



ALTERNATIVE

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ALTERNATIVE

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A study on Norwegian street mediation used in a cross cultural comparison project as part of ALTERNATIVE: Developing alternative understandings of security and justice through restorative justice approaches in intercultural settings within democratic societies.

An investigation of the role of gender and age in conflict perception and conflict transformation.

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1. Introduction

KALID: It is tough, but now it is over. I often fought when I was younger because I was... sour. And then... like... I was sent to special education and psychologist - all of that - in the eighth grade. Then I was thrown out of school, had to go to class with people who were not normal. And I had to move, or we moved to start a new life. New school, new friends. A very new life... when a couple of friends I used to hang around with started *street mediation*, I thought that was something for me: "This is something I can use." And I stressed myself, went on stage two and three (of the street mediation training). So I thought, all right, you meet new people and you can learn something from that. So I had courses for youth and adults. Now I have carried out street mediation for one and a half year – then it disappeared: I am never sour. I manage to keep my anger out and... I manage to talk the case down and calm it down, where I earlier would have used a more powerful language. I can talk... and I keep away and outside..., and my earlier comrades are now in prison. It is just because I chose differently when my earlier network went down. I fulfilled high school and I love working with people. I can help those who struggle and show to them that they have possibilities, but they don't see it. I have a job now thanks to the experiences and network, you have to smile a little extra, talk a little with people, be there when a person struggles with things. Talk about needs; find out what that person needs. I got the chance to become a better person. Thus, a person who is struggling has just the same chance as I had, and there is a possibility...

(From a conversation with eight young people who gathered in a Red Cross unit to talk about exclusion and outsidersness)

This report presents examples of comparative analyses of several projects within the field of *Red Cross Street Mediation, Røde Kors Gatemebling*, in Norway. The aim is to contribute to an additional basis for comparison on the micro- and meso-level in particular multi-ethnic settings in the ALTERNATIVE project. In the report interviews, focus groups, surveys, documentary ethnographic film and file studies create the empirical bases for analyses of the work in *Red Cross Street Mediation (RCSM)*, at two

different sites, in the north (Tromsø) and the south of Norway (Oslo).¹ Young people, their peers, Red Cross voluntary workers and public collaborators are interviewed and existing NOVA surveys concerning young people in general are used. Documentary films are included as data and analysed according to a visual cultural approach.

The overall objective of Work Package 2 of the ALTERNATIVE project is to provide a conflict transformation analysis, i.e. to analyse conflict in intercultural contexts, to analyse conflict transformation and security perceptions in intercultural contexts, to investigate the role of dialogical processes in conflict transformation at the individual and societal levels, and to investigate the role of gender, age, ethnicity and class in conflict perception and transformation.

This report is the result of the fourth task of Work Package 2: Empirical and evaluative research, with an eye for the role of gender and age in conflict resolution approaches. The challenge in this study is to develop in general the concept of conflict transformation in problematic security settings related to gender and age. The study is specifically for the benefit of the other deliverables in the ALTERNATIVE project, i.e. how to conceptualise and to include gender and age in the different empirical studies.

However, there are several layers of theoretical and methodological reasoning: I will shortly present ALTERNATIVE as the main “lighthouse” from which to illuminate the practices of comparison; the practices of RCSM as well as the practices of doing research within the RCSM fields. Thus, the analyses in the report also question if and how RCSM functions as a tool for local security and safety, particularly among youth. Research into the RCSM fields examines the use, the consequences and the relevance for security. The comparative work in this report questions the Norwegian RCSM as an additional basis for interpreting the different experiences – at different levels – in the ALTERNATIVE project.

The overarching objective of the NOVA contribution to the ALTERNATIVE project is to analyse ‘conflict’ in intercultural contexts (types of conflict, characteristics, actors, worldviews); to analyse conflict transformation and security perceptions in intercultural contexts; to investigate the role of dialogical processes and contribution

¹ <http://www.rodekors.no/gatemebling>

from civil society in conflict transformation at individual and societal level; and to investigate the role of gender and age in conflict perception and transformation

The expected impact of ALTERNATIVE as a whole is to provide an understanding of how to handle conflicts in intercultural contexts within democratic societies that implies the use of restorative, rather than criminal, justice. Restorative justice is a theory and practice of conflict resolution within civil and public societal sectors, aiming at the involvement of people in democratic processes for peace building. The aim in restorative justice is to create a relationship and a dialogical process between both or all stakeholders and the local community that is acceptable and that, when appropriate, leads to a non-violent agreement between them. The stakeholders who are directly involved may themselves play an active role in the dialogue, including coming up with proposals for how the matter can best be solved. Conflict transformation can be reached quickly and directly or in several stages over time, either in the form of payment, work carried out in lieu, or in any way the parties agree. The directly involved stakeholders (victim and offender) as well as those only indirectly involved (family, friends or others), as well as relevant support persons for the main stakeholders, are all part of the conflict and thus also of the solution.

This alternative and deepened understanding will be based on empirical evidence from four different geographical sites (Austria, Hungary, Serbia and Northern Ireland) with conflicts in inter-cultural contexts:

- Conflicts between residents with and without migrant background in public/social housing in Vienna;
- Conflicts between Roma and non-Roma inhabitants in a small town in Hungary;
- Conflicts within three multi-ethnic and multicultural regions in Serbia: between Serbs and Albanians, Serbs and Muslims, and Serbs and Croats;
- Conflicts at three different sites in Northern Ireland: between a local community and gangs of youths; between long term residents and recent immigrants; and inter-community sectarian conflicts.

The four projects are compared concerning types of conflict (“ethnic”, “cultural”, “religious”, “class”...), kinds of participation (gender, age), obstacles and hindrances locally, politically etc. An additional basis for comparison on the micro- and meso-level in particular multi-ethnic settings is the focus on age and gender. That is also partly the task of this report. However, I will not go deeper into restorative justice or

security studies as knowledge fields, neither into the overall project ALTERNATIVE. The aim is to discuss the values and possibilities of street mediation as a comparative background for other practices of conflict handling in inter-ethnic contexts, in particular concerning gender and age.²

I will include the two first doctoral dissertations in-progress in this discussion, one from RCSM in Oslo (Foss 2014) and the other from RCSM in Tromsø (Lønneberg, 2014). As I am the academic advisor and collaborator for both PhD dissertations, I am well acquainted with the work behind it as well as the analyses and description of the data. Both Foss (social anthropologist) and Lønneberg (political scientist) are mediation and conference facilitators in the Norwegian Mediation Service. Foss is also coordinating the Norwegian RCSM programme on a national level, training RCSM developers and trainers, and in addition having collected data for his PhD dissertation. Lønneberg developed the RSCM program in Tromsø, also collecting data during that period of time (2009-2012). In addition to the work of Foss and Lønneberg, I lean my own work with RCSM, both as a participant in the adult volunteer training to become a RCSM instructor and as a researcher, evaluating the RCSM experiences in Oslo 2007 and 2013 (Hydle 2007, Hydle & Seeberg 2013).

2. The theoretical framework

2.1 An intersection of evaluatory, action and basic research

The overall theoretical and methodological approach in our research on some of the implications of the Street Mediation experiences is of a social-anthropological origin with a multi-sited field perspective, and taking the interdisciplinary nature of the whole ALTERNATIVE project into account. The empirical evaluative research, with a special attention to the factors of gender and age and the use of documentary or ethnographic film as it has been elaborated before in Norway, is serving as an instructive basis for all four ALTERNATIVE action research sites as well as in the analyses of the Norwegian Street Mediations experiences.

² The task and methods above have implications for ethical issues in general, informed consent and data privacy and recording issues in particular. The Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) has registered and authorised the project in order to access the data, which I describe in this report.

The restorative justice process is seen as a dialogical and rehabilitative tool; an action research approach in which meetings and conferences in the Red Cross is seen as the action and the research is based upon the analysis of the dialogues between parties during the restorative processes and the concluding results at different societal levels.

The projects examine the conditions, which have led to present day situation as well as the possibilities of creating a sustainable self-image for the future, e.g. self-respect, belief that you can master future difficulties in life, that you can lead a decent life, that you are a valuable person in your network, etc. Some of the data originates from making use of visual tools such as participatory filming which juveniles already use or want to learn. One comes to grips with the young participants' own approaches to visualisation as part of the process in a mediated communication between them and the outer world, Red Cross, family and community. Thus, the development of identity and subjectivity may link up with mediated communities or arenas and young peoples' alternative forms of expression with film.

Our research approaches (i.e. Dale, Foss, Lønneberg - in addition to my own) are based upon different hypotheses in conflict resolutions, such as:

- liminality and conflict create social capital, i.e. human resources (Backe-Hansen and Hydle 2010);
- dialogues in conflicts, in a Linellian perspective (Linell 2009) and relationism can enhance understanding, creativity and conflict resolutions (Hydle & Hasund 2004);
- if applying the use of visual means and skills by e.g. filming people in dialogues, this can compensate for lack of verbal/language skills.³

Visualisation of the handling of conflicts may overcome a range of different barriers that may be summarised as a kind of "speech disadvantage". Thus, the conduct of the different qualitative investigations also supplement each other. Such approaches are:

- exploring the linguistic content in RJ processes with young people who have been involved in crime and offences (Hasund and Hydle 2007);
- working analytically with life histories of young offenders as they emerge in interviews and conversations (Foss 2014, Gullestad 1996, 2004);

³<https://www.cristin.no/as/WebObjects/cristin.woa/wa/presentasjonVis?pres=287225&type=PROSJEKT> ; <http://www.svt.ntnu.no/san/konferanse/innlegg.htm>

- investigating the young offenders' own approaches to information and communication technology (ICT) as part of the rehabilitation process (Foss 2002a, b);
- describing and analysing the local strategic implementation processes and consequences for local peace and security building and for the development of democratic deliberation (as Lønneberg describes in his article, cf. infra).

The idea behind these approaches is e.g. that children and young people referred to as “deviant” or “criminals” are often deficient or have a delay when it comes to speech and utterance command, i.e. they suffer from a kind of “speech disadvantage”. This circumstance often forms an important key to their lack of social adjustment, to exclusion and to weak societal participation, i.e. it is an indication of a relatively small social capital. Theoretically and methodologically, this approach makes use of a cultural analytical perspective on such shortcoming as a relational and relative phenomenon. Gender and age are central dimensions in the analyses.

The projects behind this report are both action oriented, evaluatory and oriented towards basic research, partly based upon the same ideas as the project “Youth Gaze” developed at the Visual culture studies at the Arctic University of Tromsø. The project demonstrates the utilisation of “film dialogue” as a creative strategy for developing scientific understandings of youth’s identity and culture in Northern Norway. It is a research collaboration between Visual Cultural Studies, the Institute of Psychology and the outreach social services in Tromsø (Wang *et al.* 2012).

With this approach we may define and investigate the complex phenomenon, “juvenile delinquency”, by redefining “delinquency” or “criminality” as a relational phenomenon, which fruitfully may be studied as a kind of speech delay. In criminal justice procedures, lay actors, such as ‘witnesses’ and ‘defendants’ (in the language of criminal procedure) or the conflict parties (in the language of restorative justice), are to a large degree guided or steered by the juridical language and by the legal actors. There exists however the RJ alternative. Research and experiences within or outside prisons have shown that fragile juveniles prone to criminal activities have problems in expressing self-identity, feelings and understanding of “the other/s” due to lack of use of such language terms. There is thus a need for charting and extending this knowledge in several ways. First the phenomenon of “crime” should be investigated in its different expressions in different ways. However, perhaps even more important is to find out

more about the power of skilling the vision in vulnerable youth in general, not necessarily linked to crime.

The approach emphasises those aspects of young offenders' lack of speech command that are pivotal in communication with other people. Thus, the framing is in harmony with the RJ terminology, i.e. utterances (oral and written texts and body language), answers, response and responsibility. In this way, we do not plan to work within the framework of "criminality" in its juridical, criminological or police professional meaning, but look at human meetings, dialogues, networks and contexts, immaterial as well as material. The criminal justice regime has for many years documented its inadequacy in rehabilitation, whereas the RJ regime has shown that successful rehabilitation is possible.⁴ This potential for relational rehabilitation is worth researching in theory and practice. The term social capital is useful in order to extend the understanding of rehabilitation and conflict management.

In cases of juvenile delinquency of a low criminal degree, measured by the police, the agreement between the parties may cause the police to withdraw the legal claim. Thus the young delinquent may himself solve his problems by good conduct, i.e. self-governance. One of the overarching aims in ALTERNATIVE might be to see if and how the four case experiences may be said to investigate or instigate a neo-liberal aim, i.e. each individual acts as his/her own minister of justice – and if this eventually may be said to lead to liberation or to subordination, both being central ingredients in the concept of social capital. Both Foss and Lønneberg extend their analyses and discussions into this general societal level, as will be referred to at the end of the report.

2.2 Gender and age?

In ALTERNATIVE age and gender are important analytical criteria. Gender and age are constituted as categories not just in everyday life, but also as analytical categories within and across the social sciences, psychology and linguistics as well as other academic disciplines. However, writing about them as if they were equally positioned in academic work would be misleading. As a result of immense amounts of work

⁴ "The focus of the restorative justice approach – "repairing the harm," "restoring" the individual and the community, "making amends" for the offence, "healing," – emanates from an alternative vision of the criminal justice system as a mechanism for *making whole* the individuals affected by criminal activity. Thus like Becker (1968), proponents of restorative justice advocate extending to the arena of criminal law the fundamental orientation of the civil law" (Lawson and Katz 2004, 179).

invested by individuals and collectives within the feminist movements of the past century, gender has achieved a place on the research agenda. The considerable scholarly activity centred on, and discussing, different concepts of gender and their implications provides a rich source. Whereas in some, especially earlier studies, 'gender' has been applied as a synonym to 'women and girls', it is increasingly understood as a relational concept that enables the tackling of a specific aspect of social relations and identities. In contrast, age does not have a corresponding position as an analytical concept, and as a consequence the intersections between age and gender are under-researched. Where 'gender' has become an established scholarly term, 'age' is still competing with 'generation', 'life cycle' and other more or less clearly defined concepts and approaches. This may be linked to the analytical concepts of *timescape*, which will be developed below.

The last decades saw vast literature concerning theoretical and empirical approaches to gender. The question is however if age as an analytical concept might have this reference frame. Gender roles in late life are changing in contemporary European societies, due to changing partner patterns, e.g. increasing divorce rates and new forms of relationships, such as living apart together etc. (Arber, Davidson and Ginn 2003). One overwhelming gender difference in late life in most European countries is the gender gaps in pension (i.e. the percentage by which women's average pension is lower than men's). The EU-27 average is 39 %, thus leading to considerable differences in living conditions for many elderly men and women (Bettio, Tinios & Betti 2013). Wilinska (2010, 879) suggests in her article on intersecting discourses of ageing and gender that "the phenomenon of gendered age and aged gender reflects the key rule for understanding subject positions which pertain to categories of older women and older men." She examined the condition of social policy towards age and gender. Her results indicate that "the intersection between discourses of age and gender involves discriminatory practices that result in an establishment of one-dimensional and pejorative subject positions."

One conclusion may thus be that dialogue as a relational practice is part of structures of inequality, such as those defined by gender, age or generation. In practice, this means that the partners in a dialogical process always are positioned and therefore can only relate to one another within the environment of inequality structures; here age and gender. Also researchers have age and are gendered, and I will come to the implications of this below.

In referring to e.g. the ALTERNATIVE case-site of Serbia: there was a past not even that long ago, when people were able to live together in mixed ethnic and religious areas. Could people be reminded of this? Can the conflict (and the brutal violence that broke out) be said to be ‘constructed’ in the sense that the younger generation now say that before it was ‘awful and dictatorial’ – because they were ‘forced’ to live together in peace? But has the younger generation really experienced that ‘forced living together’ or that specific peace that their parents and grandparents experienced? Do they know and feel what that meant – and the context in which it was lived?

Thus one of the challenges of this report is to investigate if age can be seen as a relational concept linked to the social relations and the identity of a person. No doubt, both gender and age refer to statuses and roles a person plays throughout life. An age approach to conflict transformation and security is not a given. It is a challenge to define what implications the concept ‘age’ in the intersection with gender may have to conflict transformation and human security.

In order to approach the ALTERNATIVE fields with relevant concept discussions, there are empirical accounts that may clear the vision. How the categories of gender and age are subdivided, defined and imbued with meaning is an empirical question, and the inner and outer expectations and presuppositions centred on the researcher as a person may be a good place to start investigating the specific social field of conflict transformation.

2.3 There are general questions that may lead the way

Such questions entail:

- which roles and statuses do people link or attribute to gender and age, in particular in conflict transformations?
- what other kind of facts (statistical, epidemiological, sociological, anthropological...) are there to discern the intersectional approach to the age and gender concepts in conflict transformation in intercultural settings?
- what may we learn in general about the role of gender and age, like many other characteristics, such as class, caste or ethnicity? How do these roles relate to the issue of identity (e.g. minority identity, ethnic identity etc.)? These roles are always only made relevant in relationships, i.e. in dialogues where gender and age are directly or indirectly expressed or acted out. However, they are also closely related to aspects of person, self and difference. Thus it should be needed to look

into how age and gender are embedded in a more general question of human identity and relatedness, i.e. exploring the space between the self and society at multiple levels, as the anthropologist Susan Rasmussen (2008) expresses it.⁵

- how are gender and age uttered in conflict situations and dialogues, even if these characteristics are not relevant for the case “in dynamic, processual and relational terms”? (Rasmussen 2008, 37). Behind the utterances are beliefs and practices about what it is to be e.g. a (female or male, young or old) person. Such beliefs and practices vary according to time, place and cultural context.
- what defines being a young or old person, male or female, in relation to peoples’ practices (and the context analysis of their practices) and agency? Rasmussen (2008, 42) claims in this respect that “As such, the person is never static.”

2.4 An intersection of time, age or generation, memory and landscape?

The sociologist Anne Solberg recommends a certain ignorance of age, concerning the study of age as such. She sees age studies from a child researcher’s point of view, implying a greater emphasis on the situational context within which children act and that we move our attention away from ‘being’ to ‘doing’. Instead of asking for the role of age, the question turns into *how* age matters in the specific situation described and/or observed “and the degree to which age is a relevant category” (Solberg 1996, 54). Solberg suggests a turn from ‘age’ to ‘ignorance of age’ as a technique, to focus on ‘doing’ instead of the ‘doer’ (Solberg 1996, 62). This seems in tune with restorative justice and the relevance of turning the focus from the ‘doers’ to what can be ‘done’ about what has happened. The restorative justice ethos concerns exactly this turn in focus: from a one-sided ‘guilt and shame’ on behalf of a person, i.e. the ‘doer’, to a dialogical discussion not only on causes and consequences of the conflictual event, but most of all of what can be done about it, including as many stake-holders as possible. This also includes the researchers’ replacing of focus: to realise the doxic of age or (in a restorative justice process) eventually of the ‘doer’, the perpetrator or offender, i.e. to a certain extent ignore *age* (or *offender*) as part of the professional researcher’s code.

As earlier mentioned age is often used synonymous with generation. Thus it is needed to introduce the issue of time in order to look more refined into the social scientific possible definitions and use of age and generation.

⁵ See also <http://www.uh.edu/class/ccs/people/susan-rasmussen/index.php>

In this framework, the Russian culture scientist Bakhtin's term *chronotope* is interesting. The distinctiveness of chronotopic analysis, in comparison to most other uses of time and space in language analysis, stems from the fact that neither time nor space is privileged by Bakhtin. They are interdependent and they should be studied in this manner. As an example the linguistic anthropologist Keith Basso used the term chronotopes in discussing Western Apache stories linked with places. In the 1980s when Basso was writing about these stories, geographic features reminded the Apache of “the moral teachings of their history” by recalling events that occurred there in important moral narratives. By e.g. merely mentioning – it happened at [the place called], a storyteller could remind locals of the specific details of feelings and facts of their own community. Basso uses the way Bakhtin defines the term about geographic features in a specific landscape as chronotopes, as

points in the geography of a community where time and space intersect and fuse. Time takes on flesh and becomes visible for human contemplation; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time and history and the enduring character of a people. Chronotopes thus stand as monuments to the community itself, as symbols of it, as forces operating to shape its members' images of themselves (Bakhtin, Emerson and Holquist 1981, 84), as quoted by (Basso 1988, 44-45).

This is in some ways continued in the anthropologist Cristina Grasseni's (2004) work on “community mapping” in an interactive collaboration with people from two communities in Val Tallegio in Northern Italy. She defines community mapping as “a process through which material culture, intangible cultural heritage, seasonality and sociability come to the fore according to their local, proper expressions, rooted in routines, social environments and rituals” (Grasseni 2012, 99). Participatory policymaking and sustainable governance should be the medium-term effects as Grasseni sees it, because people through this consciousness raising process got involved both in local and environmental politics. She explains in her chapter how community mapping and her way of developing this kind of cartography charts a locale's cultural heritage... “to find social cohesion and fresh agendas in the exercise of representation.” She saw the possibility through the community-map project

to bring to light the bulk of materials and attempts at self-representation that different groups and individuals had shown over time, with great vitality... An

intangible landscape of memory, practices and values wove together a multifaceted but coherent form of life, embedded in the lived environment... a visual inscription that should be representative of local forms of life (Grasseni 2012, 101).

Perhaps such analytical trials with time, memory and landscape may develop into useful tools for the analysis of empirical cases of conflict resolution? Given the means of using e.g. participatory filming at the research sites of ALTERNATIVE, it may give both kinds of actors, informants and researchers, similar possibilities as described by Grasseni.

2.5 Gender and age in a *timescape* perspective

In reflecting upon these ontological uncertainties concerning gender and age, one may try to find new ways of handling the issue of time. The science theorist Bruno Latour (1993, 76) describes the issue of time in his book “We have never been modern”:

One is not born traditional; one chooses to become traditional by constant innovation. The idea of an identical repetition of the past and that of a radical rupture with any past are two symmetrical results of a single conception of time. We cannot return to the past, to tradition, to repetition, because these great immobile domains are the inverted image of the earth that are no longer promised to us today: progress, permanent revolution, modernization, forward flight.

Thus Latour (1993, 76) suggests, “since we have never moved nor can move neither forward nor backward in time, that we displace our attention to our own sorting process. We have always actively sorted out elements belonging to different times. We can still sort. It is the sorting that makes the times, not the times that makes the sorting.”

Even though Latour is using this argument in a discussion on theories of knowledge, there may be a clue to a practical situation where people are contesting other peoples’ ideas on time, situation, event... of a conflict – and that this perspective may be helpful for conference or circle conveners and participants to come to understand each other’s arguments in a better way, with mutual respect. Or to put it in Latour’s (1993, 77) wording: “... the moderns’ time has finally been suspended. But

time has nothing to do with it. The connections among beings alone make time.” In some ways Latour’s perspective also intersects with the sociologist Karl Mannheim’s old article (originally from 1923) on the Sociological Problem of Generations. Mannheim claims that there is a need for a social scientific approach to e.g. the issues of social group and location in addition to “make the transition from the formal static to the formal dynamic and from thence to applied historical sociology — all three together comprising the complete field of sociological research” (Mannheim 1952, 164).⁶ These perspectives might be important for the various ALTERNATIVE locations in order to build a working concept of why different generations think different.

The project “Timescapes”⁷ at Leeds University (2007-2012) seems to bring these approaches further, in methodologically and empirically new and relevant ways. Temporality is seen as an important part of longitudinal qualitative studies of how peoples’ identities are linked to the dynamics of personal lives and relationships, i.e. on the dynamic or processual nature of human sociability and belonging. It may fill gaps in both substantive and theoretical knowledge and be of relevance for social policy. The often-found argument in social scientific research is the problem of rapid social change in contemporary times and thus a need to build a dynamic or *processual* approach into social enquiry;

only by looking *across* and *through* time can we begin to grasp the nature of social change and discern the intricate connections between the personal and social, agency and structure, and the micro and macro dimensions of experience (Neale 2004). Placing time at the forefront of our thinking has a transformative effect. As Adam shows, time cannot simply be “added on” to our existing theories of social science, (Adam 1990, 8), for it requires us to rethink, not just the nature of social time, but the very nature of the social.⁸

Within global management research, as one of the few fields in which researchers have seen the usefulness of the construct of timescape, as “captured by seven dimensions: time frame, tempo, temporality, (a)synchronization, sequence, emerging pauses/gaps and simultaneity” (Harvey and Novicevic 2001, 448). Here the issue leading to the argument for recognising people’s different timescapes is the increased speed, tempo,

⁶http://mediaspace.newmuseum.org/ytjpressmaterials/PDFS/ARTICLES_ABOUT_THE_GENERATION/01_The_Sociological_Problem.pdf

⁷ http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/TIMESCAPES_Blueprint.pdf

⁸ http://www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/TIMESCAPES_Blueprint.pdf, page 8.

temporality... of global business management with its increasing demand for “prompt data analysis and interpretation”. The question is if this is a new phenomenon caused by globalisation and digitalised communication systems or if, to quote the anthropologist Nancy Munn, “We and our productions are in some sense always “in time” (the socioculturally/historically informed time of our activity and our wider world) and yet we make, through our acts, the time we are in” (Munn 1992, 94). The management researchers Seijo, Oswick and Keenoy have a critical approach to what they call the rhetoric and hype of globalisation and portray it as old and established rather than recent and different (i.e. as having a past and continuity). They apply the timescape-approach to question a phenomenon in general that is presented as unquestioned or a mere matter of fact (i.e. a sign of the times), such as globalisation:

tracing different ways of talking about the temporal relocating of contemporary 'reality' in relation to globalisation and exploring the alternative forms of conversation that are being silenced... One specific timescape privileges some set on meanings over the others, taking into account that meaning is just the special kind of attention addressed to the phenomenon we want to talk about. We contend that these competing timescapes, as representations of globalisation, are actually co-existing and mutually implicated perspectives that are selectively evoked in different locales, by different stakeholders and at different times. The globalisation discourse is located not only in conversations in the present, past and future. It is an intertextual and ever present phenomenon that will continue to re-emerge in future discussions of the past just as it has done in past conversations about the future.⁹

In the ALTERNATIVE project, peoples' experiences of conflicts, conflict lines and conflict transformation will be expressed in various ways and at different levels. Their memories and interpretations of conflict transformations will vary according to time, age, life stage, situation and gender, in addition to their role and status in the conflict as well as the role and status of the conflict itself. Concretely the project will dispose of oral, written and visualised data on these conflict variables for analysis at the single site as well as for comparisons. It seems relevant to place time at the forefront. Some

⁹ <http://socgeo.ruhosting.nl/html/files/spatbeh/TimeScape.pdf>

people point at a certain critical event (e.g. the Kosovo battle in 1389 for Serbs or the battle of the Boyne in 1690 for unionists in Ulster) as legitimate bases for present violent acts often initiated by politicians and followed up by the media in different ways and forms and at different times in the conflict situation. Thus time plays different roles for people's images of right and wrong and of handling past-present conflicts. The different forms of handling conflicts within criminal justice systems (CJS) and restorative justice systems (RJS), may also serve as an example for differences in the handling of time. In the CJS the main emphasis is on the past, e.g. what happened, who is guilty, whereas in the RJS the main emphasis is on the future, e.g. what are your needs, how do you want the future to be. This is expressed in a most striking way in Froestad and Shearing's paradoxical phrase of 'restoring the future' that characterises the Zwelethemba model: there the peace committees are first and foremost concerned with making arrangements and providing social conditions that enable a future more peaceful living together (Froestad and Shearing 2007).

Taking the conflict upon which the 1389 Kosovo battle was based, contexts, contents and time was obviously changed from 1389 to 1990. However, the political scientist Florian Bieber (2002, 95) explores in his article "Nationalist Mobilization and Stories of Serb Suffering: The Kosovo myth from 600th anniversary to the present", the different interpretations "given to the historical battle since the 1980s, the manipulability of historical facts, and how historical myths are put to use for political ends." He highlights "the circular conception of time put forward by nationalist ideology with the implied repetitions of the medieval battle in contemporary and recent events experienced by Serbs; this strategy aims to tie individual and collective memories together in a unity to insure the individual's loyalty to the nation."

Likewise, but also different, the battle of the Somme 1916 (one of the largest battles of World War I) where also Irish men from Ulster fought against the German army, has in different ways been used by paramilitary organisations to legitimate their own activities¹⁰ –but also to distance the loyalist working classes from the former

¹⁰ The 36th (Ulster) Division was committed in the attack on the first day: They were among the few units to reach their objective, but reinforcements despatched into the carnage of no man's land never reached them, and eventually, isolated and surrounded they were forced to retreat. Of the nine Victoria Crosses awarded on the day, three went to the Ulster Division - two of them posthumously. The Division was relieved on 2 July having suffered more than 5,000 casualties - 2,069 of whom were killed. ... Tattered and traumatised, the Ulster Division withdrew from the battlefield to re-group and march directly into the political mythology of Ulster Unionism. Their "blood sacrifice" was seen as Ulster's side of a deal in which Britain would somehow "see the loyal province right" in the agonising over Home Rule which was sure to resume when the fighting was done. Their legend lives on. One of the Protestant

hegemonic Britishness of official unionism and the sectarianism of the Orange Order, claim the political geographers Graham and Shirlow. In their analysis they conclude that “loyalist identity is being conceptualized through a narrative of betrayal from within and at an intensely localized scale” (Graham and Shirlow 2002, 881). However loyalists also acknowledge that Irish nationalists fought alongside the British in this battle and that their courage and loss are equally worthy of respect. Therefore, this is a significant date but in relation to attempts to achieve solidarity rather than violent conflict. The battle of the Boyne 1690 is commemorated each year on 12 July as a triumph of Protestants over Catholics and is celebrated through large scale marches some of which cause offence and provoke violent conflict, as occurred quite recently (July 2013) in north Belfast. The examples from Northern Ireland show the complexity of the conceptualisation of identity (national, religious etc.). In both Northern Ireland and Serbia, time and place intersect with memory and identity and all four factors contribute together to the legitimacy of present day timescapes of conflict construction and the legitimising of violence. Terms such as illusions, betrayal and manipulability refer to the academic view from the outside into people’s ‘false consciousness’. However, for people acting within these timescapes of e.g. 1389 Kosovo field or the 1690 Boyne this is reality, now! The annual march of the Orange Order in Belfast, leading to new provocations and thus new ordeals every year, is an example of a ritualistic, time-rhythmic event, a timescape, in people’s lives. An extremely complex blend of critical events (battles, fights, murders, wars...), religious identity symbolism, political, religious and class loyalties etc. developing over several hundred years contributes to an ever new possibility for people of all ages to ally with the order and its activities.

The question is whether the ALTERNATIVE project may inflict upon peoples’ understanding as *competing timescapes* and what this means.

paramilitary organisations in modern Northern Ireland uses the title Ulster Volunteer Force precisely because of the historical resonance they know that title has for northern Protestants. Images of the old volunteers are still to be seen in the banners of Orange lodges and in the huge murals that adorn gable ends in working class areas of Belfast. It is worth bearing in mind that the annual Orange march at Drumcree in County Armagh, whose route remains a subject of intense political controversy to this day, is a commemoration of the first day on the Sommel (quoted from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/5126128.stm).

There are some general facts, which I maintain as needed to keep in mind in general concerning gender and age and as one kind of background knowledge. When it comes to violent conflict in European democracies, presumably at peace, young men are more likely to be violent as well as to be killed or harmed by other men in public spaces, whereas children and younger women are obviously more at risk for being killed or harmed in their homes, mostly by men. Only a small minority of children and men are killed or harmed by women. In war zones, women and children are killed or harmed in greater numbers by men than soldiers. This pattern seems to be almost universal, although there are exceptions. Anthropologists have described peaceful societies where violence does not occur and terms of violence do not exist in the language people use (Howell and Willis 1989). Thus, there is a need to see the differences in men's, women's and children's timescapes.

Children have different perceptions and timescapes than adults and thus represent both different solutions and challenges to conflict transformation processes: "If children are perceived as 'beings and becomings', then we might also say that they too are in the social processes of engagement that are based on past, present and future 'timescapes'" (Hillman, Adams and Whitelegg 1990). The 'being and becoming' discourse extends the notion of agency offered by the 'being' discourse to consider children as social actors constructing their everyday life and the world around them, both in the present and the future. This perspective invites researchers and practitioners to consider what children say in relation to being and becoming agents in the world (Boehm and Mitchell 2009, 311).¹¹ A challenge is if the concept of timescape may contribute to the comparability of the case sites in the ALTERNATIVE project. Timescape descriptions will function as thick descriptions but also include the more longitudinal time factor and thus also the changes over time.

2.6 Memoryscapes

The socio-history of peoples and places will be dependent upon time as well as memory. Thus, not only timescapes but also the issue of memoryscapes might be of relevance as background variable when analysing conflict transformation. Memoryscapes are seen as the relationship between local memory practices, an often violent past, and landscapes in which material and immaterial traces of that past may be encountered¹¹, according to Basu (2007, 231), a synthesis of diverse influences.

¹¹ <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2007.00110.x/full>

Palimpsest memoryscapes, i.e. traces of something that was, but not is, in the place of things, people and happenings, can be more or less hidden in local myths, cosmologies, histories, songs... thus –hidden in thought patterns of new generations to come. The Belfast City Council Good Relations Office’s “Transforming contested space”-programme may be such an effort to change peoples’ memoryscapes.¹² The programme aims to decrease sectarianism, racism and violence between different community groups.

2.7 Children, youth and conflict transformation

There are only a few studies in general on the issue of children in conflict transformation. In the Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation Shell-Fouchon states that the contribution made by youth and educational work to conflict transformation “has been acknowledged in numerous international declarations. Unfortunately, this contrasts sharply with the minimal financial support, which it receives in practice. Funding for educational work is hampered by the lack of visibility of successful peace policy measures.”¹³ Her report deals with peace education for young people as most of the very few reports or projects correlating children with conflict transformation or peace. However as stated in the project “small feet, deep prints” there are few attempts to listen to children’s views or look at their practical peace attempts: “How often do we listen to children and youths? How often do we involve them? How often are we willing to learn from young people?”¹⁴

Looking at children not only as outcomes of social processes, as e.g. children being taught and trained how to mediate, but as actors... is a relatively new approach and conscience in social sciences from the 1980s on. The editors conclude e.g. “The key task, then, is to develop further substantive studies which situate children’s agency in specific settings” (Waage 2007, xiv). A literature review shows us there is practically no research project concerned with children’s or adolescents’ active work as mediators or as contributors to conflict transformation. Age in the context of conflict

¹² Belfast: Good Relation Plan:

<http://www.belfastcity.gov.uk/goodrelations/docs/GoodRelationsPlan2011.pdf>

¹³ Schell-Faucon, Stephanie: Conflict Transformation through Educational and Youth Programmes, see <http://edoc.vifapol.de/opus/volltexte/2011/2587/>

¹⁴ World Vision: Small Feet, Deep Prints: [http://www.justice-and-peace.org/PolicyAdvocacy/pahome2.5.nsf/allreports/66DBAE19D979D52A882570220014CCB9/\\$file/Small%20Feet,%20Deep%20Prints.pdf](http://www.justice-and-peace.org/PolicyAdvocacy/pahome2.5.nsf/allreports/66DBAE19D979D52A882570220014CCB9/$file/Small%20Feet,%20Deep%20Prints.pdf)

transformation is almost solely concentrated on adults or (in indigenous groups) elders as active agents.

Another explanation of our blind spot regarding children's active work as mediators may be the western notion that childhood should not contain work, exercising "a powerful effect on the thinking about what children should properly be and do" (Mirzoeff 1999, xv). In this book "Hidden Hands", the author documents how children's active work "is routinely invisible and deleted from the social account" (Mirzoeff 1999, xv).

The child researcher Tove I. Dahl has documented the efforts of children in reconstruction work, e.g. after the December 2004 Tsunami: "And what did the children do? They helped domestically – advising, encouraging and heartening friends, collecting and sharing food with others, helping with the cooking, caring for and helping siblings and older people, standing in line for goods and services, cheering up their parents, and playing with children whose parents had died. They helped with social services – bringing injured people to hospitals, distributing goods, typing lists of necessary information, helping maintain security at temporary shelters, helping trace scattered families and constructing coffins. They helped with reconstruction – cleaning, collecting things, dealing with garbage, repairing and building houses, building fences, clearing roadways and putting down gravel for new roads. They helped disseminate news and information, and they even gave feedback to helping organizations and led prayer groups. Many were fatefully involved in the lives of others" (Dahl 2013, First page of the chapter).

3 The roles of gender and age at the ALTERNATIVE conflict sites

Keeping timescapes and memoryscapes in mind as possible background variables, we will proceed to the single action area of ALTERNATIVE to investigate what might be at stake concerning possible conflict transformations. The appearance, weight and meaning of gender and age in conflicts as well as in their transformations will certainly be different at each place and in each conflict description. This becomes obvious when describing the differences, which emerge from literature on the impact of gender and age at each site.

3.1 In Hungary

The focus is on conflict transformations between Hungarian non-Roma and Hungarian Roma. Some Roma groups, particularly among the Vlax branch in Central and Eastern Europe, practice their own juridical system, called *Kris*, based upon consensus and with references to central terms such as *mahrime* (signifying separation and ritual impurity) and honour and shame.¹⁵ *Kris* is often used as an explanation for why Roma do not marry into other ethnic groups. Without having a common juridical system, rules and norms, the handling of conflicts becomes difficult. *Kris* is above all used as a tool for handling conflicts between families, but everyone may ask for conflict solution in a *Kris*. Neutral judging men, always men and often elderly, *krisatory*, are called for. They often come from other countries and are in general respected by Roma. The implied families are called for to a meeting with the *krisatori* as leaders and mediators where they discuss until they reach consensus. Men and women may participate, but women do not have the right to speak. Young people are encouraged to be present for the sake of learning. The *krisatory* mostly pass sentences on amendments (Engebrigtsen and Liden 2010). Engebrigten (2007, 113) writes “although this local conflict settling institution is not supported by cohesive power, this system’s legitimacy rests on a general consensus about the moral primacy of seniority and brotherhood.”

She also refers to other expressions of gender differences, voiced e.g. as “everybody knows that women cannot control their tongue” by a man in the Transylvanian hamlet where she conducted her fieldwork (Engebrigtsen 2007, 13). She observed how men were more restricted in their expressions outside the family, by far more occupied with their honour than women. Thus the women’s more open expressiveness served as an outlet of inner tensions in the families and as prevention of open conflict.

Concerning status levelling, families are led by men, the *bulibasa*, but not always the eldest as in the household. There are variations to the power and status of leadership, whether in the household or in the bigger *familia*. Engebrigtsen refers to her own experiences as well as to other Roma researchers when she suggests that “the cultural code of equality and brotherhood of all Roma expressed by the competition of

¹⁵ The Roma Court in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe by <http://romafacts.uni-graz.at/index.php/culture/culture-2/the-roma-court>

honour and the powerful idiom of sharing is the central structural element that works against any centralisation of power... Authority that is not based on biological criteria like age, gender and paternity threatens not only the order of things, but personhood itself and is generally challenged as illegitimate” (Engebrigtsen 2007, 121).

In the same year, 2007, the UN Independent Expert on Minority Issues highlighted the severe discrimination, exclusion and poverty faced by Roma communities in Hungary. In this report on the mission to Hungary presented at the 4th Session of the UN Human Rights Council, immediate concerns were expressed that current moves by the re-elected government to restructure its previous institutional focus on Roma issues, in favour of a broad-based policy to address 'disadvantaged groups', would lead to an erosion of progress on Roma issues. The concern on the situation of Roma was in the fields of education, employment, health, housing and criminal justice, as well as the need to act upon societal discrimination and anti-Roma prejudice.

In particular one was concerned about the situation of multiple discrimination faced by Roma women and recommended that the full and effective participation of Roma women should be an essential component of government and civil society efforts to address gender issues. It raises grave concerns on the lack of adequate legal protection against the exploitation of Roma women in human trafficking, gender-based and domestic violence, and the over-representation of Roma children in the Hungarian child protection system. According to research conducted by the European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest, ERRC, gender-based violence is an acute problem for Roma women, who are reluctant to report incidents of violence because of experiencing further victimisation and multiple discrimination when reporting to the police. The submission points out that there is no specific law on domestic violence against women and existing measures cannot provide adequate protection.¹⁶

In an ethnography from Hungary, “The Time of the Gypsies”, the anthropologist Michael Stewart describes gender differences in many life aspects. To a Norwegian female anthropologist reader the description discloses men’s apparent and systematic discriminating acts against women, inspired by and/or enhanced by traditions and rituals defining womanhood as less valuable – not unlike the rest of the world. Stewart

¹⁶ <http://www.minorityrights.org/5800/hungary/roma.html> (see also http://www.rednetwork.eu/resources/toolip/doc/2013/02/09/ewl_position_paper_on_romani_and_traveller_women_en-1.pdf and <http://www.agediscrimination.info/News/Pages/ItemPage.aspx?Item=522>)

(1997, 226) closes his discussion of the Roma construction of gender by showing how gender provided a language and symbolism to mark boundaries not only between men and women but also between all the Roma and the world outside. Now this conclusion provides us with a question of gender construction in general: as if Roma constructed themselves as superior to the world outside, which is an empirical question to be answered.

3.2 In Northern Ireland

The sociologist Rosemary Sales describes in her book “Women Divided: Gender, Religion, and Politics in Northern Ireland” the experience of women in a divided society. She starts with a historical review of a country divided through different development of colonial relationships established in Ireland – in the South and the North with deep inequalities in rights to land and industrial development. This is followed by an analysis of the contemporary scene (the roles of state, market (particularly employment patterns), family and church) and the role of women’s movements. She concludes with an in-depth critique of the current peace process and its implications for women’s rights in Northern Ireland, arguing that women’s rights must be a central element in any agenda for peace and reconciliation (Sales 1997). She claims that in the literature on Northern Ireland since the outbreak of the war (the Troubles in the late 1960s), women have for the most part been invisible. She also argues that when they have been mentioned it is as ‘peace makers’ rather than active agents (Sales 1997, 1). This is a peculiar and particular argument, especially in the context of the ALTERNATIVE project, since ‘peace keeping’ is a skilled and laborious activity. However she may have interpreted ‘active agents’ as taking part actively in violent activities and situations, or as she puts it: “involved in the conflict itself” (Sales 1997, 1). And this proves right according to the text when she describes the peace negotiations during the mid-1990s: “One of the ironies of the ‘peace process’ has been the absence of women – the ‘peace makers’ – from the negotiations.”

Discussions between the party leaders have been conducted mainly in secret and the agenda has been narrowly constricted. Women have been largely excluded from the formal political process in Northern Ireland and therefore from a role within the peace process itself (Sales 1997, 1). She continues to describe however how women have been at the forefront of community organisations trying to unite both catholic

and protestant communities around issues of common interests on the one hand and on the other also how some women became involved in paramilitary activities on both sides.

Women from both sides were also active in the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, a temporary small political party which gained two seats in the Northern Irish Assembly (from 1996 to 2003) and thus were active participants in the Northern Irish peace negotiations. The political scientist Margaret Ward argues in her paper "Gender, Citizenship and the Future of the Northern Ireland Peace Process"¹⁷ that "women in Northern Ireland have been vital in maintaining some semblance of 'normality' throughout years of devastating conflict, and their insights should form a central part of government strategy regarding post-conflict reconstruction." She also argues that "the lack of gender parity that exists throughout Northern Irish society is a key factor in hindering the development of a new, shared future." The paper ends with a discussion of the role of women in unfinished transitions, relevant to the ALTERNATIVE quest for the role of gender in conflict transformation. Ward quotes the political scientist Elizabeth Friedman who taking her empirical examples from Latin American countries claims that "democratic transitions are unfinished when citizens of both genders are not taken into account", i.e. actively participating in political processes on an equal basis.

By quoting Friedman, Ward clearly sees the relationships between conflict transformation and democracy development, including also in her paper the need for women's participation in developing human rights for both genders. She concludes her paper from 2005 with the following clear-sighted future prediction, shown to have come true: "Women have been outspoken in articulating a range of issues that need to be included in the process. If more actors [my comment: i.e. women] are not invited to bring their chairs to the table, the future prospects for the peace process remain very uncertain" (Ward 2005, 22). This has recently (2012) been taken up as an issue in the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, calling for the involvement of women in all stages of peace processes, including mediation efforts.¹⁸

Thus, as ALTERNATIVE deliverable 7.1¹⁹ reports: "Belfast Interface Project has discovered that women's groups are much more prominent in inter-cultural work and

¹⁷ <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/women/docs/ward05peaceprocess.pdf>

¹⁸ OSCE Enhancing the role of women.

¹⁹ Available at www.alternativeproject.eu/publications/public_deliverables

less separated than other groups in the same areas. Women's groups have more in common with one another; they are more empathetic and encourage people to emphasise the things they have in common and to address the difficulties. This is an interesting finding. It suggests that, in the case of women, religious identity and the conflict it is associated with can be balanced by gender roles and problems that women of all identities have in common. This finding will be further explored in the ALTERNATIVE action research in Northern Ireland.”

Concerning the age-dimension in conflict transformation there are some examples, e.g. on the dialogue projects and processes between young people and the police in Northern Ireland. In the study *Learning to listen – Young people and the Police in Northern Ireland* from 2004 the researchers found that “recurring assumptions were not related to the participants’ age, gender, social class or religious affiliation. In general, young people stated that they did not feel supported by figures of authority and often felt disenfranchised, vulnerable and powerless. One group commented that young people’s attitudes towards the police were “so poor, anything done would need to be radical. In general terms practices within the police service were seen to dehumanise civilians’ perceptions of officers. Many young people felt that opportunities for more informal engagement with the police would be welcome and they put forward a number of suggestions as to how greater confidence of the policing bodies could be built among their age group.”²⁰

This may have improved: the Police Service of Northern Ireland, PSNI, has established a Youth Independent Advisory Group²¹ allowing young people to consult with police on matters that affect them. There are several other programmes of the PSNI indicating how the police views children and youth as important dialogue partners in conflict transformation, as evaluated by the Northern Ireland Policing Board from 2011.²²

Deliverable 7.1 also concerns how projects handle youth problems as part of a generational issue: “Belfast Interface Project (BIP) believes that one of the major issues with interface conflict is that there is an inter-generational reproduction of sectarianism. Young people are encouraged by older generations to take part in the

²⁰ *'Learning to listen' - Young People and the Police in Northern Ireland*
www.conflictresearch.org.uk/.../Youth%20and%20P...

²¹ http://www.psni.police.uk/directory/youth/involvement_with_young_people.htm

²² http://www.nipolicingboard.org.uk/human_rights_thematic_enquiry_children_young_people_final.pdf

violence. There is a need for a holistic and joined-up approach. The work BIP does with young people needs to supplement similar work with adults and community groups. In addition, BIP believes that interface areas are void of relationships, or void of positive relationships. Cross-community work is vital to any interface work: single identity approaches working with community groups on their own without addressing the issues around building relationships with “the other” could not be a long-term solution. BIP recognises that there needs to be a development of intercommunity relationships between community leaders, respected parties, resident groups and women’s groups. Single identity programmes on their own do not address the attitudes towards other communities or decrease tensions long-term. It is all about preparing people to meet and then building relationships between communities and community members.”

Another relevant study for our purpose is a comparison of Northern Irish Children's Attitudes to War and Peace Before and After the Paramilitary Ceasefires.²³ “This study compares the attitudes of young people in Northern Ireland to conflict and conflict resolution, before and after the 1994 ceasefire announcements. Content analysis on the responses of 117 adolescents aged 14-15 years showed differences in their attitudes to war and peace and in their strategies to attain peace. Concepts of war as static and unchanging showed a significant difference after the ceasefire. In addition, the perception of war as a struggle between national leaders before the ceasefire shifted significantly to a more general view of war in terms of war activities and their negative consequences. Perceptions of peace as "active" showed a marked swing after the ceasefire to a more abstract view of peace as freedom, justice and liberty after the ceasefire. Before the ceasefire, adolescents were reluctant to provide strategies to attain peace, but after the ceasefire, strategies were suggested with more confidence. Results also indicated that adolescents prefer an alternative to violence in the resolution of conflict. Although the proportion of adolescents who said the country was at peace did not change significantly after the ceasefire, the percentage who expressed ambivalent feelings about the status of Northern Ireland in terms of peace increased significantly. This suggests that, at the time of this study, many young people

²³http://www.tandfonline.com/na101/home/literatum/publisher/tandf/journals/content/pibd20/1997/pibd20.vo20.i04/016502597385144/production/016502597385144.fp.png_v03

had not fully accepted the reality of the peace process” (McLernon, Ferguson and Cairns 1997, 715).

3.3 In Serbia

The matter of timescapes seems appropriate when reading Nicolic-Ristanovic’s chapter “The possibilities for restorative justice in Serbia” where she discusses the problem of “truth-telling” because people’s accounts of atrocities were extremely divergent: “... past and present ‘truths’ were so interlaced that, as Ignatieff put it, ‘reporters in the Balkan wars often observed that when told atrocity stories they were occasionally uncertain whether these stories has occurred yesterday or in 1941, or 1841, or 1441’” (Nikolić-Ristanović 2003, 240). She continues: “The main danger, however, lies in the fact that these multiple (...) truths may be best described as ‘ghosts in a bottle’, ghosts who can always be taken out or used for the manipulation of national sentiments and the provocation of wars.” People may have different timescapes when telling about atrocities, thus it remains an empirical question or challenge to locate the specific timescape that people actually have. Thus truth becomes not a given, but a task (Bakhtin, Emerson and Holquist 1981).

Nicolic-Ristanovic presents a feminist view upon the atrocities in the Balkans by applying the concept of *transversal politics*, which “may be understood as a feminist way of conflict management of transformation” (Nikolić-Ristanović 2009).²⁴ The reference is e.g. to David Bloomfield’s work on reconciliation²⁵ and also stemming from a whole tradition of autonomous left politics in Bologna during the 1990s. Epistemologically the world is seen differently according to different positioning. Thus any knowledge based on just one positioning is ‘unfinished’. But this is not to say it is invalid. In this epistemology of transversal politics, the only way to approach ‘the truth’ is by dialogue between people of differential positioning. Another important concept in transversal politics is the encompassment of difference by equality: differences are important but notions of difference are not hierarchical but encompass, rather than replace, notions of equality in spite of differences in social, economic and political power. Thirdly, transversal politics is based on a conceptual - and political - differentiation between positioning, identity and values: “People who identify

²⁴ <http://www.palgrave-journals.com/fr/conf-proceedings/n1s/full/fr201130a.html>

²⁵ <http://www.berghof-conflictresearch.org/documents/publications/br14e.pdf>

themselves as belonging to the same collectivity or category can be positioned very differently in relation to a whole range of social divisions (e.g. class, gender, ability, sexuality, stage in the life cycle, etc.). At the same time, people with similar positioning and/or identity, can have very different social and political values” (Yuval-Davis 1999, 94).²⁶

Transversal politics seems to be based on many of the same principles as RJ, such as (a) truth should be approached by a dialogue between people of different positioning, (b) notions of difference are not hierarchical but encompass equality, and (c) based on a differentiation between positioning, identity and values.

The political scientists Menttjes, Turshen and Pillay claim in their book “The Aftermath” that there is no aftermath: a truce does not end gender violence. This has been shown in many aftermath – of war – situations, both in Europe and elsewhere. The authors ask how transitions from war to peace and from authoritarian to democratic regimes can become opportunities for real social change, i.e. also transitions in oppressive gender structures (Menttjes, Pillay and Turshen 2001).

3.4 In Vienna

The socio-history of the city throughout the last 150 years emerges as a continuously and rapidly changing and extremely complex city- and memory scape. The Austrian social scientist Crepaz describes in his book “Trust Beyond Borders: Immigration, the Welfare State, And Identity in Modern Societies”, how he is walking around in Vienna in an early Saturday morning marked square in 2004, watching the “rainbow of people made of different races, religions, languages and any other conceivable difference... a cacophony of voices ...” He comments on Vienna as “reclaiming its function of bridging the cultures of East and West” and he questions whether the amalgamation of peoples are like milk added to coffee (a new mix) or a blend like a salad (each vegetable is visible and distinct in colour, shape and taste)” (Crepaz 2008, xvii).

This seems to be a complex question, taking some of the historical events and experiences of the Habsburg Empire into consideration and the extreme anti-Semitic events that unfolded in Vienna even before the First World War, not to mention the period before and during the Second. Austria has fostered several international laureates in literature or in psychology/psychiatry having described these

²⁶ http://www.amielandmelburn.org.uk/collections/soundings/12_94.pdf

circumstances and some of them being themselves victims of this seemingly hatred mentality of the Viennese powerful bourgeoisie (see Edmund de Waal 2010).²⁷

The question is if this heavy anti-Semitic past still remains as a memory-scape in parts of the Viennese population. It is on the one hand a past which is filled with glory and fame as few other European capitals before the destructions of the might and the power during the 20th century's wars. However, the structural and material memories are still highly present in Vienna in the shape of monumental buildings, avenues, i.e. a remembrance of an imperial city-scape. On the other it emerges as a shameful racist and right extremist approach to 'the foreign' (Jew) and a not yet restored and apologised recent past (as opposite to Germany). What does this do to present day Viennese citizens and to new immigrants to Vienna – to young and old, women and men? Is it possible to discern conflicts and their transformations along lines of ethnicity, religion or language, in addition to age and gender?²⁸

One example taken from a present ethnographic account at an early stage of the ALTERNATIVE project site is the following:

Looking closely at existing neighbour conflicts, we come to see that they were the same 20 years ago, when almost all residents belonged to the Austrian majority: e.g. quarrels between kids and elderly, who were complaining about the noise the kids made. What is different today, is that these conflicts are no more framed in intergenerational terms only, they are 'culturalised' as the kids are now too loud, because they are 'Turkish' (which means more than just a nationality in this context) (from Field notes of Katrin Kremmel, July 2013).

Thus, intergenerational conflicts may from an emic point of view today (seen from the inside, i.e. with peoples' own values and wording) seem as conflicts stemming from different cultural norms and rules, e.g. concerning children's behaviour. Although, seen from an etic point of view, i.e. from the (comparative) outside, they were seen as

²⁷ De Waal describes in his partly autobiography, partly historical family portrait how the newcomers, new and educated rich Jewish immigrants in late 1800 as well as poor and illiterate Jews and gypsies from Russian pogroms from the east in early 1900, were perceived by the Viennese population – a sad account of exclusion along a scale from open brutality to refined subtle racism (De Waal 2010).

²⁸ A contemporary art exhibition in Switzerland, <http://www.kunstmuseumbern.ch/de/sehen/heute/225-mythos-und-geheimnis--120.html>, shows how a legend of the Jew as an eternal nomad had a strong cultural impact. It seems easy to include the Roma in this view of the other as someone who never belongs nor has the right or even need to be included to somewhere.

normal *intergenerational* conflicts not involving peoples' concern or images of different *culture*, some 20 years ago.

4 Needs, theories and methodologies for cross-cultural comparisons, exemplified in ALTERNATIVE

The research discussed in this report is based upon a restorative justice paradigm which “widens our lens beyond the current legal system and reconnects us with a deeper sense of justice that resides within our own human experiences”, according to the sociologist Boyes-Watson (2008, 468). This paradigm implies in practice an active role of persons and communities. It is inspired by justice-processes as practiced in societies organised and ruled by non-nation-state rule of law, such as Australia’s Aboriginal people, Maori of New Zealand and Native Americans. The term *justice* is neither evident nor interpreted as a universal concept according to the Nobel laureate in economics, Amartya Sen (2009). He formulates a third alternative to the existing interpretations of justice, which, he argues, stems from either a “grand universalist” or a “national particularistic” approach. His conception of “plural affiliation” becomes central for the formulation of this third alternative. He sees that there is a “range of multiple identities accessible to individuals and makes “justice” applicable to a corresponding diversity of socio-political realities, independent of the idea of national frameworks.”²⁹ Sen sees justice not as a monolithic ideal, but a pluralistic notion with many dimensions. He claims that sets of arrangements and rules can never be perfectly just and fair for everyone. He draws upon western epistemologies and Indian literature and history. Hence, the concept of ‘justice’ may claim either universalistic or particularistic status, where the two may be contradictory in practice. It informs issues related to RJ as diverse practices across national, legal, social and cultural borders. The philosopher Tamler Sommers (2012) develops in this same direction valuable ideas on responsibility, so crucial to restorative justice theory and practice, taking cultural diversity into account.

²⁹ <http://them.polylog.org/3/fsa-en.htm>

The ALTERNATIVE project as well as Street Mediation relates to restorative justice as a particularistic approach to concepts of peace, security and local democracy. My idea is that particularism in this sense calls upon comparison. These conclusions may be well reflected in the ALTERNATIVE outcomes and recommendations for both national and international legal implementations. There are already many signs and results of such part-implementations in most European countries, given the international relevance and comparability of the arguments.

Norway may serve as a recent example, having passed new legal reforms 1 July 2014, implementing restorative justice as the first way of handling criminal cases of all kinds with youth under the age of 18. Thus, several parts of the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Act and the Execution of Sentences Act are changed for the implementation of restorative justice. A new research evaluation project is now required to follow up the implementation of the new legal changes at all levels. Thus, RJ is central to the new criminal legal changes -as well as intercultural issues, since $\frac{3}{4}$ of the young persons committing serious crimes, which requires unconditional imprisonment, are of immigrant origin. However, restorative justice is not only at stake as an alternative to criminal justice in the international discourse on criminal procedure but also in the national and international crime prevention and security promotion discourse. Here the international spreading of the Norwegian Red Cross Street Mediation has a place.

I have already sketched the sampling methods for the research projects in the RCSM field, shortly described in the application to the Norwegian Data Protection Authorities (see Annex). But we still have to discuss the cross-cultural comparative value of data from Street Mediation relative to the four case studies in ALTERNATIVE. The overall question for these comparisons is how we deal with similarity and difference, i.e. the question is what cross-cultural comparison today entails of methodological challenges, e.g. abstraction level or stage of comparison.

Our approach to the research in the RCSM is social anthropological as our main scientific field, defined as the comparative study of social processes and social organisation. As part of this comes the fact that the social anthropologist or ethnographer rarely has the same cultural background as the people and the society under scrutiny. Thus, the researcher will always be in a comparative position, given this knowledge base and the reflective mind set, i.e. the anthropological training

through fieldwork of being inside and outside the field of study at the same time. Comparison in general is a needed mental tool for reflection and dialogue.³⁰

In the book “Thick Comparison: Reviving the Ethnographic Aspiration”, the editors conclude that there are different objects of comparison at different stages throughout a process of comparison (Scheffer and Niewöhner 2010, 551). Considering this, one needs to be utterly accurate in specifying level and stage of the comparative endeavour, as the anthropologist Fredrik Barth also underscores and which I present later in this report. Thick comparison invites researchers to revitalise “the articulation work inherent in analytical ethnographies; it varies observer perspectives and points towards “blind spots”; it names and creates “new things” and modes of empirical work; it gives way to intensified dialogue between data analysis and theorizing.”

Cross-cultural comparison was used in anthropology’s early days to claim that different societies had reached different developmental stages in the cultural evolution (Tylor, 1871). The methodology was quantitative, based upon statistical analyses of relations among social institutions (kinship, marriage patterns...). As the terms *development* just as *evolution*, *society* and *culture* today are all questioned, not only the unit of analysis but also the reference frame seems to be a challenge: “World-wide cross-cultural analysis has often been used in order to test hypotheses concerning cultural diversity or the regular recurrence of functionally related features” writes Seymour-Smith (1986, 60).

The anthropologist Barth criticises the oversimplified ways of conceiving “society” and suggests that we need a more naturalist approach to social interaction, community and society. First, we need to distinguish between two aspects of human (inter)action: event (objective) and act (subjective). Secondly and not unlike Bakhtin’s dialogical theory of culture and also closely related to the epistemology of RJ, as well as to Levinas’ ethical imperative: any social interaction involves at least three parties, me, you and them (the others in the network). Barth (1994, 23) urges us to carefully investigate the degree of order and form of each institution under scrutiny in a given society: “Every system and its context must be specified in a manner that uncovers the correlations which creates it. Only with this approach we may hope to find possible

³⁰ Or as the anthropologist Marie-Louise Seeberg (2003) writes: “ a concept of difference is a precondition for the creation of meaning.”

parameters for comparative analyses of aggregated social systems, and theories about those sets of processes that have generated them.”

Not only degree of order and form, event and act, but also *context* should be questioned (Melhuus 2002, 83). The author questions the difference between what anthropologists construe as the context and what informants or the studied subjects refer to as their context “in order to render phenomena meaningful.” She claims that creating a theory of context is the same as creating a theory of comparison. In this comparative endeavour, we have to deal with complexity and diversity at each research site, in addition to the following needed and overall questions concerning what to compare: which and whose Cultures are we studying and how is culture exposed? What are the informants’ perception of their Time, Space and Place. How do Age and Gender emerge as important or not important? When telling about a conflicting event, how is the event interpreted as an act and by whom? In addition I refer to Barth (1999, 88) who advises us to “engage comparison as actively as possible in the analysis of each separate case” as opposite to “think of comparative method as a procedure whereby we compare separately constituted descriptions of two or more cases.” This invites us to apply a comparative gaze from the beginning of the project at each case site and awareness by all the researchers to have comparison as an epistemological base.

4.1 Filming in and of peace and security processes – a visual cultural study approach

This report is partly based on film experiences and material from Oslo and Tromsø in 2011 and 2013. In the autumn 2013, nine master students at the Visual Culture Studies, Arctic University of Tromsø, made five films on restorative justice teaching into the RCSM and school mediation programmes as well as in the master program at the Centre for Peace Studies. These five films clearly show the intercultural contexts of all persons involved in the teaching and handling of conflicts.

In Oslo, Foss made three participatory film projects with RCSM that also contributed to general knowledge about the practice of SM and some of the consequences. In addition, the films gave valuable bases from which Foss has extracted data for his research work. The films create a valuable data set for the comparisons in this report. One example: watching one of the films contributed to a new recognition of the younger adolescents to be less frightened for the older ones: “They are not so dangerous; after all, they are just as us, just usual (and vulnerable) boys!”

A visual cultural study approach has been used to film closely what goes on in various parts of RCSM in Oslo and Tromsø. The films give a different intake of ethnographic data compared to traditional fieldwork, i.e. filming forms an enlargement of the fieldwork, in addition to the value as disseminating tools of people's skills and achievements in creating secure environments. Visual Cultural Studies at the University of Tromsø has been an inspirational force in addition to practical data-sampling processes in our work. It is rooted in the recognition of the potential of the teaching of cross-cultural understanding that lies in playful explorations of the interpretive quest between actors from different life worlds. The camera serves as a tool for explorations and negotiations that not only give insights in differing concepts and perspectives, and different social worlds but also recognises the need for creating new concepts, perspectives, methodologies and practice. The use of film in the cross-cultural teaching context and in the relationship with local populations and audiences has proven highly valuable in the promotion of reciprocal learning and dialogue. The more than 150 films that have been produced constitute an important archive on local conflicts and conflict solving practices in most parts of the world, due to the country origin of both teachers and the master students.

Newer anthropological knowledge about the senses contributes to new perspectives upon vision, not "as an isolated given, but within its interplay with the other senses, and with the role of mutual gestuality. Moreover, it explores vision as a ductile, situated, contested and politically fraught means of situating oneself in a community of practice" (Grasseni, 2006) or as David Howes (2010) expresses it: "Cross-talk between the senses". Film is used as a strategy for the discovery of coherences in the world and for the dissemination about them. Film as disseminating tool for anthropological knowledge may undress anthropological "best knowledge" (Holtedahl 2006). Films and the cognitive effect of the filming process may be a tool for education and change. If words do not work or are insufficient, vision may replace ear and speech. Film creates a space between man and world or between partners in a dialogue. Thus filming is seen as practice-led research (MacDougall 2006).

In the article "Considering Diversity: Multivoicedness in International Academic Collaboration" the collaborative researchers wrote "Contrary to perceiving diversity as a barrier for understanding, we depart from dialogical arguments in perceiving ambiguity and diversity as continuous resources for meaning enrichment (Akkerman *et al.* 2006, 550). They use Bakhtin's theory on multivoicedness

(*polyphonic dialogue* in Bakhtin's wording), in analysing and explaining negotiation processes by distinguishing voices stemming from different socio-cultural backgrounds. They conclude "diversity should neither be seen as an obstacle for understanding, nor be presupposed as a resource for meaning generation. Rather, diversity should be actively worked on by group members in collaboration, starting by perceiving each other as real 'others' and receiving arguments initially as not understood" (idem, 461).

This relates exactly to the practice of teaching young people street mediation. Most groups of adolescents in the age of 15-23 in both Oslo and Tromsø are of multi-ethnic origin, both genders and of different social environment, although some of the groups for training do originate from the same school.

Filming peace and security practices as documentaries is not unusual. In the ALTERNATIVE project, filming is built in as both data gathering and dissemination tools. However, the space, place and time for making such documentaries are of utmost importance. I will therefore first discuss an exemplary work from a young Israeli documentary film artist Tomer Heyman who has a special focus on the 'anti-heroes' in society and the 'darker places'. With his documentaries, he tells stories of youth at risk, foreign workers, Jewish and Arab children studying at the same school, the gay-lesbian community and single mothers. He has succeeded in "touching the hearts of many" internationally because of the empathy that is clearly shown for his outsider subjects and which is regarded to transcend culture and mentality – one of the possible aims of ALTERNATIVE. One particular film focuses on a peace-building project from the autumn 2004, in Kara village, where the first Jewish-Arab school located within an Arab village opened. He shot the film after March 2003 and showed it at several European screens³¹: "100 children, half Arab and half Jewish, study at this school. The school gives equal representation to languages, religions, and cultures. For a year and a half, we followed closely the parents, who were able to establish this school despite all the difficulties on the way. What seemed like an impossible mission, given the social and political atmosphere in Israel since the rising of the second Intifada and the October 2000 events, has soon become an optimistic reality that brings hope during hard times for both Arabs and Jews. However, the tension and disagreement did not

³¹ See http://www.judiskateatern.se/templates/textPage.aspx?page_id=540, <http://www.judiskateatern.se/uploads/files/21.pdfid=540>

disappear the day the school opened. On the contrary, every day poses new challenges to the teachers, parents and children. Everyone related to this school goes through a deep and meaningful process, which is at the core of this movie. The school serves as a critical turning point for each and every one of the characters we follow. They find themselves having to deal with basic existential thoughts that do not pertain strictly to the Arab-Jewish conflict, but also with conflicts about male vs. female, religious vs. secular, parents vs. children, and more.”³²

The film serves as both a peace and security-building tool. It visualises the hopes and possibilities of reconstructing a peaceful society by children, parents and teachers in a war situation. Thus, there are various visualising methods in peace building. I will, however focus upon visualisation as more than shooting a film on a relevant issue. The question that I have raised is shooting by whom and for what purpose. My emphasis is on the visual and (or instead of) lingual and auditory expressions and interpretations as research tools as is increasingly used within applied visual anthropology and participatory video filming. The challenge is to involve people and work together with them, to skill the vision in order to visualise the invisible: “as social scientists we have long given too much weight to verbalisations at the expense of visualisations, to language at the expense of images” say the anthropologists Turner and Bruner (1986). An interactive video process, as is carried out in a demonstration project³³, includes the following steps:

1. The researcher introduces the issue and video/DVD/technology, plans and discusses an approach with the community;
2. The community articulates issues, performs role-plays, dramas and every-day-life on video/DVD;
3. The DVD or video is played back with carefully facilitated discussions between the researcher and the community (Freudenthal 2000).

Filming in and of RCSM in both Oslo and Tromsø may be seen as both part of practice and of research methodology. Several groups of street mediators in Oslo have participated in filming; giving a glimpse into what happens during this education of juveniles, training to come to grips with new understandings of conflict handling. The filming has contributed to answering our questions concerning their visions and

³² www.heymanfilms.com

³³ [Association Française des Anthropologues, http://diss.kib.ki.se/2000/91-628-4183-1/](http://diss.kib.ki.se/2000/91-628-4183-1/)

changes in visions of themselves and who they are, which is part of our hypotheses concerning alternative security work.

4.2 The practice of street mediation

The RCSM in Oslo, *Gatemeglingsprosjektet*³⁴, started as an attempt to restore peace by involving young people in a new communication methodology. The major idea originally was to give youth at risk the same education as the Norwegian Mediation Service gives its voluntary mediators. Then the youth could bring this competence into their localities and mediate in conflicts “at a low level”. During some few years this developed, most of all thanks to the peace scholar Geir Dale (see below). He incorporated the principles of Non Violent Communication and the Giraffe language teaching and finally the three-steps model in teaching and workshops.

Meetings and workshops took and take place in on-going services and projects that work restoratively with conflict and violence/crime prevention among youth (Bitel 2002, Dale 2002). The project was and still is administered by the Oslo Red Cross. Some mosques are also actively engaged in this work. The *Minhaj konfliktråd* (mediation service), administered by the mosque Idara Minhaj Ul-Quoran³⁵, is one such case. This Islamic community has developed their own restorative justice practices, adopting the models and methods of the mainstream society and actively seeking cooperation with mainstream institutions like the Norwegian Mediation Service, the Red Cross and the Police. A similar mosque mediation service developed in Tromsø as a result of the first years of RCSM in Tromsø.

Dale wrote: “Referring to peace studies I hold this project to be most relevant seen explicitly also in an international political framework – the liminal youngsters become liminal between us and them, also within security policy, immigration policy and in the construction of our own political identities... And all of this also happens on an international scale, where the uprising events in Bradford, New York, Paris and Amsterdam are included.”³⁶ This methodology has now spread to other towns in

³⁴ See <http://www.konfliktraadet.no/upload/gatemebling%20report%20part%203.doc>

³⁵ http://www.minhajkonfliktraad.no/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46&Itemid=53

³⁶ My translation of an e-mail from Geir Dale in a project planning process 2006.

Norway, such as Tromsø and Bergen, as well as several smaller towns in Norway³⁷, as part of the normal activities of Norwegian Red Cross.³⁸

4.3 Street mediation, liminality and virtuality

Street mediation now involves hundreds of young people at the violent margins in Norway³⁹ in addition to hundreds of RCSM instructors, young volunteers; in not only Oslo and Tromsø, but in several smaller and bigger towns in Norway. If there is a violent conflict or harm committed, the parties (perpetrator, victims, families and community) and sometimes the local criminal legal professionals will all be involved in conflict resolutions.

In his PhD-thesis “The silent revolution. The dialogical paradox of the emergence of restorative practices in Norway”, the anthropologist Espen Foss quotes at length the young RCSM participants’ own descriptions and reactions, as part of his data from the comprehensive fieldwork, with or without filming as well as discussing the films with the participants⁴⁰:

Street mediation is; we learn to solve conflicts, think in a better way. I have anyway learned how to think in another way because Street Mediation has changed me as a person. So now, when I am in a conflict, I do the opposite of what I would have done before. Before I would have enlarged it (the conflict), but now I take it a little chill and do it more calmly. Use the brain more and think with the brain.

(Boy 17 years)

³⁷http://www.lokal.rodekors.no/Distrikt_hjemmesider/Troms_Rode_Kors/lf/Tromso/Lokalrad_Om_sorg/Gatemegling/

<http://www.facebook.com/GatemeglingTRK>

<http://www.rjbarents.com/>

³⁸ http://www.rodekors.no/distriktsider/oslo_rode_kors/aktiviteter/oppveksti/gatemegling/

³⁹ In 2012 there were 759 young people participating in Street Mediation in Norway. Approximately there were 2000 young-young-mediations the same year,

⁴⁰ As the dissertation is in Norwegian I have translated the text quoted from Foss in this report, with the consent of Foss.

I have been a hooligan myself to put it that way. And I will, like, show other youth who mean that they are hooligans as they are. I want to show them that there are another way than just doing devilry; carry on fighting and having conflicts all the time.

(Girl 18 years)

Since we are street mediators, it does not mean that we will not be sour or never angry; all become irritated and turn sour and all those kinds of things. However, it has given us a new way of thinking; if we want to have something out of it, and say what we feel, and give in if you are irritated or something, then it is easier. You come a lot further if you speak giraffe-language.

(Girl 17 years)

To be in a mediation situation is in fact not so easy. You have, as an example, to be impartial, you have to, no matter if you create for yourself a little picture of who that is the victim here, who is the one who has done the harsh act. You have to think of a lot of things. But it is of course instructive for us, and for them. When you have been street mediator for a while, you soon remark that you have learned a good deal. And you often think of things you have learned when you are out in life.

(Boy 18 years)

I joined Street Mediation because I have myself been part of some conflicts that we did not solve in a good way. In a way I feel that I am one of those voices unheard of in the street – persons that are condemned for things (acts) you perhaps have not committed, becomes convicted for things you didn't do. So it is a possibility to be heard and to show who you are. And to help others who are also unheard of in the street, to grow – sort of – and to improve. They (other young people) are sort of angry with the police and the like, because they are badly treated and such kinds of things. They can be offered to become street mediators themselves because that will help them. It is much better because they know the people who carry out such activities. That is actually what I think is the best if you can pick out people from these groups and give them an alternative that is good for them: “Yes, you can become mediators, you can fix

up in this here, you can get a good vision of yourself again, you can show that you are good for something, and to become mediators.” And then I think that many actually will think that this is good and the like. If you tell properly about it and how it can help you and so on.

(Girl 17 years)

Many of the situations those youngsters are in, you have perhaps been in yourself. Then you perhaps have the experience, then it is easier to talk with them. I feel that youth understand youth better than an adult understand a young person. To help other young people, it is just great actually. I think it is really cool.

(Boy 18 years)

Foss analyses his data and impressions (2014, 246):

In the quotes above, the youth from different parts of Oslo tell how the Red Cross-activity Street Mediation has helped them to grow and develop as persons, to communicate in a better way in conflict situations, to experience mastering and be seen and heard of. The participants above have participated in group based learning processes in a period from half a year to three years. The expressions are not unique. As a fieldworker in Red Cross over a period of two years, I have met many young street mediators who have told similar stories about how Street Mediation has helped in growing and strengthening them as persons, and that they have acquired skills in the handling of conflicts that they feel work. Partly they tell about how they have succeeded in mediating, often informally and spontaneous, in conflicts among friends, family members and acquaintances. It is in other words an unambiguous finding that Street Mediation gives many of the participants an experience of being strengthened as persons with increased competence in the handling of conflicts.

His findings confirm two external evaluations of the first SM projects (Bitel 2002, 437, Hydle 2007, 43), describing how the young people themselves perceived the outcome of their participation as positive. In 2013 I also conducted a study concerning exclusion and loneliness among youth in Oslo for the Red Cross. Here RCSM was spontaneously emphasised by the young participants in the study as an important positive source for

handling the difficult challenges they met as young persons. All of them knew about SM and several had become SM instructors (Hydle 2013, 685).

Foss (2014, 246) continues:

I have earlier described the ideological point of departure for the Norwegian Mediation Service and restorative processes (RP) as giving the ownership of a conflict back to the parties themselves (Christie 1977), interpreted as a form of “decentralisation of the conflict management...” Street mediation was firstly started as a project at the Norwegian Mediation Service in Oslo and Akershus (1998-2002) and later continued by the Oslo Red Cross (2004) in a commitment to violence- and crime prevention with young people at an age of 13-25 year. The basic thoughts were to give adolescents an applied variety of the mediation training as practices in the (Norwegian) Mediation Service, so that they could use this competence to handle their own conflicts at a low level in the environments in which they were moving and before they escalated into comprehensive cases of violence, polarised groups and crimes. In summary, the main aim of the mediation service is to transform the ownership of the conflict back to the parties themselves in the form of facilitating meetings (mediation and conferences). While the stake of street mediation is to transform the ownership of the communication tools themselves – the mediation competence and the dialogues – to the parties, with the focus on young people at conflict. One can therefore understand Street Mediation as another step in the described *decentralisation of conflict handling*, which are part of the understanding of self in the restorative practice field.

Foss questions whether this development of a praxis may be seen as an aspect of corporate state control. He develops his theoretical basis for analysing and explaining what happens during the conflict workshops and mediation sessions with the youth. Hence the title of his dissertation: the paradox of the dialogue... The emergence of RP has two dimensions (1) decentralised state control (the formal state courts are transformed into local municipal meeting spaces) and (2) empowerment of the parties (no longer unheard of litigants with legal spokespersons). These two dimensions are established through *new spaces (of disclosure) of meaning- and person construction*, which he calls *the paradox of the dialogue*. The RP-movement develops in this power field between state formation and person construction, between corporative state

control and civil society. He uses the theoretical approach of the anthropologist Bruce Kapferer (2005), explaining how a ritual space may transform persons and dialogues into another form of rituality, in which people can act in other ways than they are used to. Kapferer (2005, 42) stresses “a ritual space as a highly active space (a shifting field of force), a habitus that, as part of its vital dynamic, is orienting and reorienting the bodies of participants, directing them into meanings that they are frequently made to produce and enjoined to bring before their conscious awareness.”

The street mediation training gives space for such ritual virtuality where people may see themselves in new ways and in which they may create new forms of dialogues, explains Foss. These social spaces of disclosure have another time dimension than the speed of the normal day. The theoretical approach may explain the transformation that goes on both among the young people throughout the training as street mediators and when handling conflicts.

4.4 Liminality and the time, place and space of young people in a peace and security perspective

The street mediation programme speaks to young people who often are positioned in liminal spaces by adults in general. One example as a central problem of modern societies is fragile and often mentally and materially disadvantaged juveniles caught up by organised adult criminal groups and gangs, and then forced into criminal activities – or one may see this development of exclusion due to unacceptable knowledge and practices because of communicative barriers that have developed over time. The same may be said about warfare and how children are trained as soldiers and taught practices that totally exclude them from a normal societal life after having participated in war(s).

In an on-going evaluation of the 2009 established Norwegian youth prison I describe how these very few youngsters (around ten per year) all have a lack of schooling, often from an early age on. Around 75% of all imprisoned juveniles between the age of 15 and 18 do not have an ethnic Norwegian background, thus also are likely to suffer from “falling between” two cultures and languages. Due to a considerable lack of follow-up from school and child protective services and often from the child mental

health services, these children end up as drug abusers, with exclusion from their families and communities and with heavy mental problems.⁴¹

Here time, place and space contribute to an excluding power, i.e. the moral community within the liminal context, develops criteria for inclusion and exclusion. Measures which are meant to reduce exclusion or enhance inclusion are often based upon the same “logic” and contribute to making it even worse by e.g. creating a common space, time and place for drug addicts, mentally ill or those who seize to violence, aggression or bullying (to defend themselves or to gain some control over an overwhelming situation).

Young persons are often exposed to social processes contributing to the feeling of frustration and thus they react, as many others would have done in a similar, abnormal situation with “deviant behaviour”, i.e. violence, self-destruction or criminal behaviour. Many are just in a vulnerable life course of trial and error, trying out new ways of handling new and unacquainted situations and not least, needing to be heard and seen etc. Migration (and the experience of space or new spaces) may perhaps also be said to create such a social and liminal process for young persons who are forced to move and experience marginalisation, e.g. in a refugee camp or a reception centre for asylum seekers.

Street mediation is an example of young people acquiring and learning to master non-violent responses to conflict situations. In Oslo and other European cities, young persons with an immigrant origin, Asian or African cultural, and Islamic religious background, experience liminality in multiple spheres. Mainstream society mirrors itself in the lives of these young people and draws borderlines, defining what is welcomed as Self and what is cast out as Other in the liminal terrains between e.g. European and non-European, Norwegian and Pakistani or Somali, Christian and Islamic (Dale 2006).

⁴¹ <http://www.hioa.no/Om-HiOA/Senter-for-velferds-og-arbeidslivsforskning/NOVA/Publikasjoner/Rapporter/2014/Evaluering-av-proeveprosjektet-med-Ungdomsheten-og-det-tverretatlige-teamet-ved-Bjoergvin-fengsel> (the report has a long summary in English)

5. Take time as an example

Questions emerging from the different local action research sites in ALTERNATIVE refer to the meaning of time and peoples' timescapes. Thus relevant questions referring to this may be the following: how does one approach the issue of time, as the informants see, feel and handle it? May the notion of timescape, as developed in ALTERNATIVE texts, be of use? Do people give history and historical events important roles in or explanations for the present conflict developments? Do people use history in order to raise conflicts? Do people change content, meaning, or explanations *for* and *in* conflicts over time? Are tales or narratives of a country or region (according to history books, textbooks in schools, songs...) given explanatory power when conflicts arise/are generated? Can conflicts per se function as integrating, when people "learn", adapt, or adjust to how *not* to communicate in order to maintain peace in a region/country? Can conflicts create identity, such as "the I" as opposed to "the Other"?

The examples from the work of Foss in Oslo clearly show how both the trainers and the young street mediators are able to and also respond to the need to change the time dimensions into a much slower pace. When training and when handling conflicts, they create virtual spaces where they can act and investigate situations and communications in other ways than in the normal pace of every day. Thus, they change their timescape into a needed virtual reality different from the everyday reality – although the virtual reality is also real. Foss also shows, in referring to Taylor (1989) and Gullestad (2007), on basis of his data from the youth, how the identity of the young street mediators has changed. They have acquired another feeling of self, changed into competence in creating sustainable relationships. However, there is a need to use a different time dimension in the training sessions, reflecting, acting, summarising and communicating what, why and who they are.

Thus with the examples from the Red Cross Street mediation in Oslo, Foss shows how the issue of time and timescapes are important in order to interpret both the conflict transformation training and conflict transformation per se. He also shows how this relates both to how informants approach the issue of time, as they see, feel and handle it. His data and analyses also explains how the new knowledge of handling conflicts and the practice thereof, can create identity, such as "the strengthened I" as opposed to "the former I". The group process facilitates externalisations of self, in ways

that make it possible for the individual group member to negotiate aspects of self. This is neither accessible nor possible in the normal pace of the day.

Foss (2014) explains this in referring to Taylor (1985): "This has to do with what Taylor calls strong evaluation; "By strong evaluation, I mean the recognition of goods which are seen to be intrinsically worthy, that is, goods or ends which are not valued insofar as they are objects of choice or desire, but are rather seen as ends we should seek. They are ends such that our not choosing them reflects on us rather than undermining their status as ends" (1985: 266). Examples of such values can be those underlying for instance feelings of shame, guilt or dignity. These values cannot be juxtaposed with evaluations of neutral things, of which we determine by for instance taste, because we cannot escape being evaluated ourselves if we do not seem to care about the strong evaluations. Taylor (1985: 266) takes the example of shame; a person who does not feel or show shame is not shameless, since the shame of shamelessness is even more shameful than showing shame. Hence the object of shame is of a strong evaluation that the person cannot ascribe value to as an individual according to his or her own standards."

A young participant in RCSM in Tromsø and informant to Lønneberg uses the time dimension for expressing that they felt *cared for*. Lønneberg describes in his article:

A young man commented upon his involvement in circles that: "*We used to hang out there (in talking circles with the RCSM) because we were friends, it was a good place you know. Everybody, like, could talk and say what they wanted and stuff...*" He continued "*You were patient, that is something that is good, you called us all the time and that I think is damn good, 'cause you cared, all the others knew that and we knew that there were someone who cared about us, someone who just don't give a damn, that was good, it was something we needed, we needed it then, like you wanted to know about us.*"

I suggest that the talking circles he participated in on a regular basis in 2010 helped him and his friends to relate to Red Cross volunteers and me as safe adults. These trustful relationships also made him come to the circle in December 2010.

Lønneberg also relates time to space and place, and shows how the informants express the interactions of these dimensions, which I will describe below.

6. Take place and space as an example

What is the meaning of social space or place in a conflict? What does the physical environment of the conflict mean? Where do people meet and where do they separate? Are there neutral spaces and places? How is the physical context for neutrality, avoidance or clash – scattered or gathered? As an extensive example of this I will quote at length from two different parts of the first article of Lønnebergs PhD-thesis on the Tromsø RCSM. First he refers to circles in the RCSM as possible safe spaces:

Circles in the Street Mediation initiative in Tromsø

Researchers from different fields contribute to the knowledge of a variety of circle uses and purposes: Peace and conflict researcher and dialogue facilitator Mark Umbreit and criminologist and dialogue facilitator Marilyn Peterson Armour argue that circles can be categorized as sentencing-, organizational-, talking-, healing-, conflict- and support (Umbreit and Armour 2011, 198-202). The name of the circle describes its purpose. Pranis and Ball (2010: 54-69) identify circles with 13 different purposes in relation to community planning processes.⁴² Boyes-Watson lists circles with nine different purposes used by an organization working for the inclusion of self-organized and excluded youth in society.⁴³ Philosopher Fitzgerald (2006) identifies circles used in private companies as “*corporate circles*”. Criminologist Clifford Shearing uses the term “*peacemaking*” with reference to circles used to end disputes and “*peacebuilding*” with reference to discussions on general issues in circles that contribute to good urban governance in a suburb (Shearing 2001: 20). Criminologist and circle keeper Barry D. Stuart (1999) just uses the general term “*circles*”.

⁴² The different circles are: dialogue, learning, understanding, support, healing, celebration and honoring, group decision-making, conflict resolution, youth development, sentencing, reintegration and finally community-building.

⁴³ Boyes-Watson (2009: 58-59) Circles organized with the purpose: talking, conflict, healing, family, brainstorm and management, art, court-related, visioning and support.

In the SM project in Tromsø different restorative justice inspired circles were used for different purposes, and I have categorized them as analytic tools in a continuum, as shown in figure 1 below.

Figure 1 – Restorative Circles used in the Tromsø Street Mediation project

INFORMAL/(FORMAL)



FORMAL/(INFORMAL)

Talking circle⁴⁴ Dialogue circle Peacemaking circle Conferencing circle
 (Relationship building) (Problem raising)(Problem-/conflict solving) (Restoring relationships)

Reading the continuum from the informal to the formal and the time needed to map the problem, or conflict, and what actors have a stake in the problem, or conflict, may increase. The time needed to prepare the participants for the circle processes might also increase according to the intensity of the problem or conflict to be resolved in the circle. Talking circles may in general engage participants in the circle on subjects and matters important for the group to build positive and constructive relationships. Talking circles are for instance used when youth form relationships in a conflict workshop or when adults, youth and young adults attend training sessions to become instructors in SM. The talking circle aims to help people build constructive, safe and positive relationships. The dialogue circle engages the stakeholders to explore a problem, or topic, that is of importance to them and aims to provide participants with more knowledge or to start to think about possible solutions to a problem. Two cases to illustrate the dialogue circle are municipal professionals and police- and justice professionals exploring “the role of dialogue in relationship building with youth at risk” and “multicultural youth and crime”.⁴⁵ The

⁴⁴ Some indigenous peoples use talking circles as a general term for circles (Pranis et al. 2010: 70).

⁴⁵ Dialogue circles in Tromsø, June 2012 and at Gardermoen, Oslo, November 2012.

peacemaking circle is facilitated for a wide range of different actors and purposes to come together and solve a problem or conflict and aims to *resolve* or *transform* the conflict at hand. I will present Lederach's suggestion (2003) of the difference between *conflict resolution* and *conflict transformation* in the data analysis. Conferencing circles are used in the aftermath of an incident that causes relationships to break down and aim to restore relationships and repair harm.

Requests for dialogue facilitation came from a diverse set of actors with the local community. Requests came from the civil society such as administrators, teachers and youth workers in schools. Youth in schools and with the SM project also asked for mediation and circles. Other requests came from the local office of the Norwegian state law enforcement (the police) as well as private law enforcement (security companies). At a few occasions I initiated contact with parties that I knew were in conflict to offer them a safe space for dialogue. In some conflicts, with the consent of the conflicting parties, I supported them by asking the NMS to mediate.

Lønneberg then continues in his article to compare some of the features of the RCSM with ALTERNATIVE, in discussing crucial analytical terms relating to restorative practices, such as *context, environment, complexity* and *systems adaptability*:

Conflict resolution and conflict transformation in complex democratic environments

The setting for the action research presented in this article has been a complex one. Politicians, administrators and bureaucrats with state, county and municipality institutions as well as faith communities, individuals acting as volunteers and citizens, youth and young adults in the streets and in schools and many others have been involved. Perhaps the most useful phrase to use for this setting is found in Fung's (2004: 15) research on civic engagement in Chicago. He uses the term "*joint actions in complex environments*" to describe interaction on problem solving in modern democratic urban settings.

In the EU funded research project ALTERNATIVE researchers look at alternative understandings of security and emphasize dialogue and action

research as a vehicle for constructive conflict management within democratic societies. In the project Seeberg and Hydle (2013: 7-12) explore the meaning of *context* in relation to conflicts and argue that objects of study in social sciences might be seen as open systems. Instead of using the word context, they (2013: 8) see open systems as working within an environment and define open systems as “*any social object or indeed any object of study which is not “closed” in the ideally controlled manner of the experimental, closed system of positivist natural science*”. Environment is a useful concept, Seeberg and Hydle argue, because open systems are complex and never stay the same. While context might signify a static situation, environment is something that changes. Open objects influence other objects within the same system. As such the environment which these open systems interact within will also always be in a constant phase of movement in one direction or another. Both within and outside the framework of the law, public institutions, companies and civil society organizations and faith communities as well as self-organized groups might be seen as open systems. The open systems can be seen as having internal and external complexity.

The internal complexity of an organization, public institution, private company or self-organized group as an open system, could be the internal interaction of employees, activities, leaders, projects, etc. within that given entity. Using the Red Cross as an example it could mean the interaction of the Street Mediation project with other projects, activities, volunteers, employees and leaders within Red Cross as an organization. Since the individuals working and volunteering in the Red Cross also will work and volunteer in other public offices and organizations the internal complexity of organizations will at times overlap each other. External complexity could describe the interaction between public, private, self-organized and volunteer organizations. Employees and volunteers in local NGOs, employees with public and private institutions and organizations, elected representatives at the local democratic governance levels, as well as self-organized youth in the streets and adult organized criminal organizations all interact within the same environment (Stewart 2005: 154-155). The management of conflict in democratic complex environments should take both complexities into consideration.

A community might be, in the words of Lederach (2005: 76), a “*web of relationships*”. That is to say that people have the capacity of envisioning themselves as a community of interdependent persons in relationship to each other, also with their adversaries. Social anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973: 5) used a similar term to describe human relations, arguing that “*Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs.*” Relationships might be organized as networks or as formalized organizations and political institutions. There are webs of relationships that intersect each other. There are also webs of relationships that exist within the same environment that do not intersect on a day-to-day basis. When they do intersect, they might have conflicting interests and needs and relationships are expressed through competition and/or violence. Persons, being democratic citizens and professionals, and/or volunteers, at the same time, live out values, roles and responsibilities within these webs. The sum of actions and strategies chosen by different actors to deal with disagreements and harmful conflict will decide what the *culture of conflict management* look like within that given environment. In mapping and responding to conflicts in Tromsø the mapping of relationships and the character of these relationships were important to get an understanding on whom to invite to what circles.

The capacity to deal with a certain problem within the environment, or in the words of Seeberg and Hyde (2013: 11) “*the system adaptability*” is dependent not only on the personal competence of individuals within the different levels of different open systems, but also on the open systems’ capability in adapting solutions that draws on the creativity and competence in the web of relationships that cuts across these open systems.⁴⁶ As people move, change their work places, quit their volunteer work with an NGO, or leave a public office if not re-elected, the environment, and the open systems within it also change. The framework for regulation of interaction within this environment might be read as the laws and the norms regulating social and political life (Pavlich 2001: 57).

⁴⁶ Lederach (2005). See also Shearing (2001) for a discussion on the use of peacemaking circles and peace committees in local governance and the mobilization of local competence in Zwelethemba a suburb in the city Worcester not far from Cape Town.

Lønneberg concludes this part of his article with the following:

In summarizing my data I argue, as others before me, in favor of finding supplementary democratic procedures for dealing with violence and problems in complex societies within the larger framework of the democratic state.⁴⁷ As is suggested by Pranis et al. the circles facilitated by Red Cross might mobilize individual citizens in local communities. While the topic of this article is not *good governance*, Shearing (2001) has discussed the use of circles in relation to the concept. Perhaps what is missing, and that the circles in the SM program has provided and is suggested by Pranis et al., is *safe* places for democratic deliberation on problem-solving and decision-making. Dealing with problems the creativity, knowledge and skills of youth, laypersons as well as professionals are given space to be communicated and explored for a common search for solutions.

He concludes his article in combining the approaches from space and place with the institution approach, which I will come back to below.

7. Take gender and age as examples

Questions concerning age and gender have different significances in the ALTERNATIVE research areas. What are children and youth's, men's and women's roles in the conflict? There are different lifetimes and -phases from child to the adult world. Are there group belongings of or across the different genders and ages? Are there clear spokespersons or the opposite, i.e. invisible persons behind?

Bekerman, Zembylas and McGlynn in 2009 examined youth and children's understandings of conflict, taking into consideration their contributions to peace building. In their comparative study of Greece, Cyprus, and Northern Ireland, they investigated the formation of identity in educational settings and their empirical data show how children and adults (i.e. teachers) understand and speak differently about nationality and religion. As the authors note, their data show that: "... the attitudes of adults and children seem to reflect very different approaches to and understandings of the construction of identity and its relevance within the social context that foregrounds it. The adults in all three cases appear concerned with the promotion of children's

⁴⁷ See for instance Pateman (1970) and Barber (1984).

awareness of their denominational or national identities, although, at least in the school context, these categorizations seem to be of little concern to the children themselves. Adults hold — or at least articulate — very essentialized perspectives about ethnic/religious origin, while children, not yet fully socialized into the ethno-political realities of their societies, do not find it necessary to emphasize each other's ethnic/religious identities” (Bekerman, Zembylas and McGlynn 2009, 14).

In her discussion of these findings, comparing with findings from the street mediation experiences in Norway, the Greek anthropologist Chrysa Gkizari found similarities in how “children themselves understand very differently the concepts of nationality and religion, and how they engage (or learn to be engaged) in conflicts through adults.”⁴⁸

In the RCSM, restorative justice principles of symmetry and equality characterise relationships between youth and adult groups. The use of circles at all levels is perhaps the most obvious tool and practice for this non-hierarchical relationship-building, as Lønneberg describes in his article above and which also are expressed by a RCSM instructor in the next quotation of Lønneberg below. There are no clear signs of basic differences between boys and girls in the overall RCSM experiences. The basic difference may be that boys might be in greater need for the training as they are statistically most prone to school dropout, criminal activities and violence. The estimates till now is that on a national basis there are about 60% boys and 40% girls in RCSM.

Recent and updated knowledge concerning youth in Norway in general shows what the researchers Tormod Øia and Viggo Vestel at NOVA call *The Generation gap that disappeared – a youth picture at changing*. A series of empirical findings from the *Youth in Norway* investigations (1996, 2006, 2012) indicate that Norwegian youth has become less protesting and oppositional and that the gap between the generations is significant smaller than ten years ago. The researchers point to some historical developmental features creating the background for the growth in the modern youth subcultures and generational antagonisms as known from the post-war period and onward. These antagonisms are confronted with new empirical indications on changes in the adolescent apprehension of “the significant others”, where parents and close kin have received new confidence and meaning. A new and more elastic adult role has

⁴⁸ Gkizari, Chrysa, personal communication, 31 July 2014.

emerged, they claim. Added to this picture are also the socialising institutions that have grown in influence in childhood and adolescence. The possibilities for control and contact between the generations are also enforced by the new digital technology. Likewise are also the transnational music-based youth cultures more accepted and less oppositional than before. The picture of youth in opposition and in conflict with the parent generation has to be changed into a picture which implies a new, more “positive” and dialogical relation between the parents and their offspring.⁴⁹ Surveys on the municipal level around the country show similar results. In the same time as these trends have developed, the numbers of criminally active youth have decreased in Norway.

From 2012 on there were legislative amendments concerning juveniles in conflict with the law. The new juvenile sentence aimed at reducing the number of imprisoned young offenders between the ages of 15 and 18. Another aim is to give them a better understanding of the consequences of their acts. A new kind of “juvenile prison” (*ungdomsenheter*), i.e. two particular units for 15-18 old offenders in Oslo and Bergen, were planned to be organised according to the needs of young people. Interdisciplinary teams should prepare the young inmates for release. A number of other legislative amendments relating to offenders between 15 and 18 years have also been adopted, especially those aimed at strengthening the youth’s rights following an arrest. These amendments entered into force in January 2012. Until now, only one of the two prisons have been built.

The youth prison, the “youth institution according to the law of criminal procedure” was long planned and then set into function in 2009. Here four young prisoners live at the time with a personnel group of 18 (in three shifts). The personnel work closely together with the interdisciplinary team on the “outside”, consisting of very experienced professionals from the closest college, the family therapy unit of Bergen health services and from the child protective services at the county level. Some of the prison officers, in addition to a prison guard training at bachelor level, have an education as family therapists. These consist half of the staff, whereas the other half consists of well educated (at least bachelor level) social care or child protection professionals. The plan is to enlarge the space for incarceration during 2014 in a new

⁴⁹ [Last ned pdf \(Øia & Vestel TFU 1/14\)](#)

unit, now being built. Three out of four young people who have been incarcerated from 2009 on in Norway are of non-Norwegian ethnic origin, and all of them are boys.

There is a programme for special care in the aftermath of incarceration: This is the task of the probation authorities, creating a public and a private network for/with young people. Co-ordination and co-operation is additionally emphasised in order to enhance dialogue and responsibility between the prison authorities and the municipal services (such as health, social/child protection, housing, education and employment). This is now being changed: from 1 July 2014, the Norwegian Mediation Service is coordinating all follow-ups with youth committing serious crime that involves unconditional sentencing.

8. Take institutions as examples

In her report “Restorative Justice: An Agenda for Europe, the role of the European Union in the further development of Restorative Justice” Jolien Willemsens compares the three main international instruments in the field of restorative justice, i.e. the Council of Europe Recommendation concerning mediation in penal matters, the United Nations Basic principles on the use of restorative justice programmes in criminal matters, and the European Union’s Framework Decision on the position of the victim in criminal proceedings (and more specifically articles 1, 10 and 17 thereof). In a first step, she looks at the status of these documents. Second, she looks at the subjects covered and definitions used. Lastly, she compares the provisions of the different instruments. One of her conclusions rests on an overview of all three instruments used in the comparison: “From this overview it becomes clear that the Council of Europe has – by far – been the most active in the field of restorative justice. Compared to the Council of Europe, the European Union’s involvement in the field has been extremely limited. However, one should not forget to put this in the right context. Whereas the Council of Europe is a purely intergovernmental organisation, the European Union is a supranational organisation. Initiatives taken within its context have more far-reaching consequences than within purely international organisations, where compliance cannot be enforced. This is not to say that initiatives taken within the Council of Europe and the United Nations are without consequences. Their instruments often have a high moral force and provide practical guidance to States in their conduct. The value of such instruments rests on their recognition and acceptance

by a large number of States and, even without binding legal effect, they can be seen as declaratory of broadly accepted goals and principles within the international community” (Willemsens 2008, 549). From Willemsens’ comprehensive comparative study, we may learn the following: What are the legal, symbolic and/or moral status of the different public documents in use concerning or inflicting with restorative processes at each action site in the project? What subjects are covered or not covered and which definitions are in use (in referring to restorative justice processes)? Which provisions of the different legal (national), economic (international, national, local level), educational (curricula, training etc.), technical... instruments are comparable?

Lønneberg in his work from the Tromsø RCSM concludes on a general level:

In generalizing from the data in this article, *circles* have provided a framework for communication in consensus oriented dialogues as suggested by Pranis et al. (2003). The Street Mediation program was a hybrid between the NMS and the Norwegian Red Cross in its infancy. However, with the initiation of the Street Mediation project in Tromsø the project became part of the Norwegian Red Cross’s activities for furthering safe streets through dialogue nationally and internationally. The organization builds its activities on values that promote tolerance between people different in economic, religious, political, ethnic, national status or other identities.

Red Cross creates space where citizens can engage in their local community as knowledge brokers or normative entrepreneurs. When communication has broken down it seems like the neutral and impartial presence of the Red Cross might help to restore communication, and at times relationships. Some potential and factual harmful conflicts have been transformed. In the educational setting, the circle serves a dual process of trust- and relationship building as well as a safe setting for learning non-violent and inclusive conflict resolution skills. Voluntary participation, completely free from coercion, with a focus on solutions and regulated by the circle framework points in the direction of making problem solving between powerful and less powerful actors in society possible with the circle design as suggested by Pranis et al. However, Red Cross bases its work on volunteers and unpredictable income and it might differ over time and from one city to another concerning predictability and quality of the conflict management and problem solving services provided to a given society.

Participation in a circle creates a space where conflicting parties have a chance to voice their perspectives and listen to others. Formal knowledge, learned skills and experiences, as well as emotions, wishes, interests and needs might be communicated; the circle framework creates a space for holistic communication. People, with their different and complex identities are given a space where they can justify and listen to others justify their actions and together work their way towards lasting solutions. At times this means that they sit down and explore how concrete actions reflect values important to live together in peace.

A circle open for all stakeholders, also those with the proper proxies to make decisions may transform how the community itself responds to problems and conflicts in a deliberative democratic way. Circles probably belong on the list of micro democratic models as the number of people who can attend a given circle is limited. However, primary stakeholders with the mandate to make decisions in a given conflict or problem might use the model for strategic decision making or breaking up a deadlocked situation. It seems like the time needed for preparations and conflict/problem mapping increases with the intensity of the conflict/problem to be solved. Proper preparations and training in circle facilitation for circle keepers are thus needed. The circle processes should be designed to ensure accountability within the larger framework of the democratic state (Hydle 2007). Another challenge might surface when trying to find circle keepers with the necessary legitimacy in structures of relationships involving both legal and non-legal, commercial and political, civil society and public administrative actors within an environment. It is however important to maintain flexibility in the facilitation of circles and to explore in cooperation with the stakeholders if the hidden contents of dialogues in a given circle should be confidential.

An informant with the municipality street outreach workers in Tromsø reflected on her own role as a circle keeper, and at the same time being an employee with the municipality that *“One thinks that when you are hired to govern, to maintain the frames, you have to say so many clever things. While the whole point in the street mediation methodology is this thought about equality and that it isn’t necessarily we who should sit there and say the clever things.”*

The circles in Tromsø provided safe spaces for consensus oriented dialogues and deliberations. The circle framework supported the construction of these communicative platforms where the deliberations were characterised by honesty, equality, inclusion and openness. Training sessions in informal circles helped to make the facilitation of more formal circles in conflict situations possible. The circle framework in the RCSM helped to even out power imbalances in deliberations. Deliberations in circles where the RCSM had the full responsibility for mapping and inviting stakeholders, facilitating dialogues as well as follow up the parties after the deliberations seem to support voluntary participation. Circles helped both in ending violence and in building trust between different actors. As a result, community was created across sectors, roles and responsibilities. Foss from his work concludes partly as Lønneberg, but he also points to some crucial societal institutions that must coordinate or cooperate within the same direction as the RCSM. The aim is to contribute to sustainable images of self and sustainable relationships for young vulnerable persons. “A young street mediation instructor answered my question on the use of the knowledge from SM: “I have acquired a much better relation to my mum. Before we just quarrelled, but now I get what I need and we have a good time together.” SM had enforced his communicative competence to be sustainable in improving his relationship to his mother, as perhaps the most *significant other* in his life. Further, the question of emancipation is linked to the access to basic resources. Without the RCSM participants’ possibility to cover basic needs such as housing, education, work and income and thereby the acceptance as valuable citizens, it may be difficult to develop and maintain sustainable relations” (Foss 2014, 278).

Both the recent general trends in youth behaviour and crime statistics show the same: a decrease in deviant and problematic behaviour. Is there another “side of the coin”? There is a growing anxiety, also statistically based, on the costs for young people, measured in depression, stress and school failure rates. Interviews point towards a tired youth generation with scarce hopes for a positive future.

Does this relate to the findings of Foss? Combining these very different data sets points into a direction which Foss asks towards the end of his work: The growth in decentralised state control of the population, with very problematic consequences, as the philosopher Giorgio Agamben also has warned in his works from 2000 onwards

(2014).⁵⁰ He presents an alternative approach to conceptualise security as a *routinised politics of unease* (Agamben 1998, Aradau and Van Munster 2009). This does not focus on existential threats, but on normal measures such as surveillance and risk profiling. In a Foucauldian approach⁵¹, security can be understood as a normal and permanent way to discipline citizens. According to Agamben (2005, 2014), there is a gradual expansion of techniques used to control all citizens, which was previously reserved for persons accused for criminal acts. This takes form of a routinisation, which is an ongoing process in everyday life, increasingly taken for granted and obvious. Accordingly, citizens become reduced to biometric variables in an increasing surveillance and controlling system, obscuring the borders between public and private, challenging democracy and political life.

There is a need to investigate the consequences of such border blurring in practice, also in the raising restorative practices in various fields: will this increase or decrease peoples' abilities to communicate and practice safety and security across vertical and horizontal borders and fields? Security measures are applied in ordinary politics and related to various practices of risk management. Research shows how the capacity to define a security issue lies in specific institutional environments (Bigo *et al.* 2010) or how governmental logic of insecurity administration are included in bureaucratic and political processes (Aradau and Van Munster 2009). There are therefore challenges, dilemmas and paradoxes inherent in the security discourse of today, which relates to the controlling and pathologising versus the liberating end emancipating forces of states' practices. There is a question if and eventually how these challenges and dilemmas will emerge in the ALTERNATIVE research results and analyses.

9. Conclusion

This report develops analytical tools and criteria for investigations and analyses of the variations in roles of *gender and age* at the four action research areas of ALTERNATIVE. As part of this and as a comparative addition I used empirical evidence from the Norwegian Red Cross Street Mediation. The question of age and gender is e.g. handled in an intersectional approach, developing the issues of

⁵⁰ <http://roarmag.org/2014/02/agamben-destituent-power-democracy/>

⁵¹ And followed by Deleuze and Kapferer.

generation, time, timescapes and memoryscapes. In order to make comparison between the different empirical experiences in conflict transformation in the different intercultural contexts possible, the issue of both timescape and memoryscape may be useful. Little has been said about memory- and timescapes and the issue of generation in the restorative justice literature. Thus it remains to be learned from the different action sites whether these approaches may enhance our understanding of what goes on during restorative processes. Perhaps the most important lesson from this elaboration of gender and age is that researchers within the social scientific fields have to consider and carefully examine the complexity of peoples' identities related to gender, age and generation (in addition to ethnicity, nationality and religion) in whatever issue they are doing research on. And that they themselves also have timescapes and memoryscapes that influence their analysis and interpretation of their data. Restorative justice practices challenge these variations and complexities utterly because the aim is to reach an agreement – somehow.

The report also handles an alternative focus on conflicts and peace building from the point of view that even violent conflicts may be resources for peace and security when used within a paradigm of restorative justice and restorative practices, such as RCSM. I have had valuable and necessary empirical data and analytical view points and approaches from my two colleagues, Espen Marius Foss and Magnus Gjerde Lønneberg. With them my argument goes that young peoples' contributions to such peace building is overlooked but must be essential in building peace as they represent the future. My third point in this investigation into methodologies in security research, also accompanied by the expertise and experiences of Foss and Lønneberg, is that qualitative security research can improve by the use of visual means, such as filming, and in particular in a practical and interactive way, by participatory filmmaking. Although our empirical findings from RCSM show many similarities, we have had different research and field approaches. The relevance for the comparative challenges of ALTERNATIVE seems obvious.

However, there are also important critiques and concerns emerging. Do these restorative justice practice approaches contribute to a decentralised, but increased surveillance and control of civil society at large *by* civil society actors themselves? What about those who protest, deny or mismanage? Will this result in an even increased exclusion of the “unwanted”? Thus, a vicious circle of the routinized policy of unease.

To an anthropologist this remains as an overall empirical question for the near and far future of Europe.

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Annex

The main aim with this evaluation is:

To create a basis for evaluation of the activities in Tromsø Street Mediation. At the same time, it also creates a basis for Tromsø Red Cross to see this work in a larger context concerning the Red Cross basic and general principles.

The evaluation contains therefore following issues and questions:

1. The content of the SM project:

- What is the aim of street mediation?
- Whom does street mediation address and in what way?
- On which activities are SM based and are they according to the mandate?

2. The directing of SM, organisation and resource allocation

- How are the activities organised?
- Is the organisational choice most effective?
- What eventual improvements are possible concerning organisation?
- Does SM extract the possible resources in a best way?
- Quality of the project leadership and improvement possibilities

3. The users of the project

- Who have participated and was it useful for them?
- How are participants recruited?
- Who are the volunteers?
- Which organisations and public institutions at state, county and municipal level have been influenced by the RSCSM?
- How have the participants, the volunteers and the involvet organisations been involved and what came out of it for them?
- What are their views upon the preventive effects of SM?

4. The administrative foundation and financing of the SM

- Advantages and disadvantages with today's foundation in the RC
- Who needs to be the owner of SM – the state, the municipality or an NGO?
- What do the involved organisations mean concerning future use, participation and involvement in SM?
- How may SM be financed as a permanent task?

The questions concerning future foundation ought to be seen together with:

5. The relationship between the SM activity and the larger community

- What place has SM as activity and task in a larger image of prevention in the city?
- What are the relationships to the activities of the Mediation Service, the school mediation activities, the youth leisure clubs and the coordination of local crime prevention?
- Does SM contribute with effects and tools that may supply the other preventive activities that exist?

Other issues:

What does it mean in the end that RC educates Street Mediation instructors instead of the state, the county or the municipality?

What it mean for others, such as private security companies, housing cooperatives, faith communities and schools, that RC organises Street Mediation?