

P@X Online Bulletin

Peace Studies Group



Centre for Social Studies – School of Economics – University of Coimbra

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**Women and girls in contexts of armed
Violence. A case study on Rio de Janeiro**

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Editorial

Over the last two years the Peace Studies Group (CES), in partnership with the NGO Viva Rio, has developed a research project called "Women and girls in contexts of armed violence: a case study on Rio de Janeiro". Our aim was to study the different roles played by women in these contexts and, thus, to deconstruct the widely-held gendered stereotypes linking peace and femininity versus violence and masculinity.

This issue of P@x examines these issues in some detail, focusing on three issues. The first is the continuum of violences. The second is the uniqueness of men and women's behaviour models. The third is related to the scale and categorizations of war.

Feminist thought has revealed an intimate relationship between wars and the anonymous daily interactions of interpersonal relationships. The term "war system" is used by some feminist thinkers to describe a deeply hierarchical organization of social relations, in which superiority is achieved and maintained through behavioural codes that legitimize physical violence. Domestic violence or the war against Iraq, then, serve a similar purpose - and both share the same old cultural backdrop, patriarchy. As the piece by Bárbara Soares shows, firearms are perhaps the greatest symbols of this continuum: the presence of guns, whether in the home or in the context of traditional wars, exacerbates both the causes and the effects of violence.

Examining the continuity of different forms of violence raises difficult questions. What does it mean to be a man? And what does it mean to be a woman? The answers to these questions vary over time and according to setting. The peaceful woman and the violent man are simplistic social constructions that have become almost naturally accepted 'truths', which have come to dominate other forms of masculinity and femininity. In Rio, as everywhere else, these stereotypes are increasingly defied by a much more diversified reality. Gary Barker's voices that challenge is his text. And Carlos Martín Beristain supports this line of thinking in a personal testimony of his work with mothers of victims of armed violence in Rio.

Is this war? It is. You do not need to have the military or nuclear submarines to speak of war. These are mere accessories; everything that is absolutely essential to war is present in urban Rio de Janeiro. This is a context that can be categorized as a high-intensity 'newest war' -- sustained armed clashes fought in urban territories of countries that claim to be at peace.

José Manuel Pureza

GUNS: WHAT DO WOMEN HAVE TO FEAR?

In Brazil, the issue of urban violence broke down walls, ending a monopoly of police and military thinking on security. Civil society began to understand the tragedy that is eroding, bit by bit, the demographic structure. Today we know that mortality rates in Brazil are higher than in countries at war, and that firearms are decimating a large part of the male population. Official statistics and academic studies, produced mainly from the 1990s, show that violence has a sex, a color and an age: those who are most often killed and who most often kill others are young black men, between 15 and 29 years old. In 2003, the male homicide rate was 56.1 per 100,000 men, representing 92.3% of the total deaths for men and women (DATASUS) [i]. If we consider only young men, the rate goes up to 110.2 deaths per 100,000 young men 15 - 24 years old. In this same period, the homicide rate among women was 4.4 per 100,000 women and 7.5 per 100,000 young women between 15 - 24 years old (idem). A small number, if compared to deaths among males; but high in comparison to countries such as Canada, France, Spain and England, where there was less than one female murdered per 100,000 women [ii]. These numbers indicate, on the one hand, that women are less directly involved in armed conflicts than are men. This does not mean, however, that women are not relevant actors in the drama of armed violence in Brazil. Women suffer the loss of their children, husbands, and brothers, they feed the symbolic association between firearms and masculine virility, and they are also in the line of fire, both within their homes and outside. Although they do not die in the same measure as men, they experience violence on many different fronts: as citizens, facing the violence as it runs throughout Brazilian society, as indirect victims of lethal violence that mainly kills men, and as the main victims of interfamilial violence.

Even when women are the direct object of violence, firearms play a larger role than that which is normally ascribed to them, as they are frequently used to threaten (though not necessarily to shoot) female victims. According to projections by the Persue Abramo Foundation, for example, (2001) [iii] every 20 seconds in Brazil a woman has her physical integrity threatened with a gun. Further, between 1979 and 1999, guns were the main instruments used in homicides against women, responsible for 57.7% of the deaths of girls between 10 - 19 years old and for 54% of murders of women between 20 and 29 years of age (Reis *et al.* 2001) [iv].

The huge discrepancy between the number of men and women killed can, in fact, show us why we should be careful not to try to understand violence exclusively through counting the dead. If we did, we would run the risk of ignoring dynamic relationships and contexts in which this violence is fed, and lose sight of some of the different impacts it provokes. If we concentrate only on homicides among males, it is possible that the totality could escape us - or perhaps, symptoms could be confused with the illness, and the latter could be exclusively or predominantly seen because it is more sharply expressed. What does not produce serial death flies out of the orbit of our vision. We focus on homicides, we diagnose the problem by the number of murders and we take away everything else that has to do with mortality statistics. As if killing and being killed were not consequences of the multiple and intricate interactions and mediations. As if this meant that deaths were contained in themselves.

The fact is that with armed violence, causes and effects are continually reshuffled and mutually reinforce one another. One example of this is domestic violence: a violent family is the space where boys and girls learn their first lessons, as witnesses, or as direct victims of physical, emotional and sexual aggression. Often, in an effort to escape from a violent home, they run away

from home and finally they come across other violences that reign in the world of the streets. Other times, they simply incorporate the patterns acquired in the family as their own second nature, extending it into new circles of interpersonal relationships -- friendships, school, intimate relationships, etc. It is in this way that the so-called basic unit of society, seen as a nest of comfort and security, offers its contribution to global violence. On the other hand, for children as well as adults, the household can become a war-zone - and, particularly for women, real-life torture chambers. Violences, then, make their way back and lessons learned in childhood are applied in the new families that are formed. When, an intimate relationship occurs in a violent or criminal external context, everything becomes even more serious: from the intensity of aggressions, to the risk of death, to the difficulty in finding a way out. It is worth noting that for women dominated by drug factions, reporting domestic violence to the police is not a viable option.

In addition to these connections, firearms also have a transversal role here, independently of the position of their carriers in the table of violence. They connect criminal dimensions with others known as non-criminals. After all, a gun -- whether held by traffickers against their adversaries, bought by "honest citizens" to defend their property, or carried in a police officer's holster to protect public order - can be used inside the home to kill and threaten these men's' own wives and partners.

A study conducted in Rio de Janeiro [v], between September and October 2005, in specialized women's police precincts (*Delegacias Especiais de Atendimento à Mulher*), exposed fear of guns among women reporting violence. Of 615 respondents, 60.3% had been abused by their intimate partners or ex-partners (husbands, boyfriends, partners) and 70.2% said they were in favor or prohibiting the sale of guns in Brazil. When the alleged

abuser was the intimate partner (or ex), support for prohibition increased to 74.4%, or to 76.1% if the abuse occurred within the home. Among those who said the accused had a gun, 68.5% said it had been used to threaten them. Although this is a pilot study, which cannot be generalized, the findings pointed up important links between two constellations that we usually think of as distinct and independent, showing that for many women, like guns, fear also moves along the borders between public and private, interlacing violence from crime with that from intimacy.

Barbara Musumeci Soares

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[i] www.datasus.gov.br

[ii] Organização Mundial da Saúde (<http://www3.who.int/whosis/mort/table1.cfm>)

[iii] Fundação Perseu Abramo (2001), *A Mulher Brasileira nos espaços públicos e privados*.

[iv] Reis, A. C. et al (2001), "Mortalidade Feminina Por Causas Externas: Brasil e Macro Regiões (1979 a 1999)", Rio de Janeiro, *BOLETIM do CENEPI/CLAVES*, nº 4.

[v] The study was conducted by researchers from the Centro de Estudos de Segurança e Cidadania, of the Universidade Candido Mendes, as well as from Viva Rio and the Universidade de Coimbra in Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro. 615 questionnaires, filled out voluntarily by women denouncing violence, were obtained.

"Since 1981, I've been involved in every riot (between Christian and Muslim youth) there has been. [...] I had no work. I had nothing to do. Why should I not get involved?"

Ali, a Muslim young adult man, Kaduna, Nigéria
(interviewed in 2004)

A Young Man of 39

At age 39 Ali (not his real name) was until recently considered a *young man* in his hometown of Kaduna, Nigeria, in the middle-belt region of Nigeria where violent riots between Christian and Muslim youth have happened periodically since 1981. Local definitions of youth in Nigeria (as in much of the African region) say that he is a youth until he acquires gainful employment and supports himself and his family. A short time before this interview (carried out in 2004), he acquired his first stable job: a civil service job with a stable salary that allows him to support a family. On the cusp of his 40th birthday, he achieved *manhood* (after paying a considerable bribe to get the job). In the eyes of his peers, his family and his society, he became *a real man*.

Up until this time he was, by his own admission, part of the groups of Muslim young men who burned churches and used machetes and other weapons against Christian youth (mostly against other out-of-work young men like himself). Clashes in 1999 left more than 2000 persons dead. Young men interviewed for a 2004 study for the World Bank confirmed that the conflicts were less about real grievances between Christian and Muslim youth (or religious differences per se) and more about having nothing else to do (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). They reported having been paid and fed by local political leaders (on both sides of the conflict) to participate in the riots. Their real anger, it seems, was less at youth from the rival religion than it was against these local political leaders (men), part of the local elite - whom they defined as *Al Hajis* or "big men" -- who were seen as manipulating them. Said Ali:

The leaders [referring to older men] are the ones who make the Muslims and Christians go to the streets and loot houses and shops. They are the ones behind it. They should know that as soon as we have the chance, we will kill them all [says this with visible anger on his face].

The Trouble with Men

That men - and within that young men - are overwhelmingly combatants in conflict settings and perpetrators of arms-related violence is ubiquitous. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that males of all ages represent 80 percent of homicide victims, and are three to six times more likely than females to carry out homicide. Indeed, it is an obvious and uncontested point that most gun-related violence, whether in conflict settings or otherwise, is carried out by men and mostly against men. The question staring us in the face then is: What does being a man have to do with violence?

Gender, as applied to conflict and post-conflict, has generally meant women and girls. In virtually every study, white paper or report on conflict and post-conflict, and mediation, gender means women

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*Based in the text prepared for the Meeting on Gender, Arms and Peace Processes - Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, December 5, 2005

and girls. In virtually every study, white paper or report on conflict and post-conflict, and mediation, gender means women and girls. This makes obvious sense at one level: women and girls are too often victimized, powerless and made doubly vulnerable in conflict settings. They have more often than not been excluded from political power and suffer in numerous ways in conflict settings - in particular from forms of sexual violence that too often are part of conflict. And they are generally excluded from the mediation tables where peace agreements are brokered.

But we too often overlook another point: boys and men also have “gender.” They are also socialized into frequently rigid notions of what it means to be a man. Some are also made powerless - like Ali - in hierarchies that give more power to some groups of men. Those men who are excluded from power may have more power than women in the same settings or social group, but it is important to note that these subordinate groups of men do not perceive themselves as having power. Indeed, their perceived sense of powerlessness or exclusion is often at the root of the violence and conflicts, including gun-related violence, that we seek to prevent and end. In sum, we have inadvertently created a blindspot when it comes to the gender of men. In our overly simplistic power analyses, we have ignored or missed the complexity of how gender socialization interacts with class, race, ethnicity and other dimensions of power that are, ultimately, the root causes of violence and conflict.

Accepting Complexity: Examples from Africa

Mostly from industrialized countries, there is a growing both of research on social and individual factors associated with men’s use of violence. Some of these include: (1) being labeled as troublesome (or early antisocial tendencies); (2) coercive or violent parental controls (i.e. violent parenting); (3) limited parental control; (4) having witnessed or experienced violence in the home or community; (5) socializing with delinquent peers; (6) perceiving hostile intentions in others; (7) low school achievement and limited social skills; (8) holding more traditional or rigid views about gender; (9) having been shamed or experienced significant shame and humiliation as a child; (10) having been brutalized or violently subjugated; and (11) having used violence and seen that violence produces respect (Elliott, 1994; McAlister 1998; Sampson and Laub 1993; Barker 2005; Rhodes, 1999; Gilligan, 1996). There is not, however, as much literature on the factors associated with the participation of men in conflict settings.

Nonetheless, the emerging literature on conflict settings, particularly from Africa, provides useful insights on how men and boys become and stay involved in conflict. At the most basic level, having a gun or other weapon and being willing to use it is about power. Men and boys involved in armed insurgencies become “big men” by being in control of a given setting and being able to exert violence on those around them. In addition to immediate survival (in the form of income, food, consumer goods and the like), they achieve and wield power. Young men who become combatants in these settings are often bombarded—both before becoming combatants and after—with violent images of manhood, whether in the form of *Rambo* films, gangsta rap, or the idolization of big men such as Liberia’s Charles Taylor. Some observers of young male combatants in West and Central Africa suggest that the violence feels like a performance of young men acting out a violent version of manhood, seeking to instill fear and to make their presence known before a terrified audience.

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They are acting out a socially recognized role of manhood taken to its extreme.

Young and older men also find camaraderie with male peers in armed insurgency groups, and in some cases may find male role models or surrogate fathers, and substitute families. In countries where between 10 to 25 percent of adult males have HIV and where men frequently have to migrate for work, the leaders of insurgency movements sometimes come to be emulated by young men and boys who lack male role models and guidance.

Another common element in young men's participation in conflict is the issue of rites of passage or indoctrination. Nearly all armed movements and wars involve some kind of initiation rituals, as does the recruitment and training of soldiers in conventional armies. In some settings, such as northern Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and DRC, this initiation is mostly traumatic, involving the forced use of violence against family members, and threats of murder for non-compliance. Many armed insurgencies in the African region have drawn on or tapped into the traditional socialization of boys and young men as warriors, using elements of these traditional rites in their own, brutal indoctrination (Stavros et al. 2000). In some cases, insurgencies or leaders of armed movements have made deliberate links to historically relevant initiation rituals and rites of passage, as in case of some groups among the Zulu in South Africa and Charles Taylor in Liberia.

Furthermore, insurgency groups in northern Uganda, Liberia and Sierra Leone often choose the youngest sons and younger boys, who are even more likely to feel a sense of powerlessness and to be the most susceptible, malleable and traumatized by these experiences. In Liberia and Sierra Leone, drugs are often added to the indoctrination, as a way to lose control and to carry out acts of brutality. It is no coincidence that in the socialization of boys and men around the world, drugs and alcohol often form part of rites of passage and of first sexual encounters. Young men often describe drugs and alcohol as giving them the courage to do the things required of them to be seen as men.

Indoctrination of men and boys into using violence may also include other forms of brutality and violence. Former abductees and former combatants (young men) we interviewed in Uganda talked of forced cannibalism and being forced to rape young women—again, part of a deliberately traumatizing and shame-creating indoctrination. Reflecting on these acts of trauma and brutality, it is important to keep in mind that if young men and boys could so easily be induced to kill and use violence, or were willing to use violence of their own volition, and if violence were an inherent part of young men's temperament, this kind of indoctrination would not be necessary.

In other settings - such as South Africa, or parts of Latin America - where armed insurgencies have had clearer political motivations and have enjoyed wider support among the general population, the men involved often have become heroes. They have achieved social status and access to income, power and female companionship as a result of their participation in armed conflicts.

South Africa provides a useful example of this. Young men were the leaders of South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle, their families supporting them to live in exile and train as combatants. These young men once had status and were associated with a hero version of masculinity linked to Nelson Mandela, Stephen Biko and other ANC and

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anti-apartheid leaders. The socialization of young men in these movements made specific references to weapons and the use of weapons to achieve freedom. In the case of the ANC, the AK-47 became associated with the liberation movement, and was a visible symbol for young men (Cock 2001). With the end of apartheid and the realization that long-standing economic inequalities would not be remedied in the short turn, some authors suggest that more young men are turning to crime and violence, some of this in the context of gang activities. As Xaba states (2001:107), many of these accounts discuss the: "...heroes of yesteryear who have become the villains and felons of today." This has been seen by some researchers as a form of compensatory manhood marked by sexual violence—that is men seeking to regain a sense of manhood through criminal activity and violence against women.

While the South African government has offered basic education and life skills specifically for the young men involved in the struggle, the challenges to engaging young men in these settings are formidable:

For the few 'exiles' and 'comrades' living lives of crime, it is no secret that the knife-edge life of violent crime is eminently more remunerative than the palliatives offered by the Adult Basic Education and Life Skills Programmes in which former 'comrades' and 'exiles' are expected to enroll. It is almost impossible to encourage anyone to exchange a life, however dangerous it may be, in which there is a possibility of driving a C220 Mercedes Benz for a life in which he will be carpenter, electrician or painter or, more likely, unemployed (Xaba 2001: 119).

These are just a few examples of the ways that low income men -- out-of-work or with few other ties to social institutions and frequently subordinated before older men with more power -- may find participation in armed insurgencies compelling. It is important that we not oversimplify the specific factors and conditions of each of these conflict settings. But there is, as these examples suggest, a common thread of: (1) being socialized into rigid and violent forms of manhood; (2) the need to achieve work to be socially recognized as a man; and (3) the lack or perceived lack of other ways to achieve employment (and thus manhood) that all interact to push some young men into conflict and the use of arms to attain the status of being a *real man*.

Warriors after War: Manhood after the Guns are Silenced

If conflict settings and wielding weapons provides young and adult men with a socially recognized version of manhood, what do we - those who propose peace - have to offer instead? Demobilization programs have nearly all included income generation, vocational training, access to credit, land distribution (or work tools) and/or cash grants. The implicit understanding is that being a soldier or combatant is a job and to encourage men to leave that job, or to close that source of employment, requires open other opportunities. The list of challenges and shortcomings of such initiatives is long (too long to go into here), but some common ones are: (1) creating dependency; (2) being too short-term, thus leaving young men frustrated when they end; and (3) difficulties of encouraging young men to return to school (which they often consider a space for children), among others.

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Furthermore, few demobilization initiatives have incorporated a discussion of how gender comes into play for men—that is, how efforts to engage men must also consider their desire to achieve a socially recognized version of manhood, and intergenerational tensions between groups of men. To be sure, the gender-specific needs of both young women and young men have not been incorporated into most reintegration programs, but there has been more discussion about the gender-specific needs of girls and young women.

Armed insurgencies, other forms of semi-organized violence (gangs, vigilante groups, etc.) and conventional militaries have created generations of men whose manhood is defined around creating and reinforcing fear. Their profession and social identity revolves around violence. Even if we politically agree with their cause, even when it may be just, there are tremendous challenges to reintegration and peace based on this gendered - male - identity. We could offer a long list of examples. In Guatemala, the ongoing extrajudicial violence (against women, members of street gangs, members of civil society) is in large part based on the availability of men trained to kill and intimidate during 36 years of civil war. In El Salvador, soldiers were given land to farm but not access to credit as part of demobilization. Many have now migrated back to the capital, taking jobs in private security - protecting the property of “big men” from other under-employed low income men like themselves (from the *maras*).

The cycle is, literally, vicious. After having the status of “warriors” - and the power, female companionship and access to goods and income that came along with it - putting down the guns is not easy. But it is breakable. There are numerous, untold examples of men who do not participate in violence, and men who have participated but made the transition to civilian life. Understanding their trajectories from conflict to peace - like that of Ali, who is angry but employed -- can give us ideas to go on. *Give me something else meaningful to do, he is telling us, something else to hang my male identity on, and I’ll put down my weapons.*

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THEY COME, ONE BY ONE

They come: one by one, or two by two. Some of them already know each other, and they come together, eyes and arms open. I am their guest. I have come to share words and silences, experiences of being, of supporting and learning with mothers and family members who have lost their children in other wars.

They come: one by one, or two by two. Some of them already know each other, and they come together, eyes and arms open. I am their guest. I have come to share words and silences, experiences of being, of supporting and learning with mothers and family members who have lost their children in other wars.

It is not easy to speak of pain, of disgust, of impunity. At times it can even be dangerous. To speak of feelings that come not only from each of them, but that also cross boundaries, as the sea bathes two coasts. When people identify with others, sometimes, the sum of two powerless people together can bring resistance. And this is what we count on in these afternoons of sharing.

There are too many things to put down in a few words. The families seek justice through all possible outlets, courts, city halls, governments, lawyers, and street corners in their neighbourhoods.

So much persistence does not come from one idea, it is born of affection, it comes with a link that has been broken by others. Or that others wished to break. This affection for their children, their siblings, cousins, is what moves this struggle converted into human consciousness.

This afternoon is one of those strange collective spaces in which we come together to speak out loud about so many things that are silent in the newspapers or that are news for one day on television.

The space of words and tears, of anger and wilfulness. Their space. Ours. We call this collective work psycho-social, from mental health, collective strength. We move between sharing and learning that does not stay within these walls. They accompany families as they go to trial, as we would all like them to go with us. This is how we knit the strands of this story.

We speak of human rights because they have been violated so many times. And we seek the gaps in life that grow between the power of guns and the impunity of the police. They grow. This is why we are here. For this reason, it is important to support this process.

Their killers converted them into forgotten names: just another body, another case among the disgracefully many others. But those for whom we seek justice always do have a name. Like that friend in Colombia, that each time that had to do something, made the military officials write the name of her son Luis Fernando instead of putting NN as they normally would. As if identity could be so easy to erase, she said.

The story of these mothers has a day and a time, and all the details of those who do they do not forget. Sometimes photos accompany us, sometimes we speak of fear and of a dog that bites - and they know so many! - and of the dark room that they were also in and it seemed they would never be able to get out of. But they do get out, we come out, together. We hope. That is what we are betting on.

Carlos Martín Beristain

Doctor, Expert in Mental Health, Bilbao (Spain)

Places of war and peace

PLACES of WAR

Brasil: as armas e as vitimas

(Viva Rio and Iser, 2005)

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www.unesco.org.br/publicacoes/edicoes_nacionais/Seriedebates/mostra_documento

PLACES of PEACE

Centro de Estudos de Segurança e
Cidadania

www.ucamcese.com.br

Escola de Educação Audiovisual Nós
do Cinema

www.nosdocinema.org.br

Promundo Institute

www.promundo.org.br

NGO VIVA RIO

www.vivario.org.br

Programa Social Crescer e Viver

www.crescereviver.org.br

PEACE STUDIES GROUP (NEP) AGENDA

Publications

Rafael, Mónica, "As Dinâmicas da Sociedade Civil e o Processo de Transição Multipartidária em Angola", in Vidal, Nuno e Pinto de Andrade, Justino (2006), *O Processo de Transição para o Multipartidarismo em Angola*. Lisboa: Edições Firmamento.

NEP's Activities

10 March 2006

Kátia Cardoso presented the paper "CPLP: entre a teoria e a prática" at the Debate on the CPLP, "Festa de Sons, Saberes e Sabores II" - Partilha festiva e interactiva de conhecimento, de tradições e de diferentes formas de ser e de estar entre os promotores e o público", VIII Cultural Week of the University of Coimbra.

20 March 2006

José Manuel Pureza (NEP/FEUC) presented the conference "Resistencias a la globalización neoliberal desde una perspectiva de derechos humanos" at the XIII Jornadas do Hegoa, Bilbao.

21 March 2006

José Manuel Pureza (NEP/FEUC) presented the conference "A acção das Nações Unidas e da União Europeia no combate à proliferação de armas ligeiras" at the IV Sessão da Audição Pública "Por uma sociedade segura e livre de armas", organised by the Comissão Nacional Justiça e Paz, Lisbon.

3 April 2006

José Manuel Pureza (NEP/FEUC) participated in the European Masters on Human Rights and Democratisation, University of Sevilha.

5-6 April 2006

José Manuel Pureza (NEP/FEUC) participated in the international seminar "The future of human rights: a roundtable discussion on the implementation challenge", organised by the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior and the Human Rights Institute Pedro Arrupe of the University of Deusto, Madrid.

7 May to 4 June 2006

Mónica Rafael was in Angola, in the context of the project "State failure strategies and peacebuilding processes: lessons learned from former Portuguese colonies".

8 May 2006

Seminar "Images for Peace. The experience of Nós do Cinema", with Luís Carlos Nascimento, Coordinator of the NGO 'Nós do Cinema'.

9 May 2006

Debate "Invisible Violences", with Luís Carlos Nascimento (Nós do Cinema), Jessica Galeria (NGO Viva Rio) and José Manuel Pureza (NEP), based on the movie *Todas as Crianças Invisíveis* of Katia Lund, Coimbra.

8-9 June 2006

Final Seminar of the Project Women and girls in contexts of armed violence. A case study on Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro (Brasil).

27 June 2006

Tatiana Moura e Jessica Galeria presented the results of the project "Women and girls in contexts of armed violence: a case study on Rio de Janeiro" at the meeting Women and guns: voices from the front line, UN Review Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons, New York (USA).