violence embedded in systems of stratification, their cultural manifestations, and their impact on interpersonal relations will be examined.

## Unit Objectives:

- To develop a conceptual and theoretical understanding of culture and gendered violence.
- To engage with an interdisciplinary understanding of violence and the mediation of violence through socio-economic and political contexts.
- To develop an understanding of the pluralities of violence and their interconnectedness.
- To understand how men, women, children and other vulnerable groups in culturally specific contexts, are affected by violence.

## Learning Outcomes:

By the end of the unit, students should be able to:

- Demonstrate critical understanding of different conceptual frameworks of culture and gendered violence.
- Use conceptual frameworks to understand empirical case studies in a range of different contexts.
- Identify the role of social groups other than men (such as women and children) in perpetuating violence.
- Able to understand the interconnectedness of culture, politics and gendered violence.

## **Week 1: Culture and Violence: Engagements and Dis-engagements**

We will analyze different conceptual approaches for understanding violence. We will analyze the interconnectedness and gendered dynamics of structural, cultural, symbolic and interpersonal forms of violence.

### ***Key Readings***

- Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, Karen Morgan and Nira Yuval- Davis, (2006), Special Issue: Framing gendered identities: Local conflicts/global violence, *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 29 No 5, pp.433-440
- Karen Morgan and Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, (2006), I'd rather you'd lay me on the floor and start kicking me: Understanding Symbolic Violence in Everyday Life in Special Issue *Women's Studies International Forum* Vol. 29 No 5
- Henrietta Moore, (1994), 'The problem of Explaining Violence in the Social Sciences' in Penelope Harvey and Peter Gow (eds) *Sex and Violence: Issues in Representation and Experience*, Routledge: London.
- Veena Das eds. (2000) *Violence and Subjectivity*, California Press: Berkeley
- Scheper-Hughes Nancy (1992), *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*, Berkeley University of California Press (SLC)
- Frances Cleaver, ed. (2002), *Masculinities Matter: Men, Gender and Development*, Zed: London (L)
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1991) Language and Symbolic Power Polity Press, Cambridge (L, Chps 1&7)
- Galtung, Johan (1990), 'Cultural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.27, no.3, pp.291-305

### ***Additional Reading***

- Kumar Rupensinghe and Marcial Rubio C.(eds) (1994) *The Culture of Violence*, The United Nations University Press, Japan.
- Mohanty, Russo and Torres (eds.) (1991) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, (esp chp by Chandra Mohanty and Rey Chow), Indiana University Press: USA (L, in BOX)
- Chris Corrin (ed.) 1996, *Women in a Violent World: Feminist Analyses and Resistance Across Europe*, University Press, Edinburgh
- Hannah Arendt (1970) *On Violence*, Harcourt: Harvest

## **Week 2- Culture and Gendered Violence**

What constitutes culture and cultural identity? What relationship does violence have to culture?

## Key Readings

- Appadurai, A (1996), *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (SLC)
- Mark J. Smith, 'Culture', Open University Press (2000) (L) (Chp 2 and Chp5)
- Abu-Lughod, L, (1991) 'Writing Against Culture', in Fox.R (ed), *Recapturing Anthropology*, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press
- Brumman, C (1999), 'Writing for Culture: Why a Successful Concept should not be Discarded', *Current Anthropology*, 40(February): S1-27
- Parekh, Bhikhu (2000) *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, Macmillan:Basingstoke (chp 5)
- Jonathan Rutherford (1990), ed. *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* London : Lawrence & Wishart (SLC) (chp by Stuart Hall)
- Anthony D. King ed. (1991), *Culture, Globalization and the World-system: contemporary conditions for the representation of identity*, Basingstoke: Macmillan (SLC) (chp by Stuart Hall)
- Narayan, Uma (1997), *Dislocating Cultures; Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism*, New York, Routledge (intro in BOX)

## Additional Reading

- Robbins, D (2000), *Bourdieu and Culture*, Sage (L, intro, chp2&3)
- Yuval Davis, Nira (1997), *Gender and Nation*, London: Sage (chp 3)

## Week 3- Global Politics, War and Violence

Civil wars are linked to domestic politics and though internal, indigenous factors play an important role in conflicts, international presence can adopt an ambiguous role in deliberations and negotiations. The political regimes may vary- to include 'hard' one party authoritarianism (China, North Korea, Vietnam and Lao), soft one party authoritarianism (Taiwan, South Korea), military guided democracies (Indonesia, Thailand and Pakistan). We will draw on case studies such as the Korean 'comfort women', the Rwanda Genocide, the conflict in Sierra Leone, Sudan and former Yugoslavia.

## Key Readings

- Mary Kaldor, 1999, *New and Old wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, Polity (SLC)
- Mamdani Mahmood, (2001) *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Oxford James Currey, (SLC)
- Faeron and Laitin, (2000) Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity, *International Organisation*, 54, 4, pp-845-877 (online)
- David Turton (1997) *War and ethnicity global connections and local violence* Rochester, NY University of Rochester Press (L)

- Prunier, Gérard, (1995), *The Rwanda crisis, 1959-1994: History of a genocide*, London: Hurst (SLC)
- Stewart, Frances, (2000) 'Crisis Prevention: Tackling Horizontal Inequalities', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol.28, No.3
  - \_ (1993), 'War and Underdevelopment: can economic analysis help reduce the costs?' *Journal of International Development*, 5, 357-380 (online)
- Brass, Paul, 1997, *Theft of an Idol*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Howard Adelman & Astri Suhrke edited (1999) *The path of a genocide the Rwandan crisis from Uganda to Zaire* New Brunswick: Transaction (L)

### **Additional Reading**

- Allen and Seaton (1999), *The Media of Conflict*, London: Zed
- Bornschier&Chase-Dunn (1999), *The Future of Global Conflict*, London: Sage (L)
- Deng Francis (1995), *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*, Washington: Brookings Institution

### **Week 4: Gender and War**

We will analyze the construction of gendered subjectivities in relation to war and violence. Does violence involve only male actors or are women and children equally implicated in these processes? How are femininities re-negotiated when women take up violence?

### **Key Readings**

- Jacobs, Jacobson and Marchbank eds. (2000), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* London: Zed (L, chps 1,3 and 4)
- Suruchi Thapar-Björkert,(2006) Women as arm-bearers: Gendered caste-violence and the Indian state, *Women's Studies International Forum* Vol. 29 No 5
- Lentin, Ronit ed.(1997), *Gender and Catastrophe*, London: Zed Books (L)
- Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott eds. (1993) *Gendering War Talk*, Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press (L)
- Cynthia Enloe, 1993, *The Morning After: Sexual politics at the End of Cold war*, Berkeley (L)
- Caroline O.N. Moser and Fiona Clark (2001) *Victims, perpetrators or actors? Gender, armed conflict, and political violence*, New York : Zed Books
- Joshua Goldstein (2001) *War and gender: how gender shapes the war and vice versa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lorentzen and Turpin eds (1998) *The Women and War Reader*, New York: New York University Press
- Julia and Ridha,(2001) Women and War: The Role Kuwaiti Women played during the Iraqi Occupation, *Journal of International Development*, 13, 583-598 (online)

### **Additional Readings**

- Eisenstein, Zilla (1996), *Hatreds: Racialised and Sexualised Conflicts in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, New York: Routledge

- Elshstain Jean Bethke: (1995), *Women and War*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (L)
- Jefremovas, Villia, (1991) 'Loose Women, Virtuous Wives and Timid Virgins: Gender and the Control of Resources in Rwanda, p.379-81, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol 25, No.3, Ontario, Canada.

## **Week 5: International AID and Violence**

International Aid, offered to alleviate the 'effects' of war, often prolong conflicts. Media is an important cultural institution that defines and constructs individual and collective identities in relation to violence. Do we construct categories of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' recipients of aid through media representations?

### **Key Readings**

- Joanna Macrae, (1994), *War and Hunger: Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies*, London Atlanti, Zed Books (SLC)
- Joanna Macrae,(2000) , *Aiding Recovery- The Crisis of Aid in Chronic Political Emergencies*, ODI, London (SLC)
- David Keen (1994) *The Benefits of Famine: Political Economy of Famine and Relief in South Western Sudan 1983-1989*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (Chps 1,3&5) (SLC)
- Middleton and O'Keefe (1998), *Disaster and Development: The Politics of Humanitarian Aid* (SLC), part1)
- J. Moore (ed.) (1998) *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention*, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Oliver Ramsbotham and Woodehouse,(1996) *Humanitarian intervention in Contemporary Conflict*, Polity Press:Cambridge (SLC)
- Andersen Regine (2000), 'How Multilateral Development Assistance Triggered the Conflict in Rwanda', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.21, No.3

### **Additional Readings**

- Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, (1991), *The Political Economy of Hunger*, Vol.3, Endemic Hunger, Clarendon Press: Oxford
- Veena Das eds. (2000) *Violence and Subjectivity*, California Press: Berkeley (SLC) (chp. by Susan Woodward)

## **Week 6: Nationalism, Religion and Violence**

Religion often serves as a vehicle for political propaganda and mobilization. If religion is the predominant organizing principle in society, do cultural practices legitimate violence? Does religion and construction of 'imagined communities' facilitate and legitimate the perpetuation of violence.

### **Key Readings**

- Appadurai, A (1998), 'Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization, *Development and Change*, 29: 905-925
- Jacobs, Jacobson and Marchbank eds. (2000), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* London: Zed (SLC, Chp 11&12)
- Veena Das (1990), *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia*, OUP: London
- M. Ignatieff, (1993), *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, London: BBC Books
- Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning after: Sexual politics at the End of Cold war* (Berkeley, 1993), SLC.
- Bracewell, Wendy (2000), Rape in Kosova: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism, *Nations and Nationalism*, 6 (4), 563-90
- Cynthia Cockburn (1998), *The Space between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*, Zed:London (SLC, intro, chp 1 ) \_ (2000), 'The Anti-essentialist Choice: Nationalism and Feminism in the Interaction between Women's Projects, *Nations and Nationalism*, 6 (4), 611-29
- Afshar and Barrientos, (1999), *Women, Globalization and Fragmentation in the Developing World*, Macmillan: Basingstoke (Chp 3)
- Duijzings Ger (2000) *Religion and the politics of identity in Kosovo*, London: Hurst (L)

### **Additional Readings**

- Suruchi Thapar (1993) 'Women as Activists: Women as Symbols, A Study of Indian Nationalist Movement, *Feminist Review*, No.44, Summer
- Kamla Bhasin, Ritu Menon and Nighat Said Khan (eds) *Against All Odds: Essays on Women, Religion and Development from India and Pakistan*, Kali/Sawf/Isis, Delhi (Chp by Paola Bacchetta )
- Kumari Jayawardena and Malathi Alwis (eds.) (1996) *Embodied Violence: Communalising Women's Sexuality in South Asia*, Zed, London (Chp by Shahnaz Rouse in BOX/on order)
- Veena Das (ed.), (1990), *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia*, OUP, London
- Maalouf Amin (2001) *In the name of identity: violence and the need to belong*, New York : Arcade

### **Feminism and Islamic Identity**

- Moghadam, Valentine, (1994), *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural assertions and Feminisms in International Perspectives*, Westview: Oxford  
\_ Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies, (1994) Zed: London (chp 1&2)
- Kandiyoti, Deniz (1991), 'Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation', *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, Vol 20, No.3 pp.429-443.

### Websites

- Fox, Ted article: *Honour Killings – Human Beams*, [www.humanbeams.com](http://www.humanbeams.com)
- Amnesty International Report, (1999) *Pakistan: Violence Against Women in the Name of Honour*, September, [www.amnesty-usa.org/countries/pakistan/reports/honour](http://www.amnesty-usa.org/countries/pakistan/reports/honour)
- Shah, Nafisa (1998) 'Honour killings: code of dishonour', in *The Review* section of Daily Dawn, Karachi, 19th-25th November, web: [www.mlists.net](http://www.mlists.net)

### **Week 7: Caste and Gendered Violence**

We will analyse how the institution of caste becomes the organizing principle for legitimating violence. Drawing specifically on examples from the Indian sub-continent, we will explore the intersections of gender, class and caste.

#### *Key Readings*

- Suruchi Thapar-Björkert,(2006) Women as arm-bearers: Gendered caste-violence and the Indian state, *Women's Studies International Forum* Vol. 29 No 5
- Beteille, Andre (1996) 'Caste in Contemporary India' in Chris Fuller ed. *Caste Today* (1996) Delhi: OUP
- Dube Leela , (1996), Caste and Women in *M.N. Srinivas, Caste: Its twentieth Century Avatar*, New Delhi: Penguin
- Fuller, Chris (1996) *Caste Today*, Delhi: OUP
- Gupta, Dipankar (2000) *Interrogating Caste: Understanding hierarchy and difference in Indian Society*, Penguin Books: India
- Guru, Gopal (2000), 'Dalits in Pursuit of Modernity' In Romila Thapar (ed.) *India: Another Millennium*, Viking: Penguin
- Ilaiyah Kancha (1996) 'Why I am not a Hindu' In Rao, Anupama ed. (2003) *Gender and Caste: Issues in Contemporary Indian Feminism*. Kali for Women: Delhi.
- Kannabiran and Kannabiran (1991) 'Caste and Gender: Understanding Dynamics of Power and Violence'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 14, pp. 2130-2133.

#### *Additional Readings*

- Barman, Priti (2001) 'Sex Hell of Dalit Women Exposed' In *Guardian*, Editorial, May 9.
- McGirk Tim (1997) 'War between the Castes', *Time*, Asia, Vol.150, No.24.
- Narula, Smita (1999) Human Rights Watch, *Broken People: Caste Violence Against India's Untouchables*: New York.

### **Week 8: Interpersonal Violence**

Interpersonal forms of violence can be varied as domestic violence, non-consensual sex within marriage to rape and female genital mutilation. Women are often responsible for creating, maintaining and sustaining some of these forms of violence. We need to think beyond women's experiences as 'victims' of violence to men's experiences of violence and draw on the interconnections between construction of 'masculinities' and violent acts.

#### *Key Reading*

- Marie Macey, (1999) 'Religion, Male Violence, and the Control of Women' *Gender and Development*, Vol7, No.1
- Wilkinson, Sue ed. (1996), *Feminist Social Psychologies: International Perspectives*, OUP: Buckingham (chp 2)
- Lees Sue, (1996), *Carnal Knowledge, Rape on Trial*, Penguin: London
- Jalna Hanmer, Jill Radford, Elizabeth A. Stanko eds. (1989), *Women, Policing, and Male Violence: International Perspectives*, London: Routledge, 1989.
- Gill Hague and Claudia Wilson (2000) 'The Silenced Pain: Domestic Violence 1945-1970', *Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol 9, No.2 (online)
- Sharon Marcus (1992) Fighting Bodies, Fighting Words: a theory and politics of rape prevention, in Judith Butler & Joan Scott (eds) *Feminists Theorise the Political* New York: Routledge (SLC)
- Elizabeth A. Stanko, ed. (1994), *Perspectives on Violence*, - London: Quartet (SLC)
- Simonellis and Ingram (1998), 'Psychological Distress Among Men Experiencing Physical and Emotional Abuse in Heterosexual Dating Relationships', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* Vol 13, No.6

## **Week 9: Gendered Violence and Multiculturalism**

Often public discourses, which are also gendered, perpetuate violence in private domains. Women are often marginalised in discussions on multiculturalism even though the overall goal of integration work is often defined as equality within a multicultural society. Women's individual rights and ethnic/group rights are sometimes regarded as separate, non-relational issues or as opposed to each other? Do multicultural policies promote interpersonal violence?

### ***Key Readings***

- Bhikhu Parekh, (2000) *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, Macmillan:Basingstoke (SLC, chp 7&8)
- Joppke, C and Lukes, S. (eds.) (1999), *Multicultural Questions*, OUP: Oxford (chp by Ayelet Shachar)
- Spinner –Halev (2001), Feminism, Multiculturalism and Oppression, *Ethics* 112 (84-113) (online)
- Guttman, A (ed.) (1994), *Multiculturalism and the 'Politics of Recognition'*. Princeton University Press
- Susan Moller Okin, (1999): *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Ed. By Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard and Martha C. Nussbaum.; Princeton, N.J.Chichester : (SLC)
- Susan Moller Okin, (1998) 'Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions', *Ethics*, 108: 661-684.
- Gurpreet Mahajan, (2002), *The Multicultural Path: Issues of Diversity and Discrimination in Democracy*, Sage: Delhi (Chp 5)
- Moruzzi N C (1994) 'A Problem with Headscarves: contemporary complexities of political and social identity', *Political Theory*, 22 (4): 653-672.
- Galeotti, A.E. (1994) 'A Problem with Theory', *Political Theory*, 22 (4): 673-677.
- Carens, J and Williams, M (1996) 'Muslim Minorities in Liberal Democracies: the Politics of Misrecognition' in R Baubock et al (eds) *The Challenge of Diversity*; reprod in J H Carens, *Culture, Citizenship and Community*, OUP, 2000: chp 6.

## Week 10: Memory and Forgiveness

Revenge is destructive, both politically and emotionally. Forgiveness is powerful, but more difficult to achieve.

### Key Readings

- Martha Minow, (1998). *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness, Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*, Beacon Press:Boston (L, SLC)
- Chuck Sudetic, (1998), *Blood and Vengeance: One Family's Story of the War in Bosnia*, W.W. Norton & Company.
- Antjie Krog, (1998) *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa*: Random House.
- Wole Soyinka: (1999) *The Burden of Memory, the Muse of Forgiveness*, New York Oxford University Press

### Additional Readings

- Alex Boraine, Janet Levy and Ronel Schefer (eds.), 1994, *Dealing with The Past: Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, South Africa:IDASA
- Alcinda Honwana, 1997, Healing For Peace: Traditional Healers and Post-war Reconstruction in Southern Mozambique, *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 3 (1), 293-305

### University Links and Organisations

- Department of Peace Studies (GENCON unit), University of Bradford
- CODEP (Conflict, Development and Peace Network)
- INTERNATIONAL ALERT: [www.international-alert.org/women](http://www.international-alert.org/women)
- INCORE: Initiative on Conflict resolution and ethnicity (<http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/cds/>) or [lyn@incore.ulst.ac.uk](mailto:lyn@incore.ulst.ac.uk)
- ODI :Overseas Development Institute: ([www.oneworld.org/odi/](http://www.oneworld.org/odi/)), contact [c.marshall@odi.org.uk](mailto:c.marshall@odi.org.uk) for information on programmes in London. Simon Maxwell is director of ODI.
- WOMEN AID International: <http://www.womenaid.org>

## **WRITTEN WORK**

1. *Formative essay*: 1500 words (Week 5)

*Question:*

‘The conceptual categories of culture and violence frame individual gendered identities and collective group identities in a complex way’. Analyze, drawing on theoretically informed empirical evidence.

2. *Assessed Essay* (3000-4000 words).

Essay Titles: Subject to approval by the external examiner

- How are gendered identities constructed through discourses of religion and nationalism?
- Is war necessarily ‘senseless’ and irrational’?
- Is the impact of war gendered?
- Identify the ways through which masculinities and femininities are reconstructed and negotiated in interpersonal violence.
- Can forgiveness heal violence-torn societies?
- In what ways is International Aid implicated in sustaining violence?
- How successful are feminist theoretical models in re-conceptualising violence?
- Is multiculturalism the way forward to a violence-free nation?