Overshadowing Gender in the Debate on Urban Violence: Comparative Notes on Brazil and the UK

Dr. Polly Wilding

P.Wilding@leeds.ac.uk

Centre for Development Studies, University of Leeds

This paper examines the implications of the separation between private and gender-based violence, on the one hand, and the wider debate on violence and public security, on the other, questioning how this (artificial) separation of different forms of violence and gendered experiences is lived by those that have to negotiate violence on a daily basis. While there still exists an analytical and practical divide between gender analysis of private violence and the social justice focus on public violence and security; more 'visible' forms of violence such as gang and police violence garner significantly more media and institutional attention than forms that primarily occur in the private sphere.

The *favelas* (slums) of Rio de Janeiro are an ideal case study since they are renowned for high levels of urban violence, where the high death rates among young black men from the *favelas* are a source of both outrage and fear. The primary focus on men in debates on violence frequently overshadows the experiences and victimisation of women. Nevertheless, women are both actors and victims in these wars, as well as suffering from distinct forms of violence, most notably domestic and sexual violence. Although women are not dying in equal numbers to men, the number of women who die from gun injuries is increasing, and the numbers of women imprisoned for drug related crimes have also risen. My research until now has concentrated on Rio de Janeiro and looked at the ways in which the prioritisation of men's experiences have resulted in both women's experiences of gender-based as well as urban violence being overlooked, exploring the consequent impacts on women's agency and choices. This paper continues to develop the two main axes that have come out of this work on Rio de Janeiro, but beginning to apply this to new contexts and debates. The argument focuses, first, on the neglect of gender-based violence (within the wider debate on violence), and second, on the need for public violence to be seen through a gender lens (and how this impacts upon women). It treats the public / private divide as an artificial construct that hinders the identification of the links and interconnectedness of different forms of violence.

This latter part of this paper reflects on some initial attempts to draw parallels with the UK, and how recent debates on gang violence have tended to focus on male-on-male crime, with little attention paid to the young women who get involved as bystanders, indirect victims or as active agents. It also highlights the importance of 'race' and how this is used in discourse on the nature of particular forms of violence and the need for targeted responses. This paper will explore the extent to which media coverage and policy discourse neglect gender, and the experiences, roles, influence and power young women have in the context of urban violence. Moreover, it will stress the need for a discussion of masculinities and violence, and to look at the intersection between poverty, race, gender and identity. Finally, in order to respond to the need to bring more overtly gendered forms of violence back into the debate, and to explore the linkages between different forms, it is worth questioning whether a more fluid understanding of violence can render women's concerns and priorities more visible.

The separation between private and gender violence vs. the wider debate on violence and public security

The overt focus on certain forms of violence to the neglect of others is a manifestation of the longstanding conceptual divide between private and public spheres, and the differential importance granted to each. The home is, on the one hand, revered and construed as a place of safety and intimacy and, on the other, it can be the source of violence and neglect, where external actors fear to tread. Feminists have long lobbied for the silence that surrounds violence in the home to be broken and drawn parallels with other forms of public violence, particularly political violence.[1] However, it can also be argued that by focusing so persistently on the public/private divide this valiant and important work now runs the risk of perpetuating the very discourse and rationale, that this focus was intended to challenge and dismantle (Armstrong and Squires 2002). Consequently, this work uses the public / private distinction to describe the division in discourse and in popular perceptions, implying two parallel but distinct spheres, but it is not intended to reflect any hard and fast distinction to be found in the daily life.

In the context of urban violence, the distinction between public and private can be misleading, at best, and damaging, at worst. Different forms of violence, the spaces violent acts are played out in, the actors involved and their relationships, frequently cross the divide between public and private. Public violence has an impact on private lives and vice versa. While this is the case in all situations, the high levels and severity of urban violence in Brazil mean that the impact of violence can be more severe, and if the division between the two spheres is overplayed, then the consequences can be serious. Although people who live with the daily threat of violence frequently prioritise public / urban violence as more pressing, they still refer to the generic problem of violence in their community, which includes a range of overlapping forms – violence between intimates,

---

[1] Boesten 2007, Enloe 2000, Jacobs *et al.* 2000, Pankhurst 2003 and 2007

neighbours and apparent strangers – involving a variety of causes and actors who may play different roles in different situations. For people who witness and experience violence in the everyday, while one form of violence may be prioritised, different acts are not exclusive to one another, but form part of the wider issues of poverty, exclusion and inequality.

The gender gap: the division in analysis and practice

The division in discourse and policy is also reflected in research and practice. Researchers and activists tend to be divided into two camps – those that work on private violence from a feminist / gender perspective, and those that work on public violence and security, from a social justice perspective. While there have been recently been indications that this gap is also being bridged (Moura 2007, Amnesty International 2008), the majority of research and activism operates along this divide. In the context of Argentina, Risley refers to this as a 'gender gap', whereby the feminist activists working on domestic violence are keen to defend their hard won space in policy and discourse, meanwhile the class-based social activists tend to see private violence as secondary to structural and institutional threats of violence.[2] This paper makes a contribution to bridging this gap and challenging the separation of activism and research, in order to lead to a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon of violence and how it is perpetuated.

Interpreting violence: fluidity of forms, fluidity of definition?

Given the overlapping nature of different forms of violence, this raises the question of definition. If actors and acts influence one another and move across the divide, with individuals playing perpetrator in one in situation and victim in another (Stanko 2003) – or both roles simultaneously – then does it make sense to have hard and fast definitions that do not necessarily reflect a shifting and slippery reality? If a male gang member is a victim when confronted by the military police, but a perpetrator of domestic violence in his home, meanwhile in the gang he may suffer violent punishment or be expected to attack or torture rival gang members – his role is dependent on the broader social context, the social relationships between those involved and specific situational variables. Does it therefore make sense to label him as either victim or perpetrator?[3] Stanko (2003) warns against strict definitions, since working within fluid boundaries may assist in the endeavour to "think creatively about disrupting violence as a social phenomenon." Ayers (1998)

---

[2] Risley (2006) argues that this focus on class is used to justify the continuing existence of social movements formed during the dictatorship, and that the perceived continuity of class based oppression lends legitimacy to their struggle. In Brazil, the emphasis is also on the institutional violence of the military police, it does not focus so overtly on structural violence, but rather race and class as a rationale for exclusion and, in particular, on one of the consequences of this exclusion, in the attraction and devastation of gang affiliation. Despite the difference in focus, I argue that there still is an obvious 'gap' evident in the organising and research practices in Brazil.

[3] While simplified labelling may be necessary for certain contexts, such as legal statutes, depending on the intended purpose, it is not necessary for all forms of social policy intervention.

reminds us that 'one form feeds another', and definitions are 'slippery' (Taussig 1987 in Robben and Nordstrom 1995:4).

Moreover, any definitions only become meaningful with their usage and the interpretation of any given act of violence is the result of both the identity and experience of the observer, as well as the detail of the act itself. The framework proposed by Stanko's 'Meanings of Violence' (2003), shows that the circumstances surrounding an act of violence are key to the message it conveys, i.e. the identity of the perpetrator and victim (relationship and personal characteristics: age, gender, position in society), the location, and the ostensive motivation for the act. The situational factors of the act itself then interacts with the individual factors of the person 'reading' the violence, who will be influenced by their own experience of violence, their relationship with the actors, political leanings, and other social identity markers. Personal factors, therefore, are just as integral to how an act is understood and, together with the situational factors, give rise to whether an act is considered to be legal or illegal, punishment or torture, legitimate or illegitimate.

The domination of 'visible' forms of violence in the media and institutions

The various interpretations of a particular act are crucial to the level of attention it receives and the importance it is, or is not, granted. Consequently, the fact that domestic and private violence is seen to be killing less people, is perceived as a 'private affair', and is less visible on the streets means that these forms of violence are, by and large, granted less importance in media and policy arenas. Institutions focus on young men because they are more frequently in the firing line. The presence of young men is also more keenly felt on the streets and in the public arena and, arguably the violence they are involved in can also be less predictable and may affect passers by and, importantly, affect the middle classes who live beyond the immediate locality of gang influence. It is perhaps this unpredictable level of risk that is crucial to the importance urban violence is granted in the media. After all, as Carlinhos an ex-*favela* resident commented, shootings within *favelas* rarely make the news, and only if the violence spills over into spaces where the middle classes circulate (on the beaches, main highways or in their residential areas) does it make frontline news.

Fieldwork

A particular group of *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro were the setting for my fieldwork given the persistent presence of urban violence and the disproportionate attention it receives in the national psyche as a location of violence, gangs and drugs. Clearly the gangs are not the only perpetrators of violence, and 10% of all killings are attributed to police activity – with unofficial statistics likely to be much higher (Cano). Police are implicated in various ways, in tough tactics when entering favelas, and sometimes engaging in direct shootouts with gangs, as well as killing suspects when they are said to be 'resisting arrest' (*auto de resistência*), often when they are in transit to the police station. Official police statistics show that there were 1,098 people killed by the police in Rio

in 2005, out of a total of 6,620 overall deaths, and this was up from 300 deaths recorded by the police in 1997 (CESEC 2006).[4] However, other deaths are the result of interpersonal violence, stray bullets, and gang warfare – of which the majority of victims are young men. In 2000, the homicide rate among the general population in Rio was 50 per 100,000, a figure that rises to 220 for fifteen to twenty-four year olds (Ramos and Musumeci 2005 in Leeds 2007:28). Based on official statistics, Musumeci (2002:2) calculated that 70% of all homicides victims in 2000 were men aged 15-39, and that 90% of male victims of homicide fell into this age group. Clearly these stark statistics – concentrated in particular geographical areas and among very particular socio-economic groups – is key to the rationale for focusing policy and media attention on poor young men.

In contrast to this context of extreme levels of male-on-male violence, women's experiences tend to be overlooked, sidelined and ignored. Clearly it is not the case that women are completely absent from this context, neither as victims nor as perpetrators, facilitators, or activists. However, their roles are frequently overlooked. Some work has begun in this area, as exemplified by a recent Amnesty International report, 'Picking up the Pieces: Women's Experience of Urban Violence in Brazil' (2008) and the pioneering work by Tatiana Moura (2007), *Rostos Invisíveis da Violência Armada: Um estudo de caso sobre o Rio de Janeiro* ("Invisible faces of armed violence: Case study of Rio de Janeiro"). These works clearly demonstrate the links between women's roles and the impact of violence – both in the impact violence has on women's daily lives and routines and also the contribution women make to the violence context, in challenging, supporting, and engaging in acts of violence. Although girl gangs are not prevalent as they are in countries such as the US (Moriconi 2006) and El Salvador (COAV 2006b), still the numbers of women being incarcerated for drugs related offences are on the rise, implying a higher incidence of female membership in gangs (Moura 2007:44-45). On the other side of the equation, is that women are increasingly being killed by guns. While this is obviously not in the same numbers as young men, it is indicative of women's overall vulnerability to guns and also the crossover of different types of violence – when the presence of guns affects the outcome of domestic violence.

Applying Brazil findings to new contexts and debates?

As mentioned at the beginning, and running through my argument here, my work on Brazil so far has had two main axes – the neglect of gender-based violence (within the wider debate on violence); and the need for public violence to be seen through a gender lens (and how this form of violence impacts upon women). It also treats the public / private distinction with a critical lens, problematising how this artificial construct can hinder the identification of the links between different forms of violence. I now hope to apply these two axes, based on the Rio context, to new

---

[4] These figures do not include the 911 corpses found, nor the 41 cases of bones being discovered (CESEC 2006: 11-12). This implies a high number of unreported deaths, the sex of which is unknown.

contexts and debates – the following discussion is an initial, and therefore tentative, exploration of the situation of urban violence in the UK. Obviously it is tempting to draw superficial parallels, relating to the media frenzy surrounding gun deaths, the differential treatment of similar crimes – when the victims are from different social backgrounds – and the constant focus on young men as though women's roles were only secondary. However, the situation clearly merits closer examination than relying on rash comparisons. For example, there are differences in the levels of attention given to girls, which in the UK is greater, although often it is also treated as an exotic aberration, as in Brazil. In both countries, there is a level of shock: how can girls be involved in such violence? Such apparent surprise stands in contrast to the similar motivations given for being part of a gang by both boys and girls (*Neustatter 2008, COAV 2003,* Souza e Silva and Urani 2002; Souza e Silva *et al.* 2006). Thus, the following comments will be made in light of the fact that these are only early stages and I will consequently limit myself to some reflections on two specific and interconnecting issues related to gang violence – first, on the differences between how overtly race and class are dealt with and, second, on the level of acknowledgement of gender as a factor in roles and engagement in gang structures. The main sources for this initial exploration are media reports and government documents on projects and initiatives to reduce the level of gang involvement among young people in the UK. Given the early stages of this research, I will not venture to give any results or findings, but rather identify a series of questions that arise out of this literature. However, I will start with a few general observations about the current situation in the UK.

Reflecting on parallels with the UK

Media attention in the UK, as in Brazil, has tended to focus on male-on-male crime, particularly the rise in gun and knife crime and / or related to gang membership. Clearly, however, given the social background of many of these victims and perpetrators, there is a need to look at the intersection between poverty, race, gender and identity, and how exclusion may determine levels and forms of risk.

In Brazil, activists emphasise black men as the primary victims of social exclusion and, consequently, as members of gangs and victims of violence. However, perhaps in part resulting from the complex interpretation of 'black' as a racial category, which (though not wishing to perpetuate the racial democracy / melting pot myth); few projects and programmes are specifically targeted at the black community, even if constituting a significant majority of the socio-economic group targeted.

In the UK, in contrast, the government and activists have joined forces to focus specifically on black role models (http://campaigns.direct.gov.uk/reach/). The nationwide project, funded by the government, aims to bring together twenty black male role models to do outreach work and "to reach a wider audience and boost the visibility or positive images of Black male achievement and journey to success" (Blears 2007). In theory, this initiative involving "doctors, lawyers, businessmen, civil servants, councillors, church leaders" will act as a motivating force, showing young black boys

that there are alternative routes to success and recognition. However, there has been some vociferous criticism, arguing that by focusing on blacks as source of trouble, and ignoring white working class boys in similar situations, risks perpetuating negative stereotypes, and that promoting middle class role models will not necessarily prove effective.

Other questions that arise out of this include the extent to which the more straightforward racial distinctions in the UK lend itself to a prominently black focus; to what extent this allows race-specific issues come to light; and conversely whether it perpetuates the wider public's belief that blacks are the primary source of crime and violence? Numerous other questions arise regarding the exclusion of other vulnerable young people – for example, girls and whites[5] – who are not targeted but who may equally benefit from positive role models; and, more fundamentally, the question of whether (state-sponsored) role models can ever get to the bottom of structural barriers to success.

Paying attention to women

As already underlined, the focus both in the UK and Brazil is clearly on young black *men*. It is known that young black women are achieving more educationally and professionally. Yet girls are also involved in gangs (though boys commit 80% of gang related crime, Susan Batchelor in Neustatter) – which raises the question, just as it does in Brazil, should girls' and women's statistical minority mean their exclusion from social policy interventions? Can programmes be effective if looking at boys in isolation? The Youth Justice Board recorded a 25% increase in offences committed by girls aged 10-17 in past three years, with a 50% increase in violent offences (Youth Justice Board 2008). Susan Batchelor's research (University of Glasgow, in Neustatter 2008) on girls and violence warns against overplaying girls' involvement in gangs, but stresses that gender plays a large part in criminal identity – and is potentially the key to helping people change. Sex and sexuality appear to be key to the role of women in gang structures – Neustatter quotes girls who relate the competition they have experienced in mixed gangs between the women for the attention of the dominant male gang member (Neustatter 2008). However, according to this report, there appear to be two different role types that women adopt, either matching male peers violent behaviour or vying for male (sexual) attention. "Powerlessness defines the experiences of most young women who turn violence" having often experienced "high levels of abuse of all kinds. They believe they have no value except for their sexuality" (Neustatter 2008). Given that it is accepted that the majority of young violent offenders, male and female, have faced pain and abuse in childhood, this begs the question of the extent to which this is gender specific and needs separate solutions. Although it is important to remember that both girls and boys share similar reasons for

---

[5] Gus John points out that although a Minister for 'Race' is recommended, the Reach report (upon which the initiative for role models is based) focuses exclusively on black males – exclusion of white working-class boys (also failed by education system, similarly without role models), despite their deaths in greater numbers.

joining gangs, including gaining a sense of identity, or a feeling of protection, companionship and belonging – reasons that resonate with the kinds of reasons that research in Brazil has highlighted – there are likely to be variations according to their earlier gendered experiences, or other gendered push and pull factors.

The brief discussion here highlights that girls' roles are complex and vary from gang to gang, and between individuals. On the one hand, the UK government response appears to be comparatively open to acknowledging the involvement of women and girls, yet the with little apparent gender analysis. For example, a recently published Home Office booklet, that is aimed at parents encouraging them to spot suspicious behaviour in their children uses "he/she" throughout the text, and there is a specific mention of girls: "Girls can also be involved as gang members, or as associates (i.e. sisters, friends, girlfriends of members)." This indicates some level of awareness, perhaps more so in comparison to Brazil, but fails to reflect the complexity of gender roles and relationships, and how these reproduce violent behaviour and vulnerabilities – there is no discussion of boys trying to be men, or boys dominating girls, or girls competing with boys' brutality, as evidenced by Neustatter's article (2008). Moreover, only one photo shows a girl , compared to 15 boys.[6]

**Home Office Booklet – Gangs: You and Your Child**
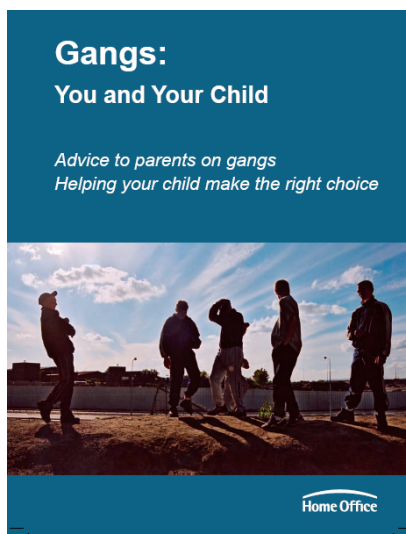
UK Home Office (2003)

This provides a visible parallel with Brazil, where one booklet to accompany a state-funded awareness-raising initiative on issues of security and violence, depicts young black boys, despite the more inclusive topic of "The impact of violence on children and young *people*" (my italics).

---

[6] While, arguably, this low number reflects lesser numbers of girls directly involved in gangs, this image is not necessarily representative of young people in gangs, but those that might be vulnerable to the draw of gang membership and / or the impact of their presence in their social context. Therefore, the omission of girls is, I would argue, indicative of greater attention given to young men and boys in general.

Booklet 4a Caravana Comunidade Segura
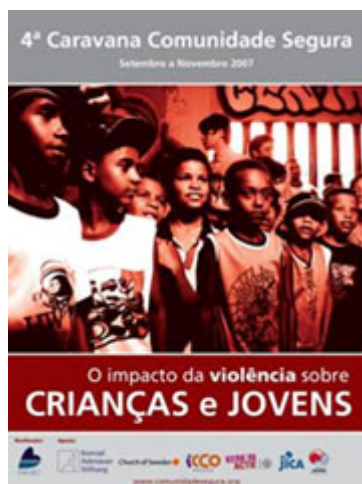
Publication to accompany the fourth Comunidade Segura 'caravan', which tours the country annually, focusing on an aspect of security and violence.[7] The focus of the fourth edition (2007) was "children and young people."

Source: Boueri 2007

Moreover, an important element of the publication of this information booklet is that it was combined with another event, the launch of new search arches. The message appears to be that despite the softly, softly approach of the booklet, seeing young people as vulnerable to the lure and security of gangs, this should not give the impression that the government is soft on crime. It indicates that machinery of image management is careful to counterbalance details that could be interpreted of 'soft measures' with others evidencing 'tough policing'. The Home Office press release on the booklet also referred to the Tackling Gangs Action Programme (Sept 2007 – Feb 2008) and Tackling Knives Action Programme (headed by Alf Hitchcock from the Metropolitan Police Service, running to March 2009), as evidence of "tough enforcement combined with education, prevention work and information campaigns designed to keep youngsters on the right track."

Concluding thoughts

Evidently, in this context there is a need for a thorough discussion of masculinities and violence, as well as femininities and violence. From my research on Brazil, I conclude that there is a pressing need to stop treating young men as if they operate in a male-only vacuum, where women barely make an impression, but that we need to generate a more holistic view of violence and the social context in which it occurs. It is not realistic to divorce the actors from their surroundings, neither in terms of how we understand violence, nor in how those involved as perpetrators and victims find themselves in this position. Consequently, I also argue that we need

---

[7] The 2007 'caravan' was supported by the Ministry of Justice and other state bodies (Boueri 2007).

to pay much more overt attention to women and girls' roles and experiences, whether they condone, perpetrate or challenge acts of violence, in order to gain a more nuanced and realistic picture of situations where violence predominates. All these points appear so far to be borne out in the UK context, despite differences in levels of awareness of women and girls' involvement, and how 'race' is treated as an intersecting factor.

A more holistic understanding of violence and actors involved in violent situations has the potential to uncover interlinkages between different forms of violence, and how they impact on one another, both in the home and in the public sphere. However, I would also like to posit the question of whether a more fluid understanding of violence itself, as Stanko advocates, has the potential to render women's concerns and priorities more visible. If we not only understand the physical brutality of, for example, knife crime to be a form of violence, but also the name calling, coercion, intimidation, and sexual domination, which belong to the oppression of hierarchies ruled by violent conduct, would this then allow us to see more clearly the roles and victimisation of those not directly affected by physical aggression? In other words, would the forms of violence that are now understood to be a part of domestic violence scenarios inform our understanding of gang-related violence? Such an approach could be integrated with existing research that looks at young people's perceptions of what constitutes violence, such as that by Burman et al. (2003:75), which identifies verbal abuse, stalking, flashing and ostracism as a forms of violence as defined by young women.

This paper has not attempted to present findings or research results, but instead outline some areas for future research, and some potential areas for comparison and crossover. I would therefore welcome your comments and feedback regarding potential weak points and other areas for exploration.

Bibliography

Amnesty International (2008). Picking up the Pieces: Women's Experience of Urban Violence in Brazil. London: Amnesty International, Available http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AMR19/001/2008/en

Armstrong, C. and J. Squires (2002). "Beyond public and private: relational space and sexual inequalities." Contemporary Political Theory **1**(3): 261-283

Ayres, R. L. (1998). Crime and Violence and Development Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean. Gender and Development. Poverty Reduction and Economic Management. Washington, World Bank.

Blears, H. (2007). REACH Response. Communities and Local Government, Launch of the Government response to the REACH report. **Eastlea Community Centre, Newham**. Available: http://www.communities.gov.uk/news/corporate/57438

Boesten, J. (2007). Marrying the Man Who Raped You: Domesticating War Crimes in Ayacucho, Peru. Gendered Peace: Women's search for post-war justice and reconciliation. D. Pankhurst. London, Routledge

Boueri, A. G. (2007a). "On the road for child rights, against youth violence." ComunidadeSegura.org Retrieved 18/09/07, from http://www.comunidadesegura.org/?q=pt/node/36286.

Burman, M., Brown, J. And Batchelor, S. (2003). 'Taking it to heart': Girls and the meanings of violence. Meanings of Violence. E. Stanko. London, Routledge.

Cano, I. (1997). Letalidade de Ação Policial no Rio de Janeiro: A Atuação da Justiça Militar. Rio de Janeiro, Instituto de Estudos da Religião-ISER.

Cano, I. (2000a). Racial Bias in Lethal Police Action in Brazil. XXIV Encontro Annual da Associação Nacional de Pos-Graduação e Pesquisa en Ciências Sociais (ANPOCS) Accessed 24.05.2007.

Cano, I. (2000b). Registros Criminais da Polícia no Rio de Janeiro: problemas de confiabilidade e validade. Fórum de Debates Criminalidade, Violência e Segurança Pública no Brasil: uma discussão sobre as bases de dados e questões metodológicas. Rio de Janeiro, IPEA.

Cano, I. and N. Santos (2001). Violencia Letal, Renda E Desigualdade No Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, Editora 7Letras.

CESeC. (2006). "Indicadores de Segurança Pública, 2005." from www.ucamcesec.edu.br

COAV. (2003). "Girl gangs and girls in gangs on the rise" Retrieved 18/12/07, from http://www.comunidadesegura.org/?q=en/node/11201

Enloe, C. (2000). Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives Berkeley, University of California Press

Jacobs, S., Jacobson, Ruth and Marchbank, Jennifer (eds) (2000). States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance. London, Zed Books

John, G. (2007). May the force be with you. The Guardian. London. **22 Aug 2007**. Accessed 08/09/08 from http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/aug/22/maytheforcebewithyou

Leeds, E. (2007). Rio de Janeiro. Fractured Cities: Social Exclusion, Urban Violence & Contested Spaces in Latin America. K. Koonings and D. Kruijt. London, Zed Books.

Moriconi, L. H. (2006, 12/07/06). "Girl gangs on the rise, involved in violence in major cities in the USA." Retrieved 10/10/07 from http://www.comunidadesegura.org/?q=en/node/155.

Moura, T. (2007). Rostos Invisíveis da Violência Armada: Um estudo de caso sobre o Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 7 Letras.

Musumeci, L. (2002). Homicídios no Rio de Janeiro: Tragédia em busca de políticas. Boletim Segurança e Cidadania. Rio de Janeiro, CESeC**:** 1-16.

Neustatter, A. (2008). Blood sisters. The Guardian. London. **4 July 2008**

Pankhurst, D. (2003). "The 'sex war' and other wars: towards a feminist approach to peace-building." Development in Practice **13**(2-3): 154-177

Pankhurst, D., Ed. (2007). Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation. New York, Routledge/UNRISD Research in Gender and Development

Ramos, S. and L. Musumeci (2005). Elemento Suspeito: Abordagem Policial e Discriminação na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Editora Civilização Brasileira.

REACH (2007). REACH: An Independent report to Government on raising the aspirations and attainment of Black boys and young Black men. London, Commissioned by Department for Communities and Local Government. Available: http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/reachreport

Risley, A. (2006). "Framing Violence: Argentina's Gender Gap." International Feminist Journal of Politics **8**(4): 581 - 609.

Robben, A. and C. Nordstrom (1995). The Anthropology and Ethnography of Violence and Sociopolitical Conflict. Fieldwork Under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival. C. Nordstrom and A. Robben. London, University of California Press.

Souza e Silva, J. d., R. W. Braga, *et al.* (2006). Pesquisa: "Caminhada de crianças, adolescentes e jovens na rede do tráfico de drogas no varejo do Rio de Janeiro, 2004-2006" Sumário Executivo. Rio de Janeiro, Observatório de Favelas**:** 82.

Souza e Silva, J. d. and A. Urani (2002). Brazil: Children in Drug Trafficking: A Rapid Assessment Geneva, International Labour Organization (ILO); International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC).

Stanko, E. A. (2003b). Introduction: Conceptualising the Meanings of Violence. The Meanings of Violence. E. A. Stanko. London, Routledge.

UK Home Office (2008). Gangs: You and Your Child. Advice to parents on gangs. Helping your child make the right choice. UK Home Office. Available: http://direct.gov.uk/en/Parents/Yourchildshealthandsafety/WorriedAbout/DG_171325

Youth Justice Board (2008). Youth Justice Annual Workload Data 2006/07. London, Youth Justice Board for England and Wales. Available: http://www.yjb.gov.uk/publications/Resources/Downloads/Youth%20Justice%20Annual%20Workload%20Data%20200607.pdf