

Building Peaceful Families:

Reflections from a Southeast Asian Context

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Introduction: *Our Stories*

- *This workshop is based on the experiences of Peace Bridges as we have looked for ways to develop programming for building peaceful families. After briefly introducing Peace Bridges' story, we'll connect with each other and our interests in healthy family systems.*

Peace Bridges was formed in response to the recommendations of the Evangelical Fellowship of Cambodia's task force on peace and conflict. Originally working with pastors and churches to provide mediation and conciliation services, the vision soon began to deepen and expand. Over about the last 6 years, Peace Bridges has provided long-term training and partnership/mobilization services to over 100 community peacebuilders. Our partnership projects include peace education in prisons, schools, churches, NGOs, and other community institutions. But during this time, both staff and peacebuilders said, again and again, "these ideas and skills have changed my life – can't we apply this to our family conflicts?"

Across the world, a similar refrain is heard and family violence remains one of the most pressing issues regardless of ethnicity, wealth, development status, or other common differences. As Bruce Perry wrote,

While 'civilization' has decreased vulnerability to non-human predators, it has done little to decrease intraspecies violence. Indeed, modern history is characterized by much more efficient, systematic and institutionalized violence (e.g., the Inquisition, slavery, the Holocaust, the Trail of Tears). Men were, and men remain, the major predators of vulnerable humans (typically women and children). The profound impact of domestic violence, community violence, physical and sexual abuse and other forms of predatory or impulsive violence can not be overestimated. Violence impacts the victims, the witnesses - - and, ultimately, us all. Understanding and modifying our violent nature will determine, in large part, the degree to which we will successfully 'adapt' to the challenges of the future -- the degree to which future generations of human beings can experience humanity.

Peacebuilders face a daunting array of issues that are complex and interconnected. The questions have no obvious answers - Where should one begin? Where should we invest resources? – and peacebuilders often face very urgent situations that must be given priority. But because families provide the most basic environment for shaping habits and attitudes about violence and peace, a very good case can be made for giving weight to peace programming relevant to building peaceful families.

This has been, at least the journey Peace Bridges has been on over the last 6 years. In August 2008, Peace Bridges hired a new staff member to work with MCC advisors to build staff capacity and explore appropriate ways for Peace Bridges to address these needs. We are now completing a small case study research project looking at the relevance of our peace education training to family violence. From August to December 2009, a team of Peace Bridges staff will begin designing a training program on cultivating peaceful families. A pilot program will be conducted January – June 2010. It is anticipated that this training will become an ongoing course, offered annually (2011 and 2012), providing specialized training for participants of *Conflict Counseling and Mediation Training* working with families.

Peace Bridges staff will then support participants in developing and implementing family peace education training and services in their own circles of influence, as well as continue to build staff capacity (relevant to family conflict/violence) and partnerships. Future program directions include: men's support groups, women's support groups, premarital counseling training, family mediation training, etc.

Please share: your interests and/or experiences in peacebuilding and family violence, as well as what you hope to learn from this workshop.

Part One: Approaches

- *With help from Rachel MacNair's "13 Approaches to Peace Education," we'll reflect on our own peacebuilding contexts. What approaches are commonly used to reduce family violence/increase family peace? How have they been integrated? Where do our own interests lie? We will also explore how an over-emphasis on certain approaches can limit the overall effectiveness of family violence interventions.*

STEP 1: Peace programs are typically focused on specific regional/national issues that are “uppermost on their minds with regard to their own conflicts,” and the response to family violence is no exception. As we will explore in Part 2, the experiences of families are deeply embedded in the larger structural and cultural context, making it crucial for peacebuilders to listen carefully and look deeply as they build programs with their communities.

Nevertheless, some general trends of how peace education is approached can be outlined. Rachel MacNair outlined 13 of these approaches in her book, *A Psychology of Peace*. Most peace programs will combine two or more of these approaches since they “are not mutually exclusive; they complement each other well.”

TO DO: After reading the list, use the guiding questions to help you reflect on what approaches to building peaceful families have been used in your context.

13 Approaches to Peace Education*

1. International Education (counters *war* and fosters “*a sense of being a world citizen*”)
2. Conflict Resolution Education (counters *interpersonal conflicts* and fosters *skills in peaceful problem solving*)
3. Nonviolence Education (counters *all forms of violence and demonizing of opponents* and fosters *nonviolence activism*)
4. Human Rights Education (counters *ethnic hatred* and fosters *multicultural understanding*)
5. Violence Prevention Education (counters *street crime, domestic violence* and fosters *personal responsibility*)
6. Development Education (counters *structural violence* and fosters *peace building*)
7. Environmental Education (fosters *ecological sustainability*)
8. Character Education (fosters *individual responsibility and helpfulness*)
9. Moral Education (fosters *higher levels of moral development and use of democracy in education*)
10. Religious Education (fosters *religious knowledge and practice, commitment, and community concern*)
11. Education on Specific Issues (counters *specific forms of violence or threats to peace* and fosters *a knowledgeable citizenry, motivated to take action*)
12. Culture of Peace (fosters *peaceful imagination, creativity, and insight*)
13. Peace Studies (fosters *an interdisciplinary field of study, teaching and research*)

**For longer descriptions of each approach, please see Rachel MacNair, The Psychology of Peace. Information at: <http://www.rachelmacnair.com/books>*

STEP 2: All of these approaches are useful tools for peacebuilder that also illuminate ways we can enhance cooperation between organizations using different approaches. In fact, this diversity is a great strength and its absence can actually limit the effectiveness of peace programs. The situation of family violence in Cambodia is one such example.

In 1996, two studies¹ documented the experience (Zimmerman, 1996) and prevalence (Nelson and Zimmerman, 1996) of family violence in Cambodia. A decade later, the most comprehensive research on Cambodia's experience of family violence showed that, tragically, little had changed.² In 2005³, 64% of the population claimed to know a family⁴ that used violence by “Throwing something at the other, pushing or shoving or grabbing the other.” Further, 58% claimed to know a family that used violence by “Knocking on the head, slapping or spanking, kicking, biting, shaking, pulling hair, punching.” 44% said they personally experienced verbal abuse and 18% said they personally experienced some physical abuse, including 5% who reported life-threatening incidents.

Underlying attitudes were also revealed. 93% of respondents said that it was at least sometimes acceptable for “cursing or insulting” to be used in family conflict (92% claimed they knew a family that used cursing/insulting). Perhaps most significantly, respondent attitudes about the acceptability of violence, including extreme violence (e.g., threatening with a weapon, burning, choking, throwing acid, shooting, etc.), was consistently reported at disturbingly high levels. For example, when asked, “In your opinion, ... is it at any time acceptable for a husband to do this to his wife?,” 28% of respondents answered that it was at least sometimes acceptable to throw acid at or shoot the wife. (Cecil 2005: 26-29)

In the 2005 study's conclusions, the authors wrote -

“There has been a wide range of donors, government agencies and NGOs working intensely to reduce domestic violence for the last nine years. ... this study demonstrates that these efforts have not lead to a significant change in attitude or behaviors, At their core, these past approaches were unconnected to Cambodian values and attitudes.” (ibid, 86)

Specifically, the study called for programs with the following characteristics:

- Engages values and attitudes about power and control, specifically within the context of gender and family roles
- Addresses men rather than focusing exclusively on human rights education of women
- Engages widespread attitudes of acceptance of violence, abuse, and “men's entitlement to greater rights” rather than focusing exclusively on domestic violence as a crime
- Operates with awareness of the importance of “keeping the family together at all costs” as a common value, including offering a wider range of possibilities that include “ conflict resolution and improved communication within the family, community based help structures, referral systems, counselling or working with violent men.” (ibid, 86-87)

¹ Zimmerman, Cathy (1996). *Plates in a Basket Will Rattle: Domestic Violence in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: PADV). And Nelson, Erin and Cathy Zimmerman (1996). *Household Survey on Domestic Violence in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: PADV and MOWA).

² “The prevalence of domestic violence as reported in this survey and in the 1996 PADV study has not changed significantly. The percentage of people who know a woman experiencing domestic violence in Cambodia – 64% - is lower than the 74% who reported knowing a family which experienced domestic violence in 1996. however [sic] the PADV survey asked about violence perpetrated by any family member.” (Cecil 2005: 86)

³ Cecil, Catherine et al (2005). *Violence Against Women – A Baseline Survey* (Phnom Penh: MOWA).

⁴ Because of under-reporting by victims, the most reliable indicators of the actual prevalence of family violence is reports about other families. See WHO (2001), 14-17 for more information.

In Cambodia, most of the approaches have been used at some level. However, prominent programs have generally focused on a cluster of approaches and activities: rights-based advocacy, educating authorities about the law against domestic violence, and shelters and/or vocational training for abused women. While having many strengths and being essential in many ways, these approaches are weaker than others at engaging values and attitudes of wide segments of Cambodian society.

3. What approaches might be especially helpful in the Cambodian context?

To Do: A house without a good foundation will fail. Using your answers to #3, help us brainstorm ways to strengthen the foundation of Cambodian homes. Write your strategies/approaches on small paper and tape them to the group diagram for each of these areas of weakness:

<i>Values & Attitudes:</i>	<i>Strategies that include:</i>
Power and Control	Men
Gender Roles	Extended Family
Patriarchalism	Conflict Resolution/Communication Skills
Acceptance of violence	Community Based Help Structures
	Referral Systems

If you have time, consider your own context and experience:

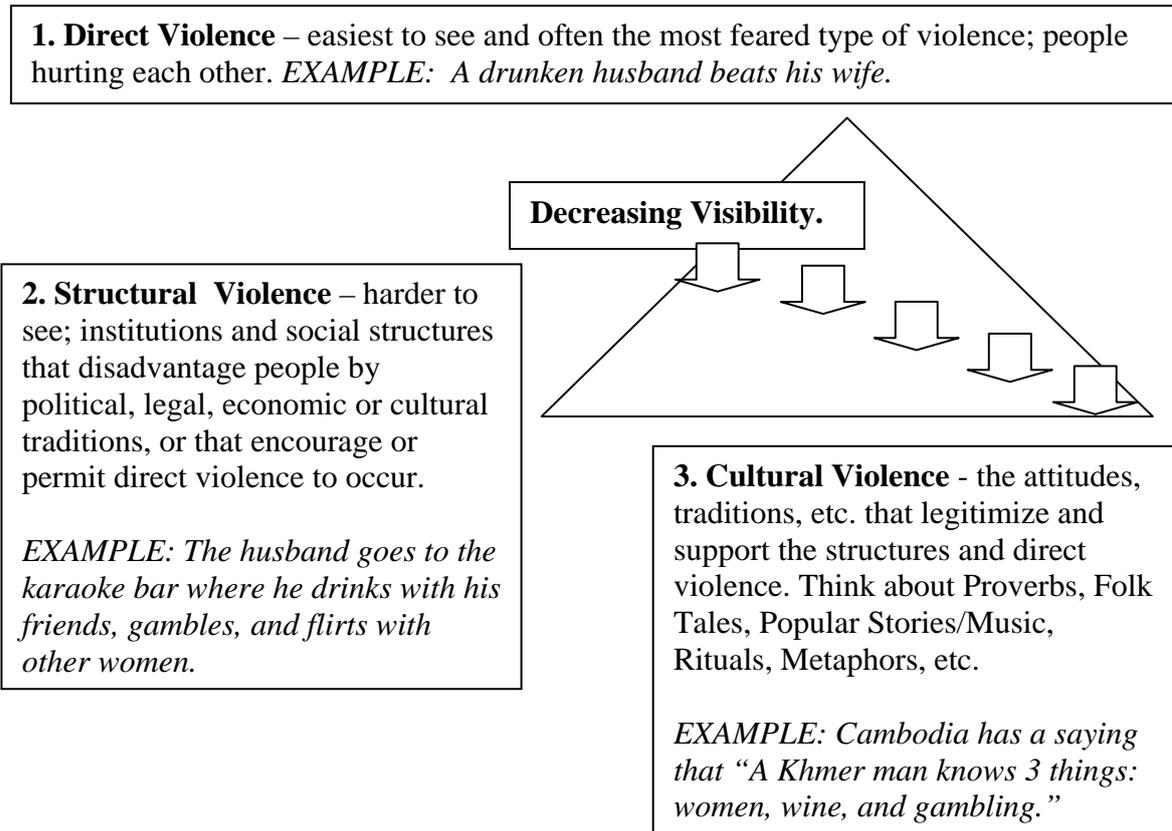
4. In your own context, are there any noticeable limitations that have come from an over-emphasis on some approaches and a neglect of other approaches?

5. When you consider programs for families in your own context, what approach might be most useful at the present time?

Part Two: Connections

- With help from Galtung's Theory and Walker's 7 Social Indicators, we'll explore how families are impacted not only by direct, but also structural and cultural violence. Examples from the Cambodian context will be provided (and examples from participant contexts will be shared), including recognizing structural/cultural resources for peace.

STEP 1: There are many peacebuilding tools that can be applied to family violence. One of these is Galtung's Triangle of Violence. Here is one example of its application, simplified from a discussion by Cambodian peacebuilders.



*See Galtung, Johan, Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (the Transcend Method) (Geneva: UN Disaster Management Training Program, 2000), for an article by Galtung discussing this theory. Available at [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwt.nsf/db900SID/LHON-66SN46/\\$File/Conflict_transfo_Trnascend.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwt.nsf/db900SID/LHON-66SN46/$File/Conflict_transfo_Trnascend.pdf) (pdf).

Decreasing visibility is especially important because it means that elements having significant impact can be easily overlooked – by peacebuilders, communities, and/or those involved in perpetuating the institutions/attitudes involved. Applying the triangle can help bring awareness of the connections and stimulate creative approaches.

“Structural violence, however, is almost always invisible, embedded in ubiquitous social structures, normalized by stable institutions and regular experience. Structural violence occurs whenever people are disadvantaged by political, legal, economic, or cultural traditions. Because they are longstanding, structural inequities usually seem ordinary—the way things are and always have been. But structural violence produces suffering and death as often as direct violence does, though the damage is slower, more subtle, more common, and more difficult to repair.”

-- “Structural Violence” by Deborah Du Nann Winter and Dana C. Leighton

TO DO: In pairs, think of one common family conflict situation (from your context) and analyze it using the Triangle of Violence. Make a poster and share with the whole group.

For Further Reflection. Below are two more exercises you can use for personal reflections.

1. In your current position in your community or organization, at what point(s) of the triangle do you focus? List your activities and look for impacts at the different levels.

Example: A pastor may have influence over all 3 points – direct actions (through counseling families experiencing conflict and violence), structural systems (through leading a community based help structure, the church), and cultural attitudes (through teaching the community specifically about these attitudes).

2. Brainstorm possible interventions that you could develop that support families and choose one from a domain (Direct-Structural-Cultural) where you don't normally focus. Then explore: goals of the program, target audience, example activities, further KASH (Knowledge, Attitudes, Skills, Habits) you need to facilitate the program, and resources needed to implement the activities.

Examples could be: a workshop series on healthy families; training commune councils to do family mediation; a program helping children recover from witnessing family violence; anger management for men; etc.

STEP 2: Another tool for exploring the connections between direct, structural and cultural violence is Lenore Walker's 7 *Social Indicators* related to a community's vulnerability or resilience to family violence. Walker (1999)⁵ identified factors that interact to determine the social context of family violence.

- (1) gender [roles and stereotypes]
- (2) political structure
- (3) religious beliefs
- (4) attitudes toward violence in general
- (5) [attitudes toward] violence toward women
- (6) state-sponsored violence, such as civil conflicts and wars, and
- (7) the migration within and between countries (21)

TO DO: In small groups, reflect on how these factors can shape attitudes and actions of people. Try to list how at least two attitudes related to the factor could support violence and how at least two attitudes related to the factor could support peace. (If you have time, you can brainstorm for the other points, too.)

⁵ Walker, Lenore (January 1999). Psychology and Domestic Violence Around the World. *American Psychologist*. January 1999; 54, 1; 21-29. Retrieved 28 February 2009 from: <http://www.ugr.es/~prodopsi/sitioarchivos/Archivos/Walker%201999.pdf>

Part Three: Looking Deeply at Ourselves

- *Exploring Our Own Values: Using Galtung's Triangle to Look Deeply at Our Own Experiences of Grief/Gratitude in Our Families, Family Structure, and the Lessons Learned/Values Formed.*

Another impact of the low visibility of structural and cultural violence is that we are often unaware of how those values and structures are formed and maintained. In reality, these institutions and ideas are changing; humans are constantly adopting, adapting, and discarding ideas as we process the inevitable changes of time, place, and people. Even when old ideas/institutions are maintained, they are at least subtly reformulated through new interactions.

Of the many challenges facing peacebuilders supporting peaceful families, two are especially related. The first is that many programs have focused on the negative impacts and aspects of structure/culture. As Galtung's Triangle suggests, this is essential, but it also leaves peacebuilders lacking in positive tools to encourage families. There is a need to balance awareness of the negative with awareness of the positive resources available. This is also related to the concepts of negative and positive peace. It is important to not only eliminate actions/structures/attitudes that make a family unhealthy (negative peace). We also need to ask: how can we recognize what makes a family healthy? When we work with families, what is the goal we are hoping to bring them closer to achieving? (positive peace)

A second challenge for peacebuilders is how to help community members become aware of how their attitudes are formed and re-formed, as well as how they can begin to make choices that impact their family in a peaceful direction. We'll finish this workshop by using activities that we have been developing here in Cambodia.

TO DO: The following series of reflections are meant to bring awareness to both aspects (negative and positive) of family experience, as well as how attitudes/values are continuously shaped.

Note: See the Center for Nonviolent Communication for a list of common feelings and needs: <http://cnvc.org/en/learn-online/feelings-list/feelings-inventory> and <http://cnvc.org/en/learn-online/needs-list/needs-inventory> .

If we're going to be effective in our efforts toward social change,
it helps to be conscious of the work we need to do within our self.

And while we're doing that, we also need to look outside of our self
to the changes we would like to see happen in our world.

- MARSHALL ROSENBERG

STEP 1: Alone, reflect on your own family of origin. What needs do you think your family did a good job of meeting? What needs were overlooked or left unmet? Choose one need that you feel comfortable sharing and connect the need to a specific incident that you can remember. *Share* your experience in pairs.

Note: *This incident does not need to be an interaction with the whole family. It can be an interaction with a subset or individual.*

Met Need(s)	Actions that Met My Need(s)
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Example:

Acceptance, empathy

Last Friday, Borey canceled our plans to go out and just stayed with me to listen. I had been feeling so down and lonely.

Unmet Need(s)	Actions that Did Not Meet My Need(s)
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Example:

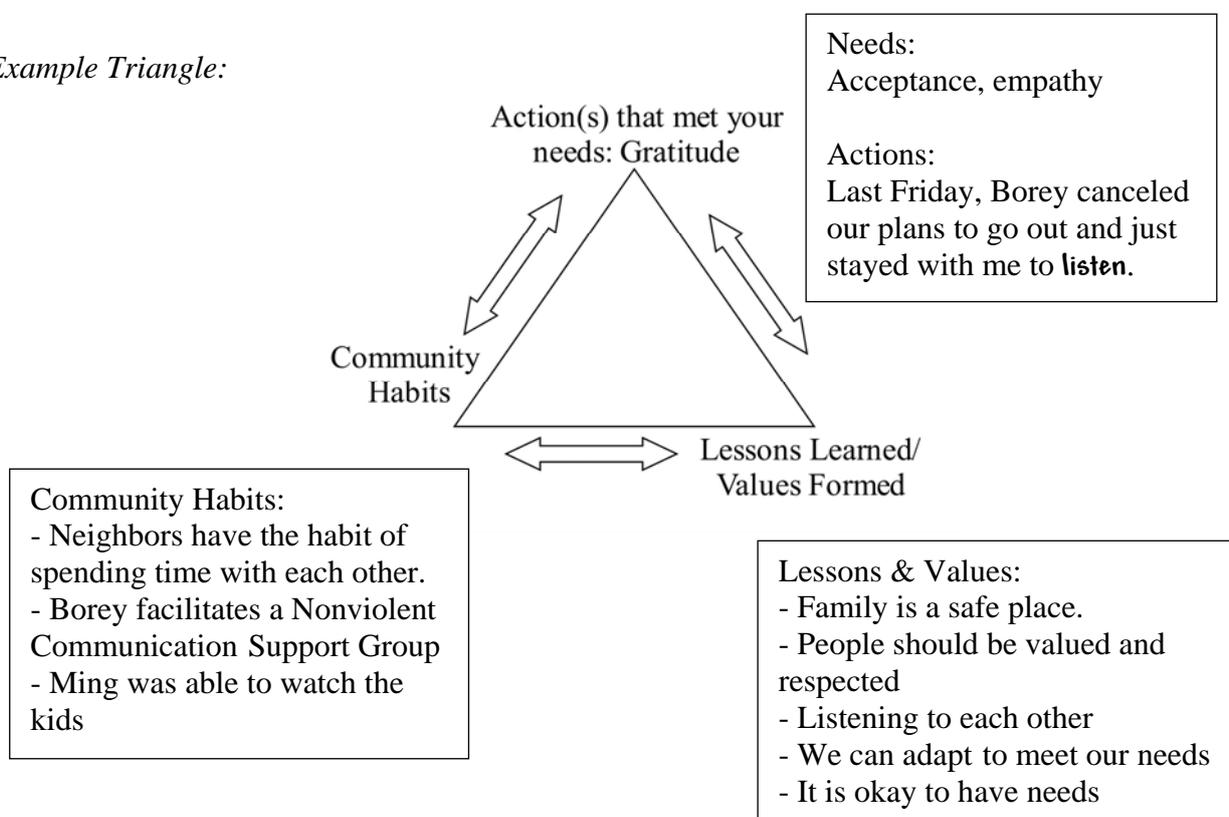
Acceptance, empathy

Last Friday, I was really feeling lonely. I asked Borey to cancel our plans, but I ended up feeling so guilty about it that we went out anyway.

STEP 2: Using your list from Step 1, *apply* Galtung's theory to your experience of family and community. Using the triangle (below), explore the connections between:

- **Your Needs:** This includes the action within your family that either met or failed to meet them. When our needs are met, our response is gratitude. When needs are unmet, our response is grief.
- **Your Community:** Every community has a structure that can legitimize or support the action that caused your grief/gratitude. For simplicity, we'll call this the *community habits*. These community habits/structures also provide resources available to members.
- **Your Values/Attitudes:** We are constantly expressing, forming, and revising our values and attitudes. A community and family culture influences how we interpret our experience and make decisions.

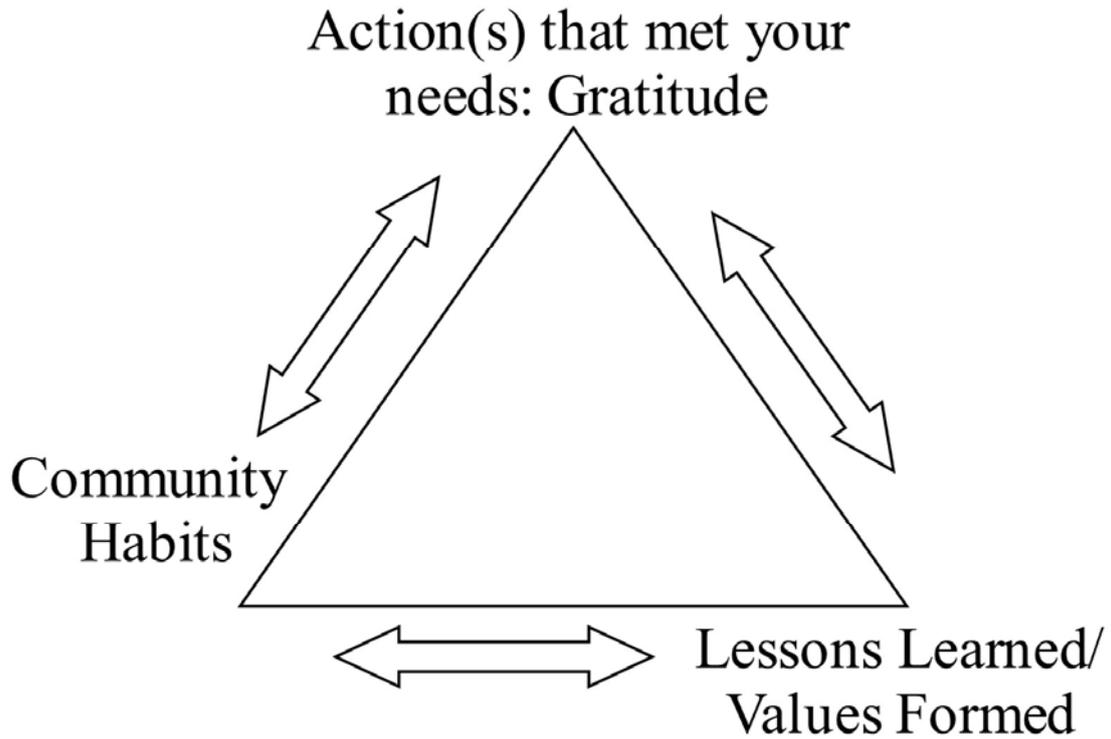
Example Triangle:



For Further Reflection -

- Notice the **connections**. We form values as we interpret our actions and experiences, but our values also influence the decisions of how we act. And this happens in the context of community structure: adopting, adapting, and discarding new habits.
- Also notice the **tensions**. What happens when individual actions do not fit community habits or conflict with my values? What happens when I am developing a set of values in one community/team that are different from another community to which I belong?

When I've Experienced Gratitude for My Family:



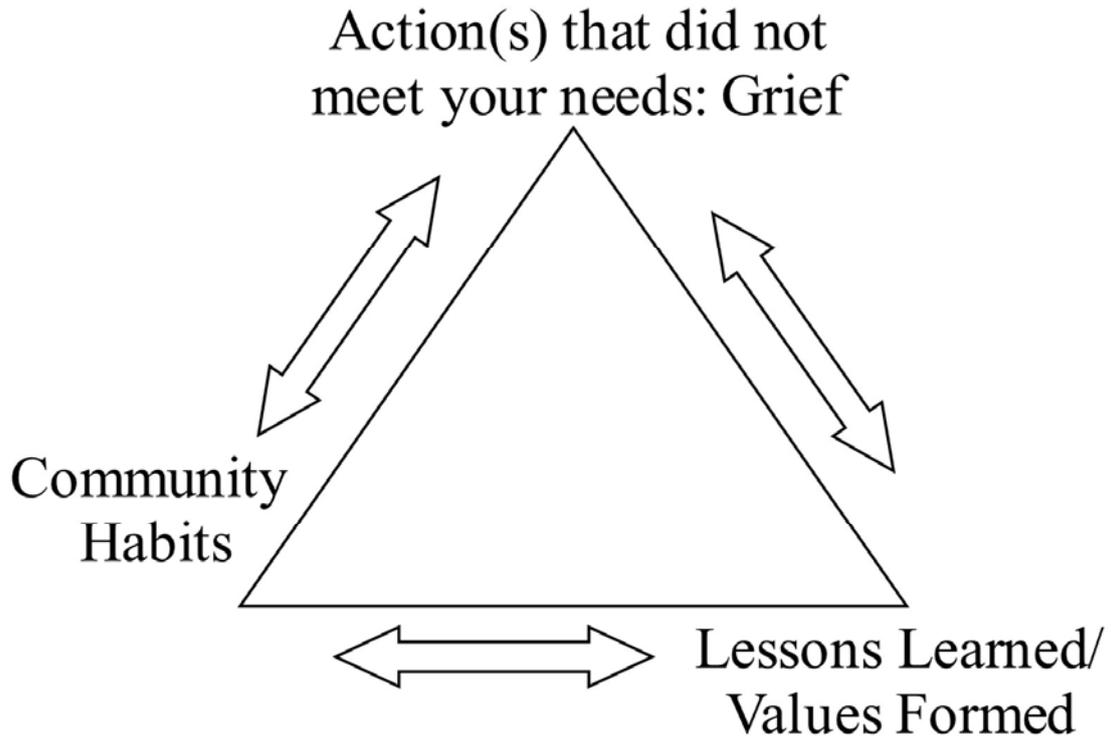
For Further Reflection:

If you have extra time, try this exercise. Dennis Rivers writes:
“It is appreciation that makes a relationship strong enough to accommodate differences and disagreements”.

Make a list of your - and your family’s - habits for expressing and receiving appreciation.

	Expressing Gratitude	Receiving Gratitude
How I Do It		
How My Family Does It		

When I've Experienced Grief for My Family:



For Further Reflection:

If you have extra time, try this exercise from Marshall Rosenberg:

*In relation to the person who has done something you don't like,
think of the ways they might have met their needs without doing what hurt you.
Write down how you might express those options to them.*

Action **Other Options** **Making a Request**

For Further Reflection: If you have extra time, try these exercises.

STEP 3: Draw a family portrait (or make a list, write a story, make a song/poem, etc.) that illustrates the qualities you believe are important for having a peaceful family life that meets everyone's needs. Be as creative as you'd like.

STEP 4: Below is a list of 10 Qualities of a Healthy Family (originally from a North American context). Compare this list to the one you made in Step 3. Look for:

- differences and similarities between their qualities and those in the list below;
- ideas that fit your context
- ideas that might need to be changed
- For each quality, list strategies for how that quality could be demonstrated in your context/family.

An Example: 10 Qualities of a Healthy Family

1. Commitment to each other as a family, and to the well-being of individual members.
2. Fairness among the spouses (equitable sharing, respect and support among spouses).
3. Parental leadership that includes nurture, protection, and guidance for children.
4. Respect for individual differences and needs.
5. Trust, supported by predictability and stability in family interactions.
6. Flexibility in adapting to both internal and external demands of life.
7. Understanding and open communication between family members.
8. Effective problem-solving strategies, allowing for conflict resolution.
9. Shared life values.
10. Networking with larger social circles (relatives, friends, community, other social systems), thus providing resources for both physical and psycho-social support.

**See Gayle Peterson, Tip sheet: Ten Processes (Qualities) that Support Healthy Family Relationships (excerpted from Making Healthy Families, 1996-2003.), for the original list. Available online at http://www.askdrgayle.com/seminar_j.htm.*

STEP 5: Now think of a common family conflict. Analyze this conflict for ways where these qualities are not demonstrated. What habits of family interactions prevent us from demonstrating these qualities? What habits of family interactions might empower us to change?

STEP 6: Now make a role play for this scenario. Choose one person who will try to use the strategies you listed in #5 to respond to the problem in a way that demonstrates the quality of a healthy family. The group will respond to each role play.

If you desire, you can use Marshall Rosenberg's *Nonviolent Communication* as a model.

*I start by empathically connecting to what needs of theirs are being met by doing what they do.
Then I let them know what need of mine is not being met by what they're doing—
the fear that I feel by how they behave, or the discomfort I feel.
And then we explore other ways that are more effective
and less costly of meeting both of our needs.*

Conclusion: Ending & Beginning

Awareness is a powerful experience and sometimes is sufficient to motivate and empower change. Activities like the ones we've done today (Approaches to Peace Education and exploring Galtung's Triangle) help us be aware of how institutions/ideas are formed and sustained.

When we bring awareness to these perceptions (and the actions, structures and values that reinforce them), we also strengthen our awareness of the choices we make. We can begin to envision new possibilities based on values we choose and actions that better meet our needs. We can try to build new structures and habits that support healthier actions. Often, none of this is easy or fast – but it is possible.

NOTE: *Awareness can also lead to frustration when parties are not empowered.*

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As long as there is violence, transforming families will remain one of the most pressing needs for humanity to address. So as we conclude our time together, I'd like to return to the words of Bruce Perry -

*It is in the nature of humankind to be violent,  
but it may not be the nature of humankind.  
Without major transformation of our culture,  
without putting action behind our 'love' of children,  
we may never find out.*

– BRUCE PERRY

## For Further Reading

There is a wealth of information available online. Here are some starting places.

### *Cambodia:*

Ketchum, David and Holly Ketchum (2008). *Understanding Family Violence in Cambodia: A Background Study* (Phnom Penh: Peace Bridges). Available online at: <http://sites.google.com/site/peacebridgesresources/Home/UnderstandingFamilyViolenceAugust2008.pdf?attredirects=0>

This literature review is divided into 2 sections. The first looks at literature from a (mainly) North American perspective with an eye to relevance to the Southeast Asian context. The second reviews literature from Cambodia. It also includes good bibliographies with lots of links to online documents.

### *Family Violence in the World Context:*

Bennet, D; Sullivan, M; and Lewis, M. (2005) Young Children's Adjustment as a Function of Maltreatment, Shame, and Anger. *Child Maltreatment* 10(4); 311-323. Available online at: <http://cmx.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/10/4/311>

This article is especially relevant since it explores the relationship between shame, anger, and behavior problems. From the abstract: "Shame, anger, age, and type of maltreatment appear to be important factors in explaining variance in behavioral adjustment following a history of maltreatment.

Ellsberg, Mary and Heise, Lori. *Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists*. Washington DC, United States: World Health Organization, PATH; 2005. Available at: [http://www.path.org/files/GBV\\_rvaw\\_front.pdf](http://www.path.org/files/GBV_rvaw_front.pdf)

This is a very helpful document, including for practitioners not conducting research but who would like to understand research methodologies and domestic violence materials better. It includes a very good appendix pointing practitioners to important web resources in a variety of domains (e.g., media, health sector, community programs, etc.).

Kelly, Joan B. and Michael P. Johnson. (2008). Differentiation among types of intimate partner violence: Research update and implications for interventions. *Family Court Review* 46 (3), 476-499. Available online at: <http://www.personal.psu.edu/mpj/2008%20FCR%20Kelly%20and%20Johnson.pdf>

This is an important contribution to domestic violence typologies. From the abstract: "A growing body of empirical research has demonstrated that intimate partner violence is not a unitary phenomenon and that types of domestic violence can be differentiated with respect to partner dynamics, context, and consequences. Four patterns of violence are described: Coercive Controlling Violence, Violent Resistance, Situational Couple Violence, and Separation-Instigated Violence."

Kishor, Sunita and Kiersten Johnson. 2004. *Profiling Domestic Violence – A Multi-Country Study*. Calverton, Maryland: ORC Macro. Available online at: <http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/OD31/OD31.pdf>

This is the most current and comprehensive profile of the global dimensions of domestic violence of which I am aware. From the Executive Summary: “This study uses household and individual-level data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) program to examine the prevalence and correlates of domestic violence and the health consequences of domestic violence for women and their children. Nationally representative data from nine countries—Cambodia (2000), Colombia (2000), the Dominican Republic (2002), Egypt (1995), Haiti (2000), India (1998-1999), Nicaragua (1998), Peru (2000), and Zambia (2001-2002)—are analyzed within a comparative framework to provide a multifaceted analysis of the phenomenon of domestic violence.”

Perry, B.D. (1997) Incubated in Terror: Neurodevelopmental Factors in the ‘Cycle of Violence.’ In *Children, Youth and Violence: The Search for Solutions* (J Osofsky, Ed.). Guilford Press, New York, pp 124-148. Available online from: <http://www.childtrauma.org/CTAMATERIALS/incubated.asp>

Perry discusses the risks and impacts associated with child exposure to violence. Though over a decade old, I still consider this one of the most important articles for peacebuilders addressing family violence.

Pinheiro, Paulo (2006). *World Report on Violence Against Children*. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations. Available online from: <http://www.unicef.org/violencestudy/3.%20World%20Report%20on%20Violence%20against%20Children.pdf>

Includes reports on violence against children in a variety of contexts, including families and schools. It also discusses violence against children as a threat to global development.

Tsang, J., Stanford, M. (2006) Forgiveness for intimate partner violence: The influence of victim and offender variables, *Personality and Individual Differences*, 42, 653-664 Retrieved 12 January 2008 from: <http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/35618.pdf>

From the abstract: “In women, empathy and general religiousness positively related to forgiveness, but attributions of blame were unrelated to forgiveness. Several dispositional variables in men were associated with forgiveness in women. Men who were more dominant were more likely to be forgiven, but men with more psychological problems were less likely to be forgiven. Many offender effects were mediated by women’s state empathy.” These trends have important implications for peacebuilding, especially those involving forgiveness and reconciliation.