

AGAINST VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The Case for Gender
as a Protected Class



RONA M. FIELDS



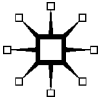
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Rona M. Fields

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To my grandmothers; my mother (who gave me life); Dr. Ylene Larsen, who has contributed to maintaining that life; my daughter, my granddaughters; and my spiritual sisters throughout the world:

A woman of valor, who can find? Her worth is far above jewels. . . She renders good and not evil all the days of her life. Charm is deceitful, and beauty is vain, but a woman of valor is much to be praised. Her deeds speak her praise.

*She is more profitable than silver
and yields better returns than gold.
She is more precious than rubies;
Long life is in her right hand;
in her left hand are riches and honor.*

She opens her hand to the needy, and extends her hand to the poor. She is robed in strength and dignity, and cheerfully faces whatever may come. She opens her mouth with wisdom. Her tongue is guided by kindness. She eats not the bread of idleness.

*Her ways are pleasant ways, and all her paths are Peace.
She is a Tree of Life to those who embrace her,
those who lay hold of her will be blessed.*

—Proverbs 31: 10–31

*The World stands out on either side
No wider than the heart is wide;
Above the world is stretched the sky,—
No higher than the soul is high.
The heart can split the sky in two,
And let the face of God shine through.
But East and West will pinch the heart
That can not keep them pushed apart;
And he whose soul is flat—the sky
Will cave in on him by and by.*

—Edna St. Vincent Millay

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Preface

Each chapter in this book was inspired by the story of a woman or women with whom I became acquainted in my research travels to these and other places or in my clinical practice in Washington, DC. In some instances, a remarkable woman either young or old, synthesized in her experiences the meaning and horrors of femicide. In other cases, a male colleague, with remarkable sensitivity and wisdom lit the path that facilitated my knowledge. One such man is Salman Elbedour, a professor but always a Bedouin from Lakia in the Negev, Israel, into whose family I was introduced and welcomed. In the wreckage of Sabra and Shatela, nine-year-old Hulda whose big brown eyes and thin little body had absorbed scenes of horror and violence beyond her comprehension; 16-year-old Fadia sang in French to the UNIFIL soldiers who came to her parents' café but her nightmares about defending her ancestral Phoenician village, Myeh- Myeh from PLO invaders persisted after the café emptied and the family retired to their rooms behind it.

More than two decades ago, Dr. Sheila Jahan, neurologist and immigrant from Afghanistan explained why the Afghan women she referred to my clinic for psychoneurological testing had suffered brain injury. It was not only the TBI induced by war, but beatings on the head and other direct blows to the face and ears from husbands, mothers-in-law and other male relatives. That and listening to their stories informed my perspective on Afghanistan as did my late friend, Barbara Bick. I knew Asia from involvement with refugees in Southeast Asia and my very good friends in China, Shu Hong, her husband and parents who hosted me in their country and taught me so much from art to philosophy and beyond. Shu patiently guided me to the last Toy Maker (of traditional Chinese toys) in China and then to the ancient antiquarian where I found my icon of the Cultural Revolution—the Goddess of Compassion wrenched from a

temple where she'd been installed four hundred years earlier—her hands in prayer position broken but her face so wise and compassionate that I felt embraced in her aura. Masha Bayzie and her American parents gave me my first real insights into Siberia and I hope that will be the introduction to a much-deeper study of the people and the place of anomie and anonymity. I had the honor, pleasure, and finally the sad loss of my very good friend, Wangari Maathai to learn so much about the combined degradation of the environment with the degradation of woman—Mother Earth; and my host in Liberia and friend, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf to experience the savagery unleashed on women and experienced by children in west Africa through greedy exploitation. And then how one courageous woman from Cameroon hurdled the obstacles and survived by her wit and energy, Desiree. Through all of them and more, I came to a new understanding of and appreciation for my grandmothers who were struggling immigrants making their way and overcoming obstacles more than a hundred years ago in the United States. Celtic women are another marvel of social history and during the past 40 years of my life, I've been involved in their struggle and success and now I know more about how and why.

From start to finish, my colleague, Dr. Sheila Pfafflin has provided every kind of encouragement and support. She has been a wonderful friend. Her commitment to women's issues and to expanding her own and others' horizons on the consequences of transgenerational violence on Irish women is an inspiration. In Ireland, many friends and colleagues have been illuminating and supportive. Pauline Murphy, Mary Caulfield, Hester Dunn, Trish who epitomized the tragedies of childhood in Lower Falls Belfast as a little girl wearing trousers because she wasn't considered sufficiently important in the family scale of priorities to be given her own clothes and an education. Eliane Montouchet and Marie Gatard, experts in French law, history, and women's studies broadened the perspective and provided fresh insight.

I learned long ago that supportive friends like Fr. Ray Helmick S. J. of Boston College, Rabbis Michael Berenbaum and Matthew Simon have been there for me to listen and advise. My cousin in Israel, Lili Traubmann and her daughter Tamara, her brother Denis in Chile and Miryca Garcia, his partner, have battled the forces of murder and torture in Chile, injustice and idealism in Israel, and remind me of who I am and want to be.

My daughter Miriam, whose research on the first woman pharaoh is incorporated in her book, *The Tocharian*, published on Amazon Kindle (2010) and my sons, Marc and Sean have been confidants and consultants. Their children, Kyle and Lauren are my reason for telling and teaching.

I am grateful to my editors at Palgrave Macmillan, Lani Oshima and Burke Gerstenschlager, who have sustained our conviction that this book is important and must be done. And finally, to the many clients, both clinical and forensic, whose stories spurred me on relentlessly, to completing this book. In belief that justice can ultimately overcome injustice and that there is awesome strength in even the most abused women; that women can reach over the abyss of ethnic and linguistic differences to provide support.

Over millenia and civilizations, the finger fossil of a woman survives to lead her descendants in learning that we are all related to each other, and descended from Woman.

Washington, DC
October, 2012

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Violence begins as a threat against identity and physical integrity, and escalates to dehumanization, making it possible for the perpetrator to rationalize the destruction of human life. The ultimate violence is genocide.

Violence against women, whether in the form of genital mutilation or honor killing, was never sanctioned or prescribed by any of the Abrahamic theologies. Those violent practices devolved from preAbrahamic tribal practices in Africa and probably Eurasia.

It is not a new phenomenon, but in the contemporary world, gender violence is practiced under the guise of religious or cultural “law” and historical custom. In fact, much of Africa and Asia functioned under tribal law, which subsumed as “protection of women,” the assumption that women’s bodies are the encasement for family honor. This tribal or “customary” law is a direct outgrowth of a militaristic society that is patrilineal and patriarchic. There is only an eighth of a step from “Protection” to Control. And protection of women in this context is control as with other property. (See figure 1.1.)

Militarism is predicated in vendetta. Implicit in this ideology is revenge that extends to all members of the opposition or competitive group and is, according to Jean Piaget, the second stage of moral development. When this is the mass ideology and children are truncated at this level, transgenerational violence is inevitable.

Many societies that have, at one or another time, practiced female infanticide or other destruction of females at an earlier point in their prewritten history had been dominated by women. Misogyny in many instances would be referred to psycho diagnostically as a “reaction formation.” In other

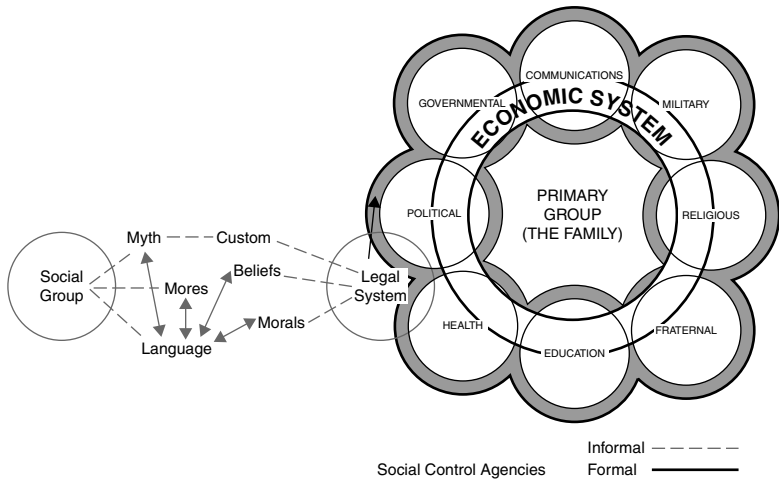


Figure 1.1 Institutions in a society.

instances, it has apparently evolved from the primitive myths of the female as power over life and death, natural disasters, and reproduction.

For example, the Ban Po culture of central China was a Neolithic civilization believed by some Chinese archeologists, to have been matriarchal that may have had their own language and extraordinarily symbolic architecture and practical arts. They are credited as the foremothers of the Han people, who eventually dominated a large swath of central China and extended their boundaries into neighboring kingdoms.

The aristocracy in China had a very different culture from commoners, and women in the Han Dynasty were highly educated, and often, because of widowhood and prolonged regencies, they dominated the political life of the dynasty.

The society was monogamous, but kings and emperors had many concubines, and employed eunuchs to guard them. It was not unknown for the eunuchs to engage in internecine physical combat and even wars to assert the dominance of one empress dowager over another.

At the same time, and through many dynasties, the common people were mostly farmers and strongly patriarchal. Although marital fidelity and filial submission were two pillars of societal values, men were allowed to engage in sexual activity outside of marriage, and if they could afford it, to bring a concubine into the family home where, however, she would be subject to the dominance of the primary wife. Choices of marital partners were commended by the parents of the bride and groom. Not all of

these were arranged through matchmakers but each marriage was always a complex contract, and was enacted through a very complicated set of ceremonies.

Daughters-in-law that came into the husband's abode also served their parents-in-law. If there were several sons, one remained in the family domicile, and all would work the family land together. Each son, however, would get a piece of the family land as his inheritance and each daughter, although not mandated by law, had her share as her dowry. Women often had remunerative work outside the home. They spun and wove cloth, and made clothing and ornamental objects.

Predictors of Women's Status

In one of my earlier books, *The Future of Women* (1985), I listed eight geopolitical and social conditions that are predictive of women's status. I had derived these principles from extensive historical research and studies of the reports and proposals submitted to the United Nations Decade for Women. I think these predictors are useful in some instances in revealing where gender genocide will occur, including each of the cases discussed in this volume. They are:

1. Women's position is always directly related to the society's social and political conditions. Unrest, disorder, or distress in a society, will especially adversely affect women.
2. The status of women is a function of that society's definition of marriage and family, which are defined by childbearing/rearing practices
3. There is no firm evidence that women as a class have ever enjoyed all the prerogatives of power equally with men. Certainly, individual women have been accorded power, but only on the understanding that they behave like "one of the boys."
4. In most countries, rape, kidnapping, and enslavement have been used to control and terrorize women.
5. The denigration of women, like the denigration of a racial minority, provides an excuse and rationale for their economic exploitation. Assigning women to an inferior position in the workforce, for example, makes it possible to get more work for less pay, thereby preventing the full employment of all workers, including men.
6. The subordination of women is worse within groups that are themselves oppressed. In such instances men are put in subordinate positions in relationship to other men, which slights his masculinity, and he seeks to restore it through sexual domination of women in his group.

7. The more a society is vulnerable to the whims of the natural environment, the more it is oppressed by mystical taboos, which tend to polarize the roles of men and women and regulate relationships between them.
8. The status of women is adversely affected by wars and violence. These glorify the stereotypical qualities of masculinity, but further restrict women to the role of breeder and feeder, because of the threat to the survival of the group. Furthermore, wars and violence require a psychological dehumanizing of the enemy and, in particular, of the women of the enemy society. (Fields 1985b)

Long before scientists recognized how mitochondrial DNA is uniquely important in tracing ancestry through matrilineal origins, Jews had traced the origins of individuals through their mothers, although they identified their caste lineage through their fathers. In the early polygamous societies, offspring took their identity as much from their mother as their father. If the father was high status, the status of the mother determined the offspring's position. This remains the case in Pashtun and Bedouin societies today.

What inspired the diminution of women's status and credibility in decision making is unclear. Certainly ancient pre-Judeo-Christian symbolism is replete with earth-mother and goddess images, both believed to celebrate fertility, the essential value for human continuity. Yet, in nearly every religion, goddesses also are associated with death as with birth. Several hundred years ago the professional who facilitated childbirth was the same person who assisted the dying. She came to be called the Midwife.

The Pieta, the image of the mourning mother cradling the dead son she brought into the world, reflects this duality in Christianity. In his book, *The Mary Myth* (1973), Andrew Greeley argues that Christian veneration of Mary is a way to incorporate the quintessential femaleness in the God idea. Mary elevates women from the pagan idol.

Before Christianity the Israelites took particular care to distinguish between their women and the pagan women surrounding them. Among the many stories illustrating this are those of Samson and Delilah and of Abraham and Sarah, who are clearly intended, in part, to illustrate the sharp divide between Israelites and the other peoples of their time and geography (Fields 1972).

Abraham, for instance, falsely described his wife Sarah as his sister when they tarried in Egypt as guests of the Pharaoh, so that he would not have to share her with or give her to the ruler. As was the custom, he received one of the Pharaoh's concubines, Hagar, as a handmaiden. On the opposite end of this spectrum, is the woman Delilah, who was used by her brothers and tribe

to seduce Samson, and lure him to disclose the secret of his strength while she drugged him so that his hair could be cut off.

The ancient Greek goddess, Hera, was celebrated as wife and mother but was also destructive, even killing her own son. The ancient Greeks somewhat mitigated this conflicted omnipotence of the female by way of the myth of the warrior females, Amazon. The word literally meant “without breasts” because they supposedly cut off their right breasts, to facilitate notching and drawing an arrow in a bow.

While there is no indication any such society existed, the idea of an all-female society in which men were used for sexual gratification, and where male infants were killed at birth, was perpetuated in other times and cultures with certain consistent features. Gaelic mythology presented the Danum, who were skilled practitioners of the martial arts residing in Alba (Scotland). They were said to be the teachers of the great warrior hero of Ulster, Cuchulain (Fields 1973).

Herodotus related that the demise of the Amazons came about because the women yielded to the Scythians, with whom they preferred sex to victory.

The Athenian lawmaker Solon institutionalized for the Greeks, and later for the Romans, the dichotomy of sexuality, in which sexually restrained women were seen as respectable whereas sexually active women were whores. Solon’s legislation, which minutely regulated Athenian life, was intended to block women from arousing conflict between men.

Yet another embodiment of the contradictions ascribed to women is Kali, the Hindu goddess of death, who is also the earth goddess and the goddess of light.

The profound enigma of life’s beginning and end is inextricably imbued with the mystery of female cyclic bleeding and pregnancy. Ignorance and powerlessness beget the divergent roles of women as goddess and witch, saint and seductress (Fields 1985b).

Ancient religions, such as that of the Israelites, for instance, identified the moon as female and as representative of procreation. The new moon represents the monthly renewal of women and is usually a cause for differentiation in rituals and other behaviors. In fact, to this day, Jewish tradition (which is quite different from ancient Israelite practices in many respects) includes special prayers on Rosh Hodesh, the new moon, which honors women.

The First “Pharaoh”

Among the Egyptians, the Israelites’ neighbors and sometime adversaries, was a well-documented example of the conflicting images and roles of women. There was no question but that males dominated the pharaonic dynasties, although a

woman could be a regent if the descent fell on a very young male child, as happened with Tutankhamen. Still, the daughter of the great King Thutmose I, married by her father to a weak and sickly half-brother, had an extraordinary reign of more than 20 years. Hatshepsut, meaning “foremost of noble ladies,” ruled from 1508 to 1458 BCE as the fifth pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty of ancient Egypt. Egyptologists generally regard her as one of the most successful pharaohs, ruling longer than any other woman of an indigenous Egyptian Dynasty (Cleopatra was not born of an indigenous Egyptian Dynasty).

Although records of her reign are documented in ancient sources both numerous and diverse, early modern scholars diminished the importance of her contributions, describing Hatshepsut as a co-regent in power from about 1479 to 1458 BCE, during years 7–21 of a reign previously identified as that of Thutmose III.

Today, it is generally recognized that Hatshepsut assumed the full position of pharaoh and ruled 22 years. She outlived her half-brother/mate King Thutmose II and ascended the throne, discarding her female robes and assuming the crown and kilt of kingship. Initially this created some complications because all of the titles attributed to the high king were in the masculine. It is believed that her ascendancy gained her the title of Pharaoh, which was gender-neutral (Mertz 1964).

Hatshepsut was attributed a reign of 21 years and 9 months by the third century BCE historian, Manetho, who had access to many records that now are lost. She and Thutmose II had four daughters before his early death. Thutmose II also had a son with a non-Egyptian slave that became Thutmose III, who was considered Hatshepsut’s nephew. She at first served as his regent, but actually took the throne over the course of 20 years that historians originally attributed to the reign of Thutmose III. He was not happy about this, we’re told, and plotted to overthrow her. But this came to naught, as she had secured the support of several viziers who had served her father, and with whom she maintained a politically astute alliance. Her death is known to have occurred in 1458 BCE, and her nephew successor was determined to destroy all evidence of her accomplishments and importance (Fields-Babineau, 2008).

Her peaceful reign saw the completion of great construction projects and of artistic and cultural developments. Depictions of her in her tomb show that she extended trade to places beyond the bounds of her predecessors, who are depicted, significantly, with maces in acts of war.

Religious myth had it that she was actually the child of Amman-Re, the sun god. It was believed that all kings were offspring of Amman-Re and the queen, royal wife of the king (Mertz 1964).

The power and accomplishments of Hatshepsut sharply contrast with the successive generations of Egyptian women generally and in the Middle

East and Africa. Her successor's backlash against Hatshepsut may well have brought about the destruction and defacement of her images and monuments. This parallels a methodical "gender-cleansing" effort to destroy the vestiges of the Ban Po civilization in China.

The Epistemology of Violence

Violence starts as a threat to identity and bodily integrity and spreads like ripples on water, into ever-widening and inclusive circles to the ultimate brand of destruction: genocide. Each widening circle incorporates all of the earlier ones and encompassing still more.

Genocide is the largest of those ripples of political violence, and moving along the tangential evolving circles, requires a vector. That vector or continuous force is, in human society, delivered through and to the woman. It is, from the earliest phase, the threat to identity and bodily integrity, the female child who suffers psychodynamic and social experience that transmits as the intergenerational force (see figure 1.2).

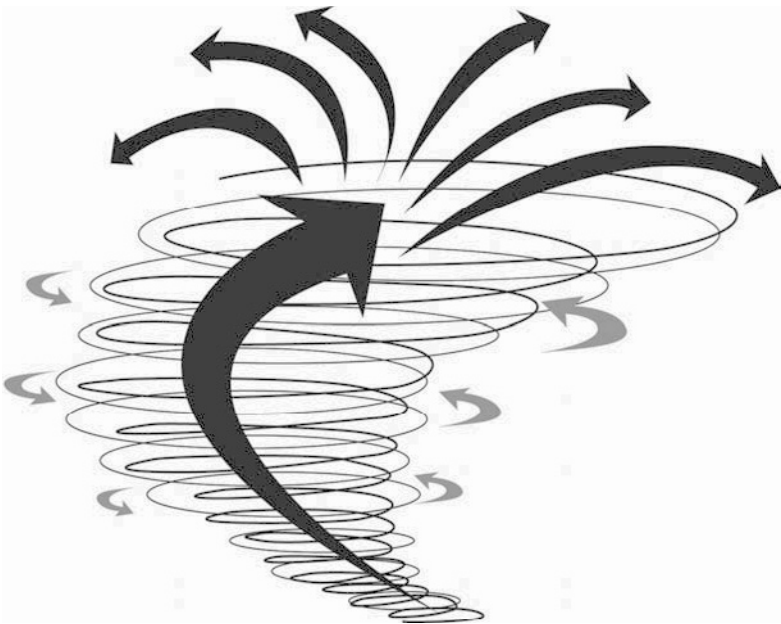


Figure 1.2 Violence.

Giving birth to a girl child in many societies does not warrant celebration. In some places, such as in Afghanistan, and among rural impoverished peoples, such as Bedouin of the Negev, it demotes the mother, and in times of war, drought, and famine gave way to female infanticide.

This is particularly typical of militaristic, patriarchal societies accustomed to fighting for survival. On the other end of the spectrum of aggression-violence, is altruism, the selfless giving or helping others. In a 1984 conversation with Jane Goodall in Tanzania on social behaviors in apes and humans, she noted that only those chimps who had high-status mothers exhibited altruism.

Considering what I had observed of the behavior of children toward their peers in civil war zones, including Northern Ireland and Lebanon, I realized that the parents' social status and whether they were impoverished and thus highly stressed; victimized as a group, or secure and comfortable, made an enormous difference in the choices their children made. In both Northern Ireland and Lebanon, adolescents from families of the unemployed, imprisoned, and desperate, were far more likely to become members of violent gangs, paramilitaries, or "political" fighters.

During my studies for a book on martyrdom some years following that conversation, I found that Palestinian suicide bombers were more likely to have come from poorer families in Gaza when religious extremists opposed to the Oslo accords were actively recruiting for jihadists. On the contrary, these accords had, at the time, given new hope to much of the Palestinians, so recruiting jihadis had not been very successful except for prospective "martyrs," usually the disaffected and marginalized sons of the least-affluent families. (Fields 2004)

Woman, the primordial mystery, is a threat to masculinity (Freud 1905; Horney 1942). From Neolithic times onward, subjugation of woman has been the sociological key to patriarchy from which evolves the sustained traditional formula for tribalism and militarism. Psychologically, "we vs. they" is the essential formula that turns fear into hatred and into violence (Fields 1976; 2006). The bifurcation of gender and the social economics of gender roles provides a natural "we-they" dichotomy.

While colonial powers attempted to impose national boundaries, in many earlier campaigns to impose colonial rule on a less divided and factionalized tribal society (compare English domination or colonization of Ireland in the fourteenth to twentieth centuries), they stimulated the growth of nationalism, setting the indigenous population as an antagonist to their colonizers.

Women as Vector and Victim

These glimpses into the circumstances of women in ancient societies that permitted their ascent to leadership, and their subsequent descent into

powerlessness, may have some social psychological dynamics reminiscent of “woman as other” in primitive societies. Anthropological researchers suggest that the woman’s monthly cycle, and her capacity to give birth endowed women with magical properties. With so little understanding of physiology, natural calamities such as earthquakes or even a bad harvest would be attributed to her malevolent magic.

Perhaps it is out of primordial fear of women that these societies imposed stringent controls. Whatever the reason, violence against women has been a fact of history. In many contemporary societies, it is, unfortunately, on the rise again. For example, the number of honor killings in Turkey, particularly in rural areas, has been increasing rapidly in the recent years.

Once again the attention of the modern world has focused on preventing this travesty. The United Nations has adopted and circulated a covenant on Violence Against Women and in honor of International Women’s Day, 2011, announced a new major division on women. Even so, no consensus yet exists on how to protect the lives of women. Various legislation in the United States and Europe, dole out inconsistent punitive measures and legal definitions.

The time has come to consider where international law has been effective in preventing and punishing agreed violations of human rights.

The United Nations has instituted The Rights of the Child, through an international “Bill of Rights” that, for instance, makes it a war crime to use child soldiers or children as hostages. Ironically, the ban on Female Genital Mutilation is incorporated into The Rights of the Child. The Decade of Women, (1976–1985) also attempted to establish in international law equal access for women to education, work, and to vote. But only when violations of these conventions are assigned criminal status can they be tried in international courts. Violators can escape prosecution through tactics such as fleeing to another country, defying extradition, and claiming asylum.

But there is one convention that requires international cooperation in prosecution. It is also aimed at prevention and orders punishment for planning as well as for executing acts it defines as genocide.

Genocide Convention

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide signed by every member nation grew out of the horrors of World War II. The Holocaust in Europe and the Japanese invasion and occupation of China, Indochina, Indonesia, Korea, and many of the Pacific island nations sprang from beliefs in racial superiority. The consequences were genocidal campaigns by the Third Reich against Jews, gypsies, and

homosexuals. The Imperial Japanese identified other Asians as “inferior” races, and used this categorization to enslave, slaughter, and destroy the persons and cultures of these peoples.

Genocide means any deliberate act committed with intent to destroy the language, religion, or culture of a national, racial or religious group on grounds of its identity as such. A criminal act directed against any one of the aforesaid groups with the purpose of destroying it in whole or in part or of preventing its preservation or development . . . consist of:

1. Physical genocide;
2. Biological genocide: restricting births by
 - (a) Sterilization or compulsory abortion;
 - (b) Segregation of the sexes; or
 - (c) Obstacles to marriage.
3. Cultural genocide: Destroying the specific characteristics of the group by forcible transfer of children, forced and systematic exile of individuals representing the culture of a group. (UN Secretariat Ad Hoc Committee 1948)

The convention stipulates that the following deliberate acts, either planned or carried out, is punishable by international law:

1. Killing members of the group
2. Impairing the physical integrity of members of the group
3. Inflicting on members of the group . . . conditions of life aimed at causing their deaths.

The code has been invoked and international courts convened several times in the past 60 years for individuals such as Charles Taylor (Liberia) and Slobodan Milošević (Serbia) accused of masterminding or committing such mass murders or similar travesties and have been brought to trial and sentenced to prison.

Unfortunately, trial and punishment have been post hoc rather than preventive as was originally intended. With more rapid real-time communication and documentation available through modern technology, this may be the time for preventative action.

A Sociological Perspective

The Bible tells us that Pharaoh’s destruction of male infants was intended to limit the population growth of the Israelites, because he feared their

potential as a fifth column. Herod, more than a millennium later, fearing a rival for his throne, also ordered all boy babies slaughtered.

There is evidence that conquerors killed men and took women and children as slaves to wipe out the conquered people. The English occupation of Ireland was predicated on eliminating Catholics, Catholicism, and Celtic culture. The Statutes of Kilkenny of 1356 outlawed every aspect of Celtic culture and two centuries later, with the Corn Laws, the Catholic religion. Both measures are now defined as genocide in the 1948 UN Prevention of Genocide Convention.

Had this convention been retroactive, the British Empire would have been subject to judgment at international court on charges of genocide. The Celtic and then Catholic populations were dispersed to slave labor in Barbados and other Caribbean island colonies in the seventeenth century, and political prisoners shipped off to Australia in the eighteenth century.

The most ambitious and arguably, the most nearly successful, campaign of genocide was Hitler's effort to extinguish the Jews. Unlike earlier offensives against Jews, such as the Inquisition and the Crusades, this was aimed not at converting, but at the complete obliteration of over 6 million human beings, to whom were attributed at least one Jewish grandparent! The Nazis felt so confident about their future success in extinguishing the Jews that they set aside some of the things they had looted from synagogues and homes for a "Museum of a Vanished Race," which they planned to establish in Prague. The worldwide population of Jews has never recovered the numbers destroyed by the Nazis.

Jews were not the only group targeted for destruction by the Third Reich, which decreed imprisonment and death were the penalties for homosexuals and lesbians. They were given a choice to either prove they could have sex with members of the opposite gender, or be consigned to death for their sexual preference. This might, in fact, be considered gender genocide. In Uganda and other African countries today, homosexuality is punishable by death. This resurrection of ancient tribal law is manifest in extremist politicized religious totalitarianism.

Another targeted "inferior race" were the ethnic Roma, or gypsies. The dark-skinned descendants of ancient nomadic tribes, perhaps Dravidians from what is now India, had long been marginalized in Europe. In his distorted identification of superior and inferior races, Hitler determined that the German people were the Aryans who had conquered the Roma and established their own culture in what is now India. Their conquered descendants had no place in an Aryan-dominated world.

The genocides that went largely unnoticed in Western Europe were aimed at extinguishing Chechens and other minority groups in the Soviet

Union, Kulaks, prisoners of war, and religious dissidents by Stalin's order. By consigning these groups to exile in Siberia and hard labor in the Gulag, Russian leaders created a society of anomie in which the inhabitants are stripped of identity, family, and community, as will be explored in a later chapter.

More recently, ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and in Rwanda targeted men, women, and children identified as ethnic enemies. In Cambodia, under the Khmer Rouge in the 1970s, close to two million men, women, and children were tortured, murdered, or consigned to death by starvation in what started as genocide against people who were ethnically Vietnamese or Chinese. It later grew to encompass the destruction of all urbanites, intellectuals, educated people, and professionals as the Khmer Rouge vowed to "purify" their society.

Tragically for those who fled the Khmer Rouge to refugee camps on the border in Thailand, no Cambodian doctors had survived to treat their sick and wounded—none were left among them who could transmit ancient cultural arts, religion, and traditions of the Khmer people except the body tattooing of warriors to "protect" them against bullets and other weapons.

The attacks and forced exile of the people of Darfur in Sudan also has been defined as genocide. The death toll reached nearly a million as 100 percent of the population had been displaced.

This appalling list of genocides could go on and on. World War II and the targeted destruction of Jews, Roma, and homosexuals would spur the creation of the United Nations, and particularly the Convention Against Genocide. Invoked, it became a powerful tool because it would bring enforcement and punitive measures to bear on perpetrators.

But women, as such, are not included in the definition of a "protected group." Given the historical purging of female infants and widows in China and India respectively, this seems an egregious oversight!

Current practices in Afghanistan and formerly among the Bedouin of the Negev render women less valuable than a dog or piece of furniture, unless she remains a virgin, carries a bride price, or bears a son. These societies give girls as young as 13 in marriage, maintain segregation of the sexes, deny education for girls, and practice polygamy and "honor" killings. In these and other places, also identified in this book, women and girls are raped, crippled, disfigured, and murdered by husbands, fathers, and other male relatives who are then not held accountable in law.

In other places, including Haiti, Darfur, and eastern Congo, women have been raped and murdered by predators within their communities; or by marauding militias. In still others, such as Liberia, they may be violated

by government troops that occupy, pillage, and murder, while state or international courts do nothing.

China and India for centuries have practiced female infanticide. The one-child-per-family rule that prevailed in China throughout the last half of the twentieth and part of the twenty-first centuries brought about a shortage of marriageable women today.

In India, it is now illegal to abort female fetuses, but this is nevertheless accomplished by precipitating miscarriage if a sonogram reveals that the fetus is female. In the countryside, girls are compelled into child marriages, only to be murdered when their dowry is used up, so a new bride—and dowry—can be sought. Girls as young as seven are sold into prostitution in India and rural Thailand, because in these impoverished societies, their female bodies are considered their only economic value.

Widows are no longer consigned to the funeral pyre when their husbands die, but Indian society harbors no safe haven for them. In most instances, their late husband's family inherits his estate and they are forced out of the household.

In Africa, gender genocide is part of every war, rebellion, and insecure dictatorship. Gang rape, enslavement, and murders of women and girls are common, while boys are forced to become child soldiers. These are the facts, whatever the United Nations Convention says about the Rights of the Child.

It is now evident that societies or political ideologies that are based in the goal of racial or ethnic “purification” or a definition of identity may for years or even for centuries practice ethnic obliteration, and their success ultimately will destroy their values, purpose, and perpetuity.

An early example of this was the eighth century CE invasion of the Caribs, who attempted to destroy the Arawak people in the Lesser Antilles and Guadeloupe islands. The Caribs, who were originally from the mountains in what is now Honduras and Guatemala, killed all the men and took the women back to their mountains, interbred with them, and succeeded in obliterating Arawak culture and ethnicity. But all of their women continued communicating to each other and their children in their own Arawak language. It became the “woman language” in this society. As the two ethnicities interbred, not only distinctive Arawak culture was obliterated, but also “pure” Carib ethnicity, language, and culture was altered forever.

Less clear historically, but suggestive of much earlier contention, is the Japanese “women’s language.” While in this instance, the language is a variation of Japanese, it distinguishes the speakers as being either women or young children. Separating a people from their language is a violation of the UN Genocide Convention.

Progress and even survival itself is predicated on developing the sense of moral justice. Beginning with very young children, this is recognition of “right” or “wrong” and “good” or “bad.” Youngsters look for signals from significant adults to direct their judgment and sensibilities. Human children (and perhaps those even of other primates), elaborate their perceptions through the creativity of their imaginations. In this way, order is formed out of an otherwise chaotic world. When this process, which Rollo May (1975) describes as the highest degree of mental health, is blocked by frustration and aggression, mental health itself is thwarted, producing a truncated moral judgment that in turn interferes with the ability to make choices. We find that societies in which violence is pervasive and anger against particular “others” is acceptable, serious mental health damage can be expected. (Fields 1988 etc.)

The individual’s anxiety about choice, placing unconscious feelings onto a symbol of the enemy, militates against learning self-control or self-direction. These are the social and psychological environmental agents to schizophrenia or sociopathy. Mental illness is linked directly with repressive styles of coping.¹

Mental Health Consequences in Genocidal Societies

As we review these genocidal societies we are not surprised at their limited progress, high incidence of suicide, infanticide, fratricide, patricide, addictions, alienation from reality, or psychosis.

I saw a striking example of this during my visit to a family in a Khmer Rouge camp. There were two young children, a father and a mother. The parents were telling me that their six-year-old boy never did what he was told, but also said he was a good boy. The boy, who was sitting on the floor of the hut, was impassive, but each time his parents said something about him, whether good or bad, he seemed to shrink inside himself and cast his eyes about, looking fearful. He was obviously uncertain if his father’s outstretched arm was about to hit or caress him (Fields 1988).

An 18-year-old Afghan young man was kidnapped from his home in California by his father and taken to Taliban-dominated Afghanistan at age 2. For 16 years he was repeatedly told that his mother had sold him, did not want him, and was a “whore” and a threat to his manhood. When he finally met his mother again he tried to kill her, to rape his sixteen-year-old cousin, and strangle his four-year-old half-brother. Having been raised under the Taliban, he was completely unable to reconcile with reality. His irrational anger toward women and young

children had been incorporated into his imagination as legitimate aggression directed at “inferior” beings.

Freud describes this inner conflict as the concretization, through which the schizophrenic reexperiences this violence by imaging himself doing what his parents did. This is the fractionation of the individual reiterated from that of the family and extended into the larger society. In such circumstances the foundations for continuity of the society are totally undermined.

Studies of the children of Nazi war criminals reveal mental health issues unamenable and irreconcilable. Although many of them had come to terms with their parents’ guilt (which had in many instances been expressed in suicide), it was unclear what proportion of this group required mental hospitalization. Well into middle age they continued to struggle with the lie that had permeated their childhood and the contradictions of reality as communicated to them by others (Bar-On 1998).

Multiply these individual outcomes across the genocidal societies into generations through probability statistics, and the intergenerational and demographic consequences loom flagrantly as overwhelmingly destructive.

Is there no escape for the prospective victims or the predators? We have to return to the questions about the Jews lined up at the entrance to the gas chambers at Auschwitz and the SS men who were waiting to release the Zyklon B gas into the “shower room.” The Nazis regarded the Jews as subhuman, and fit only for death. Killing them with gas was even viewed as humane by some of the murderers. Viktor Frankl describes how the victims, who could not choose to survive, only had a choice of how they would meet death.

The nongovernmental organization, Women for Afghan Women, along with other Non Governmental Organizations (NGO), were finally allowed to legally operate public women’s shelters in 2010 in Afghanistan for battered women, young girls who had run away from forced marriages, and women who had been barbarously disfigured and escaped total annihilation had refuge and a hope of medical treatment and survival. But in February 2011, the clerics and the government of Afghanistan announced that they would close down these shelters and bring the women under Afghan and Islamic law. They will be declared prostitutes because they have left their family domicile and at the very least jailed for infringing the law. Some shelters remain open, but the authorities could close them at any time, exposing these women to further harm.

Ironically, nothing in the Qur’an or Sharia law and commentaries supports these barbarities. Like genital mutilation and child marriage, these

are pre-Islamic customs at variance with Mohammed's teachings. Like suicide martyrdom, these practices have been hijacked to deceive and harness illiterate or uneducated but committed Muslims to a political agenda.

Many of the child brides are 13 and 14 years old and have been promised in marriage to old men in polygamous relationships. They are forced to live in inhuman conditions and breed sons. Animal-rights advocates would vigorously condemn similar housing conditions for chickens or laboratory animals. Without such shelters, if they run away they will be killed, have their feet burned or broken, and their faces disfigured.

This Afghanistan practice and new regulation is reminiscent of the fugitive slave laws in the pre-Civil War, United States. In both situations, religious law was invoked for rationalizing the irrational and normalizing the abnormal. And, if that is insufficient argument, the economic justification is invoked: the state or others cannot appropriate a man's property without due process.

Thus, even constitutional democracy cannot undermine slavery. Slaves by virtue of their ethnicity and African origin were, in the United States, "property." Women as a gender in Afghanistan and elsewhere are not accorded equal value as human beings. Even under the laws of a constitution and electoral regulations that grant "rights" to women in Afghanistan, as they did for black slaves in the United States, the oppressed class remained "property." US constitutional democracy tolerated these practices through racist laws that accorded black men two-fifths status as population to be represented in Congress, until the nineteenth amendment declared that all MEN were equal in the eyes of the law. It would take another constitutional amendment to grant women suffrage, but even the right to vote in Europe and the United States did not by itself make equal rights for women.

Women have been in the vanguard of the revolutions and struggles for human rights all over the world. Ironically, when the fighting is finished, women are essentially pushed off to the bedroom and kitchen. The Arab Spring is a contemporary example. Tawakkul Karman, the Yemeni human rights activist who received the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize (shared with Ellen Sirleaf Johnson and Leymah Gbowee, both of Liberia), expressed her apprehension about the future of women in her country, and in fact, Islamists (Salafists, the most extreme, antiwoman offshoot), have dominated the postrevolutionary politics in Egypt, Tunisia, and Yemen. Egyptian women active in the uprising recognize that they've been marginalized. The decision making, commissions, and committees do not include women and women

are among the substantial proportion of the population that is afraid of the changes the revolution espouses.

Social Systems and Institutions

A million women in Haiti live with their children in tentlike shanties with no door that can be locked, thereby leaving them vulnerable to predatory marauders. They are continually subjected to rape and robbery. The reports brought to the police by the victims are not filed and the predators not charged, or tried. If she tries to identify the criminal to the authorities the victim is more likely to get raped again or killed than find the justice.

Women simply are not counted, nor do they count in circumstances as dire as natural disasters and wars. In eastern Congo, within walking distance of a UN Peacekeeping military camp, 250 Congolese women and girls were repeatedly raped, beaten, and brutalized for a period of two weeks by rogue militias. The troops dispatched to protect them remained in their camp and did nothing.

This situation resembles that in Darfur, the southwestern enclave in Sudan whose territory is believed to be rich in minerals and particularly oil. The Arab Janjaweed militias razed villages and set them on fire, forcing out the women and girls who were then brutalized and killed. When the women and children fled to UN enclaves near the Chadian border, they were subject to attack by militiamen whenever they went out to fetch firewood or water. In this way, refugees from war were bereft of asylum.

It took the world years to notice what was happening in Darfur, and when international pressure finally was brought to bear on Sudan no one ever performed a count to determine the extent of the suffering and deaths. Once again, women were not counted, and do not count.

Clearly the institutions established by international agencies and the nongovernmental nonprofits are dysfunctional in their protection when women are brutalized and murdered. These incidents are sadly reminiscent of the role played by the International Red Cross regarding Nazi concentration camps and death factories. Genocide happened while the world stood by. And today, as the world stands by, genocidal acts and their victims are not counted.

After World War II, during the conferences that generated the Genocide Convention, participants raised questions about whether and when systematic destruction of a “protected class” occurs, there is no acceptable religious or cultural rationale to permit or fail to punish it.

Silence in the face of injustice and violence suffered by women is frequently justified as respect for the traditions of diverse cultures. This has led to the paralysis among the authorities best able to help these women.

When widows in India are thrown out of their homes after their husband dies and forced to beg or become prostitutes to secure their basic necessities, international groups hesitate to intervene, believing that that would intrude on a religious practice or tradition. Similarly, if a society's "culture" requires that the sexes be segregated, an international body might not invoke the codicil prohibiting segregation by sex that is part of the Genocide Convention's provisions against biological genocide. To date, no one ever has done so.

When Courts Do Work

What has been effective has been International Court of Justice, where leaders and instigators of horrendous violations have been tried and convicted, albeit following very slow trial procedures in the International Criminal Court.

Also effective are the human rights laws applied in the United States, where the Department of Justice has instituted special prosecutions to bar violators from entering the United States. If a human rights criminal is already in the United States, the law allows prosecution in US courts, even for violations committed elsewhere. At this point, however, the predator has to have entered the United States to be pursued, and due process must be served.

Under this statute, "Chucky" Taylor, the notorious son of Charles Taylor, was captured in Florida and tried. He is now serving a life term in prison.

While his father, former Liberian president Charles Taylor, was supporting rebel groups in neighboring Sierra Leone that committed widespread atrocities (for which he was recently convicted in the Special Court for Sierra Leone at The Hague), Chucky led his own militia to torture and murder women and girls from families or groups he suspected of political opposition. Chucky was particularly infamous for his particular animus against women. Witnesses describe him as expressing obvious delight as he tortured and gang-raped girls and women using rifles and AK47s to tear open their vaginas and rectums in gang rapes. His father, Charles Taylor was infamous during his reign in Liberia but was finally punished in the international court for the horrors he and his fellows committed in neighboring Sierra Leone. When their coup successfully overthrew the regime of Samuel Doe,

himself a mass murderer who terrorized his own country, they captured and cannibalized president Samuel Doe.

Neither Charles Taylor nor his son was charged with genocide, but rather with extensive human rights violations under international and US law. In a later chapter we will consider the bloody predations during 35 years of recent Liberian history in terms of gender genocide.

Many of the chapters of this volume are based on personal witness by the author and documented demographic studies of morbidity and mortality data, firsthand accounts, and psychological data on and from women whose lives were neither counted nor accounted for in the media, the halls of governments, or the courthouses of any country.

Taken together, a pattern of escalating violence against women presents itself. We know that to prevent genocide, there must be an intervention as the process gathers momentum. Gender genocide, now gathering momentum in Afghanistan and wherever extremist religious politicization transpires, must



Figure 1.3 Escalation of violence.

be prevented by enforcement of laws against violence against women. This pattern of violence leads inexorably to genocide.

Note

1. Academic Medical Center, *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, Department of Psychiatry (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Published in JAMA.) Sample survey of 1,011 respondents aged 15 years or older conducted in Nangahar Province during January through March 2003—43.7 percent experienced between 8–10 traumatic events; 14.1 percent reported 11 or more significant symptoms typical of anxiety, depressed PTSD higher rates of symptoms were associated with higher numbers of traumas experienced. Symptoms were more prevalent in women than men. Authors conclude that “mental health symptoms in this region should be addressed at the population and primary health care level.

CHAPTER 2

Africa: Gender Genocide

On a bright, beautiful, June day in Kenya, 1984, I was visiting an Irish Development Project. The unmarried mothers in that community had been organized into a kind of credit exchange cooperative not very different from their historical cultural position in many Kenyan villages. Unmarried women could not own land and in an agrarian society, that left them no livelihood. Since they were also uneducated they were economically dependent and in need of “protection.” Often beaten, raped, and victimized their options are few. In Kenya (and other places in Africa) they live in shacks with their children at the edge of town. They made “moonshine,” Africa-style and their “Shabeen” was the gathering place for men seeking sex and drink. They sold both. Each woman contributed to the “pot” the equivalent of a quarter a week. Each month they had a designated “project.” One month the money would go to Sheba to put a new roof on her house. The next month it would be Sabine’s new door, and so on. The nun, who was my guide, was from the religious order convent school in Nairobi that conceived the new project. She was born and raised in this village. The project was a piggery. They would start with one pregnant sow and glean corn from the fields to feed her; clean the sty and care for her and her offspring. Through sales and breeding, the piggery would eventually replace the Shabeen as their source of income and with that money—anything beyond the subsistence of the piggery—would become the collective “credit union.” On the day of my visit, a new well was being installed, courtesy Irish Development Board funds. The colorful scene was enhanced by the clear air that frames all color in the extraordinary “big sky,” typical of Africa.

Festive sounds were suddenly pierced by shrieks and screams. It sounded like a pig getting stuck.

“Do they already have a pig in the piggery?” I asked the nun.

“No. That is the sound of a girl undergoing circumcision in that hut over there.” She pointed toward the village. And the screams continued. It was blood curdling and I felt nauseous but had to wait until the ceremonies were concluded to inquire further.

“But this village is Christian? Can’t you do anything to stop this?”

“No,” she said. “The girls want it. They believe they will not find a husband if they are not circumcised. And you see what happens here to women without at husband!”

That was the lesson on African women not available in books and not brought for consideration to the international development table during the International Decade for Women. Female genital mutilation (FGM) was the dirty big secret about which there was also a big silence. The screams of the 14-year-old girl undergoing this ritual would never be heard at the international conferences from 1980–1990. This mutilation was performed by a woman with the participation of the girl’s mother.

The World Health Organization (WHO) has data on the incidence by countries (see below). Ironically, the practice has remained most consistent in Egypt where it stands in sharp contrast to the many women in engineering, science, business, and the arts.

The history of female circumcision has been traced to the second century BCE when a geographer, Agathraclides of Cindus wrote about its prevalence among tribes residing on the west coast of the Red Sea—now, present-day Egypt. It appears to have spread out from there through North Africa and northern sub-Saharan Africa. Egypt remains the center for this practice with the greatest proportion of girls and women circumcised.

It is probably derivative from the Pharaonic belief in the bisexuality of the gods. According to this credo, mortals, too, possessed this trait. Every individual, it was believed, possesses both a male and a female soul. In the male, the female soul is located in the prepuce of the penis, and in the female, the masculine soul is located in the clitoris. The female soul had to be excised from the male so he could become entirely masculine and the male soul excised from the female for girls to become women.

In ancient times, Egypt colonized or established as vassal regimes much of Africa through war, occupation and, exploitation of human and natural resources. Prior to the rise of Islam, Egyptians raided territories to the south for slaves. Sudanic (often referred to as Nubians) slaves were sold in territories along the Persian Gulf. They brought a higher price if the women were “sewn up” or infibulated in a way that made it impossible for them to give birth. After the conversion to Islam, the latter practice remained extant even though Islam prohibits Muslims from enslaving others of their own religion.

Nonetheless, Muslim women can and do become slaves in Islamic countries. Currently, as in ancient times, women from throughout the world are trafficked (as are children) to these countries as sex slaves.

The puzzle remains as to why female circumcision continued once Egypt converted to Islam. Few are aware of the early mythology but in Africa and Eurasia many people stereotype uncircumcised girls as more masculine. On the other hand, a rationale for this practice is that it controls a woman's sexuality. It is also valued because it ensures virginity—the most important characteristic of any female in tribal societies. It is part of a moral code.

Evolution from Tribal Law

Tribal law that has governed these relationships including family law was adapted originally for survival in a harsh and hostile social environment. As a practical matter, survival of the group and its perpetuation required protection of the least physically able among them, women, and the cultivation of masculine strength and power. Thus, gender distinctions are prominent features of many indigenous societies. In African family law, the indigenous or “conventional” or “customary” law governs family law (Woodman & Obilada, 1995) and because of the difficulty of “utilizing the customary in other realms of law (it) has obscured the realities of gender and generational conflict” (Chanock 1989, p. 172). Although these principles extend throughout the world, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, they are especially prominent as the defining feature of African civilization. The harsh and hostile social environment of and within Africa persists to the present and is a function of the exploitation and colonization of Africa and, most significantly, the degradation of Africa's natural environment.

Monotheism and Gender

All three monotheisms began as reform movements in Eurasia intended to purify the practices of paganism or tribalism and to protect women. Mosaic law ordered an end to pagan worship, human sacrifice, the institution of temple prostitutes, and so on. Nonetheless, as we shall see in chapter 3, from time to time and now, radical practitioners of Orthodox Judaism have incorporated practices denigrating to women and rationalized as in accordance with Torah. Jesus Christ was a reformer and early Christian teaching sought to purify the corruption in the practice of Judaic Law by Roman paganism of that time but it was also evangelical and as it spread (as described in European tribal law in chapter 8), it incorporated many of the customary

tribal practices that made Christianity more explicable to the new converts. For example, the Yule Log and the holly incorporated into Christmastime but had been part of Druidic Winter Solstice. And the revision of the Druidic New Year for Celts into All Saints or all Hallows Eve is a particularly dramatic instance of this phenomenon. Perhaps, even more specific to the subject of gender was the incorporation of pagan female goddesses of fertility into the Mary myth, as Fr. Andrew Greeley elaborated in his book of that name (*The Mary Myth*, 1974).

Islam is also evangelical. Tribal law became compounded with Quranic interpretation and directives. The more a group is threatened by natural forces or others, the more likely they are to revert to ancient tribal custom and beliefs for sustenance. Enslavement was contrary to Qur'an, but continues, especially in northern Africa as it had under Egyptian imperialism. Throughout North Africa now and after many centuries in countries in which the majority of the population is Muslim, enslavement of black Africans by the Arabic ruling class has been endemic. Noting this, Eldridge Cleaver said that he felt repulsed by American black Muslims and considered black nationalism his option.

In Sudan and in Libya for instance, this practice continues. Despite its breakaway for a new and democratic state, South Sudan clandestinely participates through intertribal warfare. Nubians from the mountains in the southern most regions continue to be captured in war or raids or tricked into slavery. Women taken as household servants, become, in fact sex slaves of their "masters." Little girls, viewed by their impoverished families as burdens where food is scarce, are handed off to distant relatives or presumed kindly strangers to be raised (and worked) as "wards" (something of a cross between unpaid servant and foster child) in more affluent surroundings. Contrary to the laws of states and international law, girls are married off at age 12 to much older men. In Niger, for instance, during this time of draught and famine, families take their girls out of school for early marriage, thus, reducing the number of mouths to feed.

In Africa and Asia, there is a premium on fair skin. Girls with this coloring bring a higher price and so are bartered and trafficked. This continues to be the case not only in North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, but in Haiti and other Caribbean countries—the latter are primarily Christian.

FGM, as noted above in Kenya, is also practiced in non-Islamic or Christian countries. Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Liberia, for instance, have predominantly Christian populations, where FGM is seen as a rite of passage from childhood into adulthood. In North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, it is usually performed in infancy on girls as well as boys.

Fosterage or Warders

This custom has counterparts in many tribal societies. In Celtic society under Brehan Law, it was necessary to form alliances by fostering children out at age 14 for girls. Similarly, under tribal law in Africa, the fosterage system often was used to consolidate connections between families—sometimes rural with urban and sometimes to provide for impoverished relatives who by sending their children off this way gave these children the opportunity for education and connection with the warder's family. This is done not only in Africa but also in Puerto Rico, Haiti, and other Caribbean countries. It was not unusual during the first two hundred years of the colonies and the establishment of the United States, for migrants to the cities and immigrants from abroad to send for daughters of their less affluent relatives in their rural home origins and from other countries to come and care for their homes and children.

African “Warders”

Two West African women, one from Cameroon and the other from Liberia described very different outcomes experienced in this system. These two women struggled their ways to different kinds of success. One of them, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became the first elected woman president of an African country, Liberia. The other, Desiree Douglas, has become a successful business woman in Washington, DC. She is neither as famous as President Sirleaf, nor as educated but also a survivor of violence against women—domestic, institutional, and political. Their stories have some striking similarities including each having a white European grandfather. Each is an example of common social demographics throughout Africa. Mortality and morbidity for women is high in Africa since maternal mortality is all too common. Contraception is in the control of men and medical care is especially scarce. Rural men have a significantly greater life expectancy. That changes for the urban population. Male life expectancy in urban areas decreases and women's life expectancy increases.

Desiree, one of several daughters in a family that had one white grandfather, a French Jew, was the youngest and darkest daughter. She was born in a rural village in Cameroon. Her parents each died when she was very young. Her mother died in childbirth when Desiree was seven and her father died in a car accident a couple of years later. She was raised by her grandmother until the latter could no longer care for her. She was sent to the city as a warder for her elder sisters. She had been physically and sexually abused as a warder and hungered for food and education. At 14, she was without any

support but her own wit and wisdom. Her maternal grandmother raised her but when she was 12 decided to send her to the city where her older, light-skinned sisters lived. When she first came to the city at age 12 she was used as a slave by her older sister. She was only allowed to eat in the kitchen after serving them. She tells it this way:

When they brought me to the city, my older sister had a child and went to Paris with her husband to live. They didn't have enough money to hire a baby sitter.

Desiree had to stay and care for the baby who was left with another older sister. Her brother, two years younger also lived in the same household. He was to wash the clothes and she was to cook and clean. The only play she had was with her younger brother with whom she worked at household tasks. Desiree had hoped that once in the city she would learn to read and write. She had neither time nor money to go to school. But she begged one of her sisters to get a book so she could learn to read. The only book they had in the house was an old Bible. That became the teacher and the tool for Desiree's literacy education. When her older sister came back from Europe she was a tailor. Since she didn't send Desiree to school and the child had to learn to do something she was taught to fix clothes. At age 14, she ran away.

Not long after she ran away from her sisters, Desiree was raped. She had a little job and she had rented a room but the people weren't paying her as they were supposed to so the landlord locked the door and once again she was on the street, cleaning houses when she could get a job.

At age 16 I got pregnant. At that time I had taken up with this guy and had a baby with him and one day he got tired of me and put me and the baby out in the middle of the night and I got raped again and got pregnant with my second daughter. One of my sisters said she would keep my two daughters; the younger one was a premature baby. My sister said that she didn't have enough to also feed me therefore I would have to go out and work and give her the money for my little girls.

So it was that at age 18, she was again on the street. At that point she had developed another skill—she knew how to braid hair. This was to become her livelihood. That year she went to Gabon with a couple of friends her own age. She was told that because she knew how to braid hair she could work in Gabon and make money and be happy. “When we went through immigration, they sent everyone else back” and she crossed by herself into a place

where she didn't know the country or the people. The police took her to the chief of police's house to be his property.

Thank God he wasn't home. His younger brother who was my age was there. I asked to go to the store and he showed me where to go. I met an older guy and asked him where the store was.

He walked with her and was nice and took her back to the police station to get her ID and purse. He then took her to his house and they treated her "so nice." The big chief with power and money came back the next day and gave her money. She had never seen so much money in all her life.

"I was so happy and he invited me to go to the capitol, the place where he was working. His sister adopted me and treated me so nice I didn't want to go away." The man gave her a ticket to join him in the city and brought more money and asked her to buy more clothes because she had only one set of clothes. "I felt like I had finally found a good family that would really care for me."

This became her life script. Desiree was trying to find a family in which she could love and be loved. This man wanted to marry her but he already had two wives so when she finally got to the same city he found her another place to live.

"Then he was very controlling and beat me up. He was maybe 48 years old."

As a single woman alone, Desiree had no protection from predators and no identity. In every instance she would search for a man with more money and power than the one she'd run away from in order to have protection.

"This new man helped me but the other one was still coming and threatening me."

She wasn't happy but had to stay there because "I didn't have a position. Every day he threatened and raped me and I ended up pregnant again. After the child died, I thought, well okay I can find a job. I was working like a servant and planning to be free but he took the money and beat me up. I couldn't say anything."

She ran away to a different state in Gabon. She worked and was single and happy. "I was working braiding hair for rich people and getting well paid and appreciated for it."

She had friends, sent her earnings to her sister to care for her daughters; and enjoyed her independence. But it was short-lived. One night they were en route to a club in a friend's car and there was an accident in which one of her friends lost her life and Desiree, comatose, was taken to a hospital.

After four surgeries I ended up with a limp because it wasn't done right. I decided to stay in the city where I was doing people's hair and doing so good and everybody loved me because I was doing hair so good. They were rich people who were having their hair done. I really loved them because they were so nice. Finally, I had a lot of money and could take care of myself.

"Then after I got well I sent everybody money to take care of the family but nobody cared for me. Sometimes I thought to commit suicide. I often felt like there was too much weighing on me. One day when I was doing hair, I met a woman, Stephanie Baker and she said to me 'Why can't you go to my country?' I said 'where is your country?' She said 'America.' I asked her where it was and she said she was from America and over there we have all kinds of people. She said 'if you go to my county you'll be rich.' I said 'do you pay people in America' and she said to 'do your research.' Of course I was not very good with reading and so I asked people to tell me where to go in America. Many of them said 'New York.' By then I began to look at maps and read a little and when Stephanie said

"Do more research" Stephanie said.

"I learned about Washington, D.C. She said that would be good for you. She said you need a visa and a passport. I went to the embassy and at that time I had eight or nine thousand dollars in my account and took my bank account, my green card from Gabon and my passport. So when I went to the embassy to ask general questions the people took my documents and said to pay \$50 and come back at 2 o'clock and get the visa. Didn't know they could give you a long term visa. So I travelled to America. I didn't speak English and had a hard time. Then I lived with a man in Washington. He was very nice at first" but then he stripped her of her clothes and money and again she was a slave. This was an African man and she was stuck because she didn't speak English or know anyone. She continues:

"Then with my money I put a down payment on a house. He didn't put in anything and he was using and making fun of me because I wasn't educated, didn't speak English and was handicapped. He was from Cameroon. I was scared to leave. I had two kids with him and he took my kids away from me. I didn't know the law. They put me on child support and I was paying

him \$800 a month for child support and one day the judge ordered him to never ask for more.”

When I married him I didn't know he had a problem. He didn't have a job and always slept and sometimes I saw his eyes red, I didn't know what drug symptoms were. Then I found out he was on drugs. He treated me a little better than the others did but he, too, was beating me. When it was time to go to immigration I didn't know I had to go and so I didn't go and then I was in trouble. They asked me to leave the country. My husband was on drugs on the street and when they asked me to leave the country I was pregnant with my seventh child. When they found out they let me go home. Then I hired a lawyer who didn't know what he was doing and tried to kill myself again. Then in the hospital, people talked to me and I found strength to go on. About six months afterward we separated. I lost all my businesses because my head wasn't straight. Worst of all, I lost custody of my two sons and because he had taken them he demanded money from me in child support.

By that time she had, besides her braiding business, a start in the moving business. She had a truck and hired drivers and helpers who did the moving while she set up the contracts and handled the money. “Was always depressed,” she said.

Her husband tried to follow her around and threatened to kill her.

She then met and married an African-American whose surname was, Douglas, which she still carries. “We met here. He showed me that he cared for me and loved me. Everything was fine and we were together for seven years but he lived in Raleigh, North Carolina, and he cared for my two boys that were the sons of the African. Finally we got married. That's when the abuse started again.”

He, too, called her names and beat her up. He wouldn't pay rent and wouldn't get out of her house. He abused her for five months and she threatened to call the police and he left. She says she had to let go of her two houses to foreclosure. Starting all over again now, she's happy, however. She is at home with her two sons, ages 10 and 13. Their father is her African-American husband. The two boys whose father was, like her, from Cameroon, are now age 21 and 18 they are at a private boarding school in Cameroon.

The daughter, who was born in Gabon in her relationship with a boyfriend is also now in the United States and herself has an infant girl. Desiree is caring for this grandbaby while she gets her moving business reestablished

with two trucks this time. Her older sons will, she is sure, have a good education in their boarding school in Cameroon and be helpful in running the business with her.

“I decided to convert to Judaism. And now I feel at peace with my life. I have educated myself and I have survived to see my children getting very good educations.”

She can read English but still has a problem learning to write. She has raised five children in the United States and now has three grandchildren. She has three daughters in America and another at home in Africa. All the boys were born here. She says:

The only place I was ever happy before was in my village. Because in the village you don't have everything you have in the city but there everyone loved and cared for each other. I loved the people from my village.

“Success” for an African woman can be calculated in many ways. But the requisite ego strength to refuse to become a “slave of a slave” originates in a loving family and is ensured through education.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, first woman elected president of an African country was also the first elected president of Liberia to be indigenous rather than Americo-Liberian. Her father was the son of a rural chief. The chief had a passing acquaintance with the then president of Liberia and was sent to be a “warder” in that household. He did very well in school and became a lawyer and then the first indigenous man elected to Liberia’s House of Representatives. Her mother, who was born of a marriage between a German émigré in Liberia and a Liberian market woman, was a warder with a family who treated her well in part because of her light skin. Her German grandfather had been forced to return to Germany when World War I broke out. Ellen’s brilliance in school fueled her ambition and her energy fed her determination. An outstanding student in high school, she fell in love at 17, with a man who had returned to Monrovia on a break following his BA and they married before he returned to do graduate work at the University of Wisconsin. She enrolled in a local business college and worked in a menial job in a drug store in Madison. He drank, was possessive and became more aggressive. They had four children and domestic violence had become a hazard for the health and safety of the family when Ellen Sirleaf Johnson applied for divorce.

She had earned a master’s in public administration specializing in finance and economics at Harvard University. Despite all her academic achievement and her increasingly responsible positions—finally as minister for finance, Sirleaf-Johnson was subjected to her husband’s violence and the

larger societal violence of the rice riots of April 1979, which presaged rapid development of a militant opposition. She survived the Doe coup in which President Tolbert and 13 of his ministers were tied to stakes on the beach, shot and their corpses left there. Corporal Samuel Doe's coup and his murderous regime that followed drove her to exile. She had been imprisoned once by that time and narrowly escaped torture and imprisonment again. It became quite clear that Liberia's democracy had ended. (Many experts on that country believed it had never existed.) In comparison with its neighbors that were under colonial rule by England and France, Liberia was medieval. Sirleaf Johnson went into exile and from her positions with major banking institutions and then at the United Nations, she worked to establish basic market forces and institutions first for West Africa and then for all Africa. She returned to Liberia in 1984 when Doe declared there would be elections.

To an outsider coming from abroad with only a superficial knowledge of Liberia's political morass and corruption, it seemed plausible. But it was a closed, chaotic, and fearful society, I quickly learned. As Ellen's guest and in my capacity as a broadcast journalist for Pacifica Radio, I met the major political players. Leaders of most of the other parties, besides Ellen's were Americo-Liberians each with slight differences in political philosophy and governing intentions. Much of the turmoil and violence had never been reported. The geopolitics of the United States required support of whatever regime was ruling Liberia because it was the American door (and window) on Africa at a time when Soviet influence threatened to dominate newly independent countries and affect revolutionary dynamics in others. The west coast of Africa was believed to be potentially oil rich and in the decades since, this has proven true.

War, as any violence, suffers women first and last. The death count may be of soldiers or of "militants," but women especially are the helpless victims and often not counted. Such was the case in Liberia. Despite the lack of resistance or civil war to initially oppose Doe's coup, mass atrocities followed. Doe and his soldiers were determined to wipe out everything reminiscent of centuries long domination by Americo-Liberians and their descendants. Educational and health institutions were targeted symbols of their perceived subjugation. The University of Liberia in Monrovia was stormed by Doe's army and occupied. Unknown numbers of students were killed. Women students and faculty—even the 70-year-old president—were multiply raped, sodomized, and murdered heinously. The University in Monrovia was abandoned as was all higher education and much of primary and secondary schooling for years afterwards. Hospitals were destroyed and sacked, medical personnel murdered, and nurses raped and killed with

particular ferocity. Besides the desperate lack of medical treatment available, the condition of the single mental hospital was reduced to primitive savagery—they were left without attendants and what food they had was handed through the windows and therefore only accessible to the strongest of these helpless patients. There was no count neither during the Doe regime nor the tumultuous, violent years that followed when a series of “victors” claimed sovereignty until the most vicious, supported by Libya’s Ghadafi as well as international arms dealers separately provided Taylor’s war machine with weapons in return for raw diamonds. He had taken over from Yonnie Johnson who did have an army but lacked the finances to “buy” an army. Charles Taylor took over Liberia and extended his ambitions to Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast. Despite Ellen’s acquaintance with the successors to Doe, after being imprisoned by him in 1985 and undergoing torture, threats, and deprivations, she returned to her work at the United Nations heading up the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for Africa through which she was able to extend her expertise. First, she served as head of the UNDP and then as head of the United Nations Pan Africa Program. In these capacities she honed her skills in international finance. This served her and Liberia very well when as newly elected president of bankrupt Liberia she had to develop a financial system and scour the international banking community for funding. Now as elected president in her second term, she has partnered with President Banda of Malawi to make real change for African women.

Current reports from several Interpress Services quote her as saying: “In 1997, market women didn’t know much about elections,” she told IPS. “In 2005, they tried, but they all voted with thumb prints. But in 2011, most of the market women were able to mark their names.”

On education, figures indicated that the ratio of girls enrolled in school continued to climb toward parity with boys. The 2010 UNDP report on Liberia and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) confirms this, noting that the ratio of girls to boys receiving a primary education stands at 0.88:1, and for secondary education, 0.69:1. Liberia is on track to achieve its targets on girls’ education.

With regard to women’s health, Liberia’s five-year “Road Map,” launched in March 2011, aims to cut in half Liberia’s high rate of maternal and newborn death” and calls for “increasing the number of skilled birth attendants at all levels of the health care system by 50 per cent.” According to the country’s 2007 Demographic and Health Survey, Liberia’s maternal mortality rate is 994 deaths for every 100,000 live births—one of the highest in the world.

Banda has also strengthened the voice of women in government through the appointment of eight women to senior cabinet positions. She has assigned

women to the positions of deputy chief secretary to government and deputy director inspector general of police. In this she followed on the heels of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's cabinet appointments. Many Liberian cabinet ministers are women who served in UN Development positions and in NGOs during their exile from Liberia. Banda has advanced women's economic empowerment through the introduction of an agricultural program and a market initiative.

The presidential initiative on maternal health and safe motherhood that is still to be launched, Banda admits that in this too, she is following the footsteps of Sirleaf. "This one, I learned from my big sister," Banda said in an interview with IPS recently.

"Malawi's maternal mortality rate is as high as 675 deaths per 100,000 (live births)," Banda noted. "As a woman president and a mother, I feel it is my obligation to stop the unnecessary deaths of women."

Litha Musyimi-Ogana, head of the Women, Gender, and Development Directorate for the African Union, applauded the partnership she sees taking shape between Sirleaf and Banda. "I fully embrace the pronouncement," she said in a telephone interview from Johannesburg. "It is wonderful news to hear that President Banda and President Sirleaf have prioritized the African Women's Decade and (have agreed) to work together to advance women's rights." Musyimi-Ogana added that on behalf of African Union (AU) Commission head, Jean Ping, the organization pledged to make its top representatives and resources available to Sirleaf and Banda, to accomplish the goals of the AU Women's Decade.

Banda also made the point that that she believes her responsibility for ensuring women's rights extends beyond Malawi.

"I know that women in Africa still face many challenges due to HIV and AIDS, poverty, conflict, and harmful cultural practices, among other issues," Banda said as she looked over to Sirleaf. "However, I firmly believe that you and I will tirelessly work together to make sure that women's rights on the continent get better."

"Now we have Joyce," the moderator said. "Now President Sirleaf is not going to be lonely among men anymore. She has a counterpart."

East Africa; Mother Earth

The late Wangari Maathai, eloquent scientist and activist from Kenya recognized the connections between the degradation of the landscape and the degradation of women. She was the first African woman to become Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 2004, honored for her work in social forestry—saving Kenya from desertification, and in recognition that

environmental degradation is prelude to violence in competition for scarce resources and the dehumanization that accompanies violence. In 1980, at the Copenhagen Mid-Decade UN conference on Women she advised me privately, not to ruffle the waters with talk about FGM. This could not be changed she said. Dr. Wangari Maathai had ruffled the waters considerably and suffered the consequences. She organized the Green Belt Movement with the National Organization of Kenyan Women. In a few years it became an independent, nonprofit that has become internationally recognized. Her struggle to save “mother earth,” as she called it, was her struggle as a woman to save her gender from the backbreaking work of collecting firewood and water for their families. She organized women and provided them with potential income for planting and caring for trees of indigenous species. In her beloved Mount Kenya, acres of deep-rooted mahogany had been excised from the land, denuding and denigrating mother earth to plant coffee trees. The wood from the native species was made into crates for shipping coffee and tea to Europe. Nonetheless, when Professor Maathai by then recognized as an internationally prominent environmentalist, took the lead in opposing President Moi’s plans to turn the urban forest near the center of Nairobi’s business and commercial area into another skyscraper, she marched in the lead and was clubbed, arrested, and jailed. She certainly is no coward and not a conformist. But the practice of genital mutilation has been so hidden from the rest of the world, most often by the victims themselves, that it is a prime example of complicity of the victims with the victimizer.

Professor Maathai at age 14 had developed extraordinary self confidence and a sense of moral justice buttressed by the Loretto nuns who were her teachers. Maathai’s idea of who she could become and the doors she must open to get there, derived from these Irish nuns and Kikuyu women who had taken active part in the rebellion against British rule. The psychological foundations essential for fighting against overwhelming odds is self confidence to the level of righteous indignation when confronted with moral injustice. For most girls growing up under circumstances of “gender genocide,” it is unthinkable to oppose the myths and the reality that survival, fiscal, and physical is dependent on social and fiscal support through marriage—even and especially polygamous marriage. Wangari Maathai, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, and Deseree Douglas did the unpardonable—they divorced husbands who were violent and cruel to them. They supported and raised their children themselves and weathered social and political slurs unflinchingly and proud.

Women in Africa have had to take the lead in opposing violence against women including the horror of FGM. In the last quarter of the twentieth

century, several of these women I was privileged to know, defied the myths and conventions. Aisha Liadi, Algerian writer and activist, had long been told that this practice was part of Islam. She studied Qur'an and the commentaries. She learned everything she could about Sharia, but nowhere could she find any requirement for female children to be circumcised. So for many years she traveled all over Algeria and debated with Imams and Islamic religious scholars about this practice. Those who returned to their books to study the issue recognized the truth of Aisha's argument. In fact, this was an ancient pre-Islamic practice that was incorporated into Islam despite Mohamed's avowed intention to make the lives of women better through his teachings.

This is another example of the political hijacking of religion, as is Jihadi Suicide martyrdom killings. As for female circumcision, like child marriages, it has crippled women physically and rendered them socially and economically dependent. Aisha's books and person were ultimately banned because of her feminist views. She spent many years living as an exile in Europe, Mexico, and the United States.

In the past couple of years, the practice of FGM is no longer hidden under the conference tables at the United Nations. In fact, "violence against women," a 2010 UN Resolution has been ratified in many countries including the United States. A 2010 report by UNICEF (below) spells out the frustration of international efforts to stop this practice.

***UNICEF Issues Call to Eliminate Female Genital Mutilation/
Cutting within a Generation***

NEW YORK, 6 February 2007—In spite of a global commitment following the 2002 UN Special Session on Children to end Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) by 2010, the practice is still widespread, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East.

Every year, an estimated three million girls in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East undergo FGM/C, and more than 130 million women and girls have been subjected to the painful practice, the potential consequences of which include prolonged bleeding, infection, infertility, and even death. According to a 2006 WHO study, FGM/C may also lead to obstetrical complications during childbirth. For example, women who have undergone FGM/C are more likely to:

- Require a Cesarean section due to delivery complications.
- Experience postpartum hemorrhage.
- Require an episiotomy.

- Have an extended hospital stay.
- Give birth to a child requiring resuscitation.

To put an end to this harmful practice, UNICEF will spearhead a coordinated effort in 2007 to slash FGM/C in 16 African countries by 2015—the target year for achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

Beyond the 2015 goal, the campaign will aim to eliminate the practice altogether within a generation. UNICEF's partners in this campaign include other UN agencies, international financial institutions, civil society, academia, the private sector and donor governments. For example, the Italian government showed its commitment to end FGM/C in 2006 by contributing 1.8 million Euros to support FGM/C abandonment programmes in 11 African countries.

The ambitious goal of eliminating FGM/C within a generation can be achieved by building on the progress of existing programmes and practices. Community-based programmers are particularly effective in combating the problem. Among those efforts that have already met with success are:

- Tostan, a community-led education project in Senegal supported by UNICEF. Tostan has been instrumental in inspiring tens of thousands of people to declare their abandonment of FGM/C.
- The “FGM-Free Village Model” project in Egypt, which brings together government, UN partners and NGOs to encourage villages to make public declarations against FGM/C.
- Sudan's religious leaders are using their authority to affirm that FGM/C is a violation of spiritual and theological principles. Methods such as these have already led to a decline in the practice of FGM/C in some countries—among them the Central African Republic, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria and Yemen.

There are no statistics on the decline in the practice of FGM/C in the listed countries. International sanctions against this practice have been imposed under the conventions on The Rights of Children!

Environmental Degradation / Gender Degradation

Violence against women has, in fact, escalated in Africa as have civil wars and revolutions. Wherever and whenever civil chaos reigns in Africa, women are raped, abused, and murdered. Reports and data from east Congo reveal that United Nations peacekeeping troops may be encamped within 200 yards of a refugee site and fail to act to prevent, stop, or enforce militias

and armies from raping and murdering women for weeks at a time. On the other hand, international attention was galvanized by a news photo of an Egyptian woman protester against military domination who was partially stripped of her Abaya and dragged by it and her hair on the cobbled street while being kicked and beaten by Egyptian military. She was wearing a blue bra that was exposed along with her nearly naked torso. This evoked official condemnations from the president of the United States, the United Nations, and international mobilization around the symbol of the Blue Bra. Sally Quinn journalist and author wrote:

This plaintive cry for recognition could well be echoed by billions of women across the globe . . . Let's not allow the young woman in Egypt to have been beaten, stripped and exposed in vain. Let's make her humiliation our triumph. (*Washington Post*, Saturday, December 31, 2011)

These are atrocities for which there is presently no effective prevention. The international criminal court requires petitioners be represented and witnesses identified. Furthermore, the nation against which these charges are filed must have tried through its own legal system to proceed against presumed responsible parties. Thus, Charles Taylor, formerly president of Liberia whose militias during that period, murdered, gang raped, and robbed, could not be tried in Liberia because his wife was in parliament! And charges against him would spark a renewed civil war. He has been tried by the international court, however, for the outrages he commanded in Sierra Leone and as of this writing, after a five-year-long trial was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment.

Sudan, for instance, has denied complicity in the rape and murder of more than a million black Sudanese. The Darfur region, originally assumed to be part of South Sudan, is purportedly rich in oil reserves. This makes it yet another bone of contention between the two Sudans. As we shall see, the mineral wealth of Africa, along with its history of European colonialism and Arab enslavement together contributes to a degraded landscape, desertification, and subsistence farming that is not competitive on the world markets.

Kenya, one of the most economically successful and socially advanced nations in East Africa, was, in very recent times, engaged in a contested election. The rivalries broke down tribally and heralded back to tribal territorial disputes between the Kikuyu and the Luo. Women and girls were the first targets of the mob violence. This harkens back to colonial times when the interethnic animosities were primarily between the Masai and the Kikuyu. The former were nomadic herdsman and the latter, the agrarian

land cultivators. Tribal and ethnic rivalries were manipulated by colonial powers all over Africa and Asia. The residual consequences are etched on the bodies of women—the most vulnerable and helpless.

Echoes of these horrors resonate in the United States and Western Europe. Women flee for asylum with their girl children to these countries to save their daughters from child marriages, themselves from the patriarchal punitive polygamous practices, and often now to save their children from genital mutilation.

The United States and several Western European countries have set jurisprudential precedents granting asylum to these seekers.

The only statistical data available are the maternal morbidity and mortality data maintained by the WHO and that is sparse and incomplete. When women die in Africa whether by disease, starvation, childbirth, or murder, they are not counted unless they die in hospitals. There is no way of knowing how great an atrocity has been committed when there is no body count.

The degradation of women is the most immediately obvious correlate of war and violence. Hidden behind the wars and revolutions is the Environmental Degradation that results in scarcity, corruption, and competition for scarce resources that fuels war, migration, and revolution (Fields 1985c). Africa is a prime example of this progression. One of the more obvious connections is in the international mineral mining trade pervasive throughout the continent. No less than in ancient times, Africa is rich in minerals, ranging from gold and diamonds to cobalt and uranium. Mining is not conducive to environmental conservation; in fact, it is the opposite in that destruction of forested areas and use of explosives as well as chemical discharges from the machinery are directly culpable for soil erosion, pathological air pollution with consequent flooding, landslides, climate change, and destruction of habitat for indigenous species. Of course, competition for these resources fuels wars, drought, and famine. Blood Diamonds became an international issue as Charles Taylor, once ruler of Liberia, used diamonds mined in West Africa to purchase weapons and armies that established and then expanded his hegemony over Liberia and Sierra Leone. He has now been sentenced by the World Court in The Hague to life in prison for his crimes against humanity in Sierra Leone. He conducted the same crimes as leader in Liberia but is unlikely to face adjudication or penalties for those atrocities, in part, because Liberia is a very fragile democracy and remains fractionated on tribal and political party lines.

Swaziland, adjacent to South Africa and Mozambique in southeastern Africa was founded as a monarchy in 1848 and a British protectorate in 1894. It became independent in 1968. But the women remain subjugated to a tribal practice that antedates the monarchy. All 18-year-old females are

required to participate annually in The Reed Dance Ceremony. Naked, they perform a ritual in the reed filled waters and are summoned to dance for the king. Each year, he selects one to be his bride. Penalties for avoiding participation or for leaving the kingdom after being selected are dire. The young woman and her family may be subjected to death penalties. The ceremony itself is a birthday ritual for the king and allows him a harem commensurate with his age. Swazi is a beautiful country with forests, waterfalls, and resort casinos that cater to all of southern Africa and British tourists. It has never been cited in international arenas for this femicidal practice.

Today, in Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, 33-year president of that country is mining diamonds to further extend his sovereignty and enrich himself and his supporters. In Congo, armies and militias are waging war and destroying women and children who are unable to escape their ravages. All of this “land clearance” targets the helpless and vulnerable. Boy children are intimidated into becoming child soldiers often high on drugs. Girl children become sex slaves.

Famine in Somalia with attendant refugee flight is a dramatic example of genocide through reversion to tribal conflict and finally reincarnated as political-religious factions that has prevented any farming or herding. It has prevented delivery of food aid. Since 80 percent of the farmers in sub-Saharan Africa are women this destruction by war has wreaked havoc on generations of Somali and other women.

Mining and, of course, oil drilling not only destroy the fragile eco system, but also are the means to enormous wealth for dictators and their allies. They are the leaseholders on the land itself. Rarely if ever has a mine or its production been owned by a black African until Robert Mugabe recently began diamond mining in Zimbabwe and Charles Taylor exploited the mineral wealth of West Africa to barter for weapons with Muammar Ghadalfi.

Not even mining corporations are under African ownership. The expired, eroded land and the debris from the production when there is no more to be gotten from it becomes the dangerous playground for the children and the source of poisonous by-products that are carcinogenic. The money for the permits, the leases, and the rents are fed into the coffers of government officials, police, and military officers.

Corruption is rampant in Africa. As Sanford Unger observed: “In terms of corruption Liberia became a leader in Africa and the Third World” (Unger 1986, p. 69). Now, President Sirleaf considers this “disease” the worst enemy of justice and democracy in Africa.

But besides the environmental degradation by mining, and deforestation, the old colonial system compelled subsistence farming into a Cash Crop Economy instead. The land was extensively raped by sugar cane, coffee,

tea, and rubber plantations. Portugal and the Portuguese African colonies, Guinea-Bissou, Angola, Mozambique provided for Metropolitan Portugal greater trade economy and GDP, than did the mainland. It became clear, in fact, that the colonies were producing wealth for many other European States; South Africa and the United States through their agricultural, mining, and oil. Most of these productive treasures were actually owned by non-Portuguese corporations. The sugar crops of Mozambique and Angola were, for example, owned by British refineries and the oil wealth of Cabinda in Angola belonged to Chevron, a US oil giant. When the international price of sugar went down, the planters simply let the farming tools rot in the wasteland that had been cropland, and the earth was further contaminated by the decomposing metals. Portuguese Africans and metropolitan Portuguese were constrained to purchase back from the British refineries, a poor quality of the sugar they produced in the outdated refineries in Portugal. Meanwhile, these same refineries were selling Irish Beet Sugar at premium prices throughout Europe. The Irish sugar beets sold at a premium that prospered the British refineries—not the Irish farmers.

Just as the British colonial(ized) Ireland and exported human resources in the form of laborers, the Portuguese entered the slave trade in Africa and for 400 years, provided cheap labor for the Western Hemisphere and Europe. Portuguese colonization differed from British and Dutch in that the planters were generally single men seeking their fortunes and when they established their claims they formed relationships with African women and established families who were *misto*- or racially mixed. These offspring were usually sent back to Portugal for education.

Many of the leaders of the revolutionary movements in the colonies were the well-educated, Portuguese citizen offspring of these unions. This accounted for the large proportion of racially mixed population in Lisbon particularly. Women became the bridge into Europeanization for Africans through these relationships in Africa and in the Portuguese colonies in Asia (Macao and Timor) (Fields 1976).

South African gold mining had relied on exploited laborers from impoverished Mozambique. They had to leave their wives and families behind and live in company housing next to the mines. These men without women soon became predators on South African women and girls and the proceeds of their labor were not always directed to their wives and families in Mozambique. Adding to the disintegration of their home country was the civil war that erupted when the Portuguese occupancy and administration left (Fields 1976).

In Angola and in Guinea Bissau, the civil war following the departure of the Portuguese military took on tribal features. In the latter, the MPLA

or the Movement of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola who inherited the reins of governance from the Portuguese as well as the Cabinda oil fields became embroiled in a two-front war. Jonas Swawimbi, supported by the United States organized the tribes from the interior, mercenaries, and conscripted child soldiers (duplicating the strategy in Mozambique). In Cabinda, Holden Roberto carried on a guerilla war, also funded by the United States to keep the oil in the hands of Chevron and prevent the MPLA-led government from exploiting its wealth. These civil wars had a longevity that thwarted the development of civil institutions and delivery of health, education, and market forces in these newly independent nations.

Altruism and Aggression

Homonids came out of Africa and some of the social behaviors of these “greatest of the great apes” formed tribes. Their cousins, observed by Jane Goodall and others formed bands with 12–18 males all related to each other and fiercely territorial. The females often formed families in which “aunties” and other female relatives would aid caring for the newborn and less able youngsters. In a two-day conversation with Jane Goodall in her home in Tanzania, we talked and puzzled together about altruism and aggression in apes and humans. Jane Goodall, as usual, made some very astute observations that altruistic behavior in young chimps was more probable when they were the offspring of high-status mothers. This corresponds so well with what I and other social psychologists and clinicians have learned about status, security, stress, and the effects of these conditions on the developing brain and consequent behaviors. Children raised by confident mothers with adequate nutrition and consistent expectations are more likely to give of themselves and their resources to others. Conversely, the stresses of poverty, trauma, and insecurity contribute to violence, vendetta, and social instability. The vulnerability of their mothers to premature death, disease, and victimization contributes to intergenerational, longitudinal health and behavioral anomalies.

CHAPTER 3

The Negev Bedouin: A Contemporary Remnant of Ancient Tribal Society

The legal system of any society is an organic outgrowth of the informal culture of a people. It is the formalization of the customs, mores, morals, mythologies, customs, and beliefs distilled through language to become the foundation for the institutions of a formal society, or in many cases, a nation-state.

When there is a smooth progression from the informal system into the formal one, the primary institution in every society, evolves into the socialization program for the young from generation to generation. That which is “customary” or traditional is expressed in relationships between and among individuals and groups, including the legal institutions. Gender distinctions, rules, and regulations are a major expression of this formalization.

This formal system evolves in the course of events to adapt to the ecological, economic, and geopolitical realities. These compel the institutional changes that interact with each other as the legal and economic support for the institutions that comprise the formal society. (Please refer to figure 1.1.)

Under colonialism a foreign legal system is imposed on the informal culture that may or may not fit well. When it does not, the indigenous family system becomes outside of or “marginal” to the legal systems and the institutions that system has generated and which in turn exist to support that legal system.

Gender roles and relationships are a critical nucleus for the primary group—the family—and through it, the socialization of the young through interactions with these institutions.

When the informal social group is nomadic, pastoral, and agricultural, their informal system reinforces that way of life and economic structure. The legal system, formalized becomes the foundation for the economic system and the institutions that evolve from and encase the primary group. When the legal system is imposed by a foreign power, as in colonialism, the social institutions are alienated from the indigenous people. The formalized system may incorporate “common” or tribal law but the institutions adapt to survival in the newer ecology. The tribal law that has governed these relationships, including family law, was adapted to survival in a harsh and hostile social environment.

As a practical matter, survival of the group and its perpetuation required protection of the most vulnerable among them, including women, and the cultivation of masculine strength and power. Thus, gender-role distinctions are prominent features of many indigenous societies.

In Africa, tribal or customary law governs family law (Woodman and Obilade 1995), and because of the difficulty of “utilizing the customary in other realms of law [it] has obscured the realities of gender and generational conflict” (Chanock 1989, p. 172).

Urbanization and the Bedouin

The circumstances for the Bedouin are broadly similar. Bedouin family law, which prevailed for at least 3,000 years, is increasingly alien to conditions of life in a settled, urban, nation-state in which the law of the state mandates all of the institutions of socialization and family law is among the major changes.

For the Bedouin family in the Negev of Israel, the intersection between the formal legal system (in which a woman may feel identified) and family law can become a crisis point. Both systems of law purport to protect women, but respective implementation of “protection” is frequently at odds. This chapter highlights these confluences and contradictions as evidenced in one group descended from and sustaining ancient tribal law.

The Bedouin of the Negev are indeed the minority of a minority in the Middle East. At the time of Mohammed, in contrast, they were the vast majority of the inhabitants of most of Eurasia. With a population approaching 150,000 in 2004, the Bedouin of the Negev remain one of the persistent traditionalist patriarchal, patrilineal distinctive cultures in the Middle East today. In a harsh geopolitical environment with frequent droughts and famines; competition for natural resources inciting enmities, they asserted their dominance over nature and less adaptable societies. In their value system, females did not contribute to the general prosperity, except as they bore sons whose patrilineal descent was of absolute probity.

The modern history of the Negev Bedouin parallels the division of the Arabian Peninsula by the victorious World War I Allied forces, which planned to carve out kingdoms and republics to become their colonial satellites in the Middle East. These territories had been ruled by the Ottomans for millennia as the core of their empire.

British military leaders had recognized the prospective importance of oil for victory. Much of their oil at that time originated in Persia and geologists were convinced that control of the Ottoman Empire would facilitate control of that commodity.

The French and British divided up their pieces of the Middle East into republics by the former and kingdoms by the latter. That is, all except the Holy Land, because the all-but-defunct League of Nations had made it a British mandate adopting the ancient Roman name of Palestine.

This is where our story about the Bedouin of the Negev really begins. The Bedouin have been described as historically independent and homogenous (Chatty 1986). Their independent, indigenous way of life became problematic after the birth of the modern state of Israel in 1948, but roughly 11,000 remained in the new state (Swirski and Hasson 2006; Pessate-Schubert 2003).

The Bedouin community in the Negev includes several tribes, which provide the base for economic, social, and political life (Haddad 1980). Within the tribes the extended family embraces an authoritarian, patriarchal power structure (Antonovsky et al. 1978) based on kinship, shared group goals, and selflessness “with particular emphasis on hospitality, power, courage, confrontation and fierceness” (Al-Krenawi 2004; Elbedour, Van Slyck, and Stern 1998), making the Bedouin community self-sufficient. Similar to other Arab families, the authoritarian structure and extended family composition of the Bedouin community has clearly delineated familial roles requiring all family members to be receptive to their roles and status. Family structure in such societies forms the protective framework that is morally, legally, and economically responsible for women within it. Women, compared, to men are considered subordinates and are treated as dependents in need of protection by men (Kulwicki 2002, 84).

Within the Bedouin community there is a strong allegiance to the tribe, the clan, and the extended family. There is particular focus on preserving their connections within their intra-familial networks rather than on individual needs, rights, and fulfillment. Change comes at a slower pace in the traditional society such as that of the Bedouin, but it also affords family members greater stability through lasting family ties (Al-Krenawi 1998). Bedouin society, like most tribal societies and early Celtic societies, emphasized the collective rather than the individual. They might be labeled communal rather than communistic.

Gelfand, Triandis, and Chan (1996) define collectivism as social outlook or culture in which an in-group member functions as an interdependent part of a collective, such as a family, tribe, work-group, religious group, party, or geographic district. In individualistic cultures, people expect to take care of themselves and their immediate families only (Hofsteder and Bond 1984). According to Bailey (2009) and Al-Krenawi, since 1960 the state of Israel has tried to settle the Bedouin in seven new towns. In the process, the Bedouin population has undergone considerable change, both mandated and accommodated without consideration of their traditional lifestyle (Dinero 1996; Falah 1989; Lithwick 2003; Meir 2009). These permanent settlements incorporate modern community services the Bedouin previously lacked, including electricity, clean running water, sewage, schooling, health facilities, and social welfare programs. To further foster their adjustment to settled life Israeli authorities specifically outlawed Bedouin settlement outside of these towns. (Dinero 1996; Yiftachel 2008). This was in keeping with the old Ottoman land-use practice of keeping agricultural land close to towns and villages.

But because the Bedouin economic mainstay was its large-scale pastoral economy, this settlement policy has brought about a massive displacement and had profound social impacts as the Bedouin of the Negev have undergone a very rapid process of urbanization. In these towns, the Bedouin often experience the emotional stresses of displacement manifest in social and economic adjustment difficulties. Internal cohesion has loosened, and socio-economic problems have arisen that are characteristic of what Durkheim labeled “anomie,” or identity chaos, commonly associated with poverty, unemployment, drug trafficking, and drug abuse (Abu-Rabia 2005; Bailey 2000; Elbedour et al. 2009; Swirski and Hasson 2006). This condition, psychologically and socially exacerbates antisocial and asocial behaviors such as these. Complicating the social integration of the settled an unrecognized Bedouin homes and clustered habitations.

Most detrimentally affected are unrecognized and “illegal” villages in which resides 50 percent of the Negev Bedouin population. These villages are denied access to state funding or support and are episodically demolished in an effort to relocate those populations into the land the administration has reserved for them. The pastoral nomadic way of life of the Bedouin community was modernized in less than five decades, compelling changes in a tribal structure that had been nearly constant for three millennia. The reorganization forced people to bridge the social-evolutionary gap almost overnight, in the process changing pivotal role relationships within indigenous families and institutions (Chatty 1986).

The urbanization of the Bedouin community is economic and technological in nature. It is organized and supported by multinational corporations

that are directly concerned with global affairs. But this modernization process conflicts with Bedouin tradition and many see it as weakening the family ties of the traditional pastoral communities. (Pessate-Schubert 2003). According to Abu-Rabia Queder (2006), prior to the move to the villages, women's role definitions were fixed on familial tasks such as preparing meals and caring for the sheep, goats, and camels, as well as the home/tent. As the Bedouin community settled into villages, modern machinery did much of this work. Thus, in the opinion of these authorities women became useless and unproductive in their own domestic space.

According to modernity theory, the worldwide shift from agrarian to urban life has diminished patriarchal roles and has been replacing the authority and influence of the family with schools, media, technology, and the workplace (Inkeles 1996; Schvaneveldt, Kerpelman and Schvaneveldt 2005). Modernization depresses the significance of family as the vector for social relationships, and intergenerational transmission of cultural practices and values. Instead, social media have become key transmitters for what had been intergenerational culture, values, and standards.

The transformative process affects traditional cultural parameters. At this moment in history, it is increasingly clear that the revolutionary activity of what is euphemistically called "the Arab spring" was probably previewed in the much less overtly dramatic but substantive changes in the society of the Bedouin of the Negev. The key difference is apparently that among the Arab uprisings, there is no transformative political template, whereas the Bedouin have been incorporating modernity with tradition to create a unique template of their own.

Change in gender roles perhaps embodies this more than anything else. That change has affected critical spheres of institutional interaction with and by the family unit such as employment, education, social services, and most significantly, the culture itself: morals, mores, mythologies, beliefs and, perhaps most important, the legal and economic foundation of the society.

Employment, the Economic Foundation of Bedouin Society

The traditional lifestyle of the nomadic Bedouin was pastoral, with agricultural engagement for survival and trade. Women found their mission in attending to the home, their primary responsibilities being child care and childbearing. Although women did not directly contribute economic resources to the family, their primary role as caregiver was pivotal to the community, as they transmitted culture and values to the next generation. The patriarchal family system meant that the male head of household was viewed as sole protector and provider who dealt with all authorities outside

of the home. Cooking (meal preparation generally), caring for the food resources (chickens, ducks, milk, goats, and camels), keeping clothing and habitat clean along with child rearing were the women's responsibilities (Abu-Rabia-Queder 2006; Haj-Yahia 1995; Hijab 1988; Katz et al. 1998; Read 2004).

The woman's role was also determined by family size. A larger family diminishes the likelihood of paid employment outside of the home since women are the ones primarily occupied with reproductive activities.

A wife's outside employment and education could challenge the dominance of the husband/father (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 1999a), but also raise the issue of family honor. This tenet of the family code was predicated on pre-Islamic practices and beliefs and incorporated into the form of Islam adopted by the Bedouins. In fact, where there is a contradiction between Islam and the tribal codes, the latter prevail.

This is despite the accepted wisdom of the community enshrined in religion, and in contradiction to Mohammed's specific instruction that women can pursue careers in commerce. Another perceived threat to men, if women enter the public sphere, is the possible influence of other men (Kedem-Friedrich and Al-Atawneh 2004). In contrast to the 80 percent of Israeli women who are employed outside the home, only a small proportion of Bedouin women do so (Abu-Bader and Gottlieb 2009). That is increasing even as this is written because of the rapid advancement of female participation in higher education.

Bearing in mind the loss of land, traditional livelihood, and urbanization, many women are currently seeking employment outside of the home to assist in providing and caring for the family financially. The agricultural life is no longer sufficient means of economic stability to sustain the family and the process of rapid and unexpected urbanization led to a heavy concentration of poverty within the community. According to Abu-Baker and Gottlieb (2009), approximately 71 percent of Bedouin households were impoverished compared to 16 percent of Jews and 54 percent of Arab in Israel. Furthermore, with a population ranging from 5,000 to 9,000, these communities are also characterized by high unemployment rates of approximately 10–17 percent (Abu-Saad and Lithwick 2000).

This rift in the community is now exacerbated by the number of Bedouin women that hold college degrees, thus rendering a higher probability of employment but creating a larger gap with the traditional values of the Bedouin community. As more women enter the labor force, the need for education is becoming more obvious. This dynamic is undergirded by a power shift that embraces egalitarian values, particularly among the younger generations. The collectivistic focus of the Bedouin community

has also shifted to an individualistic model associated with modern Western values of self-interest and economic security, which have “penetrated deeper into the social fabric” (Abu-Bader and Gottlieb 2009, p. 538). Since 2007, Bedouin women have significantly joined the labor force in greater numbers. Most of this is a result of women’s access to higher education and a greater emphasis on literacy for all children and the requirement that children remain in school through age 18, thus eliminating child brides and forced marriages of young girls. Women increasingly have chosen to become teachers.

Interestingly, a recent proposed legislation that allows Israeli Arabs to participate in Israel’s military or other national service found the support of an overwhelming majority of the Arab population and those in favor of that option are women. They especially want to serve in their own community or other Arab communities.

Questioning the wisdom of this shift is particularly the perspective of older women and men who hold more traditional values in the family. Some view this change as social and cultural collapse threatening the Bedouin way of life (Abu-Rabia-Queeder 2006; Fenster 1999; Huss and Cwikel 2008).

Education

The challenges the Bedouin of modern Israel face are rooted in the clash between a traditional, conservative society and an ultramodern liberal one (Reichel 1987). A series of governmental policies intended to enforce a preference of the sedentary over the herding, nomadic life (Givati-Teerling 2007) brought about the loss of traditional livelihoods, but also of traditional mores, and contributed to the destabilization of established power structures and reconsideration of the role of women within the community (Abu-Saad 1991). Traditional hierarchies based on age and gender were abandoned. Many traditionalists in the community resisted the new initiatives imposed by the governmental authorities (Meir 1997; Pessate-Schubert 2003).

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Bedouin educational system. It is only in the past few decades that the Bedouin began to embrace the potential provided through formal education. They have come to see it as a vehicle to advance their position. Many local leaders view education as a way to prosper one tribe over another, rather than as a key to greater integration of the entire community into the Jewish state (Abu-Saad 1991).

As the tribe became less self-sufficient (Givati-Teerling 2007), however, there was a transformational shift in the perception of the role of education. This vision of a new world based on formal education was foreign to Bedouin. Within a span of 30 years family attendance and graduation rates

from high school zoomed. Public education policies of inclusion mandated girls attend school as well as boys and they did in greater numbers. Girls who had previously been married in early adolescence and mothers by mid-teens, were continuing their education instead. In 1976, only 23 Bedouin students (including a single woman) attended university in one registered community. As of 2011, in that same community, 100 percent complete their high school and the majority express their intentions of going on to university for careers as teachers, doctors, and nurses (Fields, 2011). While this has changed over the course of a single generation, the impact on traditional society has been extensive. Traditional leadership saw this not only as an assault on their authority, but also on the honor of their community.

“Delivering modern education to a traditional Bedouin community breaks the sacred traditional social norms of honor,” wrote Abu-Rabia (2008, p. 14). As Al-Khayyat (1990) notes, “The most important connotation of honor in the Arab world is related to the sexual conduct of women. If a woman is immodest or brings shame on her family by her sexual conduct, she brings shame and dishonor on all her kin.” The exposure of young Bedouin men to the outside world was considered a challenge, but the exposure of Bedouin women, themselves a doubly marginalized group, posed a serious test to the community.

Even if Bedouin women succeeded in maintaining traditional values in the private sphere, their very presence in the public sphere placed their modesty, chastity, and even their sexuality into disrepute (Fronk, Huntington and Chadwick 1999; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1999b). They attribute this “break with the sacred code” to violation of gender separation and protecting girls and their families from conduct associated with sexual shame. Hos and Kinan (1997) indicate that many parents do not send their daughters to school for fear of contact with boys from other tribes, which could damage the family honor. Many girls have to walk to a distant school or travel in mixed-sex buses, placing them in a dangerous zone over which parents have no control. In Meir’s (1986) study, Bedouin men stated that girls who have reached puberty are ready for marriage; therefore, they cannot attend school and be exposed to boys.

Abu-Saad (2001) points to the inherent conflict between the modern demands of Bedouin schools and the traditional obligations instilled in girls at home. Most of them simply suggest that Bedouin society should adapt itself to modern demands, sending girls to school in the existing conditions. It should also be noted that most traditional societies, and particularly threatened minority groups, value women for their fertility. Secular education has become an alternative to early marriage (child brides) and polygamy. Furthermore, international studies show that when women are

educated, they have fewer children but they and their children are more likely to survive pregnancy and infancy. Some fear that these new practices weaken the control of religious authority, and as Hartman and Hartman (1996) point out, tends to reduce fertility rates.

On the other hand, economic constraints within the Bedouin community have actually changed attitudes among younger men. Economic needs, and particularly the need to supplement family income, is engendering a shift in priorities, in much the way this had occurred during European and American industrialization, as Lesse (1979) pointed out. The importance once placed on the Bedouin equivalent of *Kinder, Kirch, and Küche* is waning.

Today, there is no doubt that integration into the larger society and economic disparities are key factors in the expansion of formal education into Bedouin society among women, and its intrusion even into traditional spheres, where it redefines long-established hierarchical structures. Abu Rabia-Queder (2006) notes that one major indicator of modernization among the Bedouin is the increasing number of women receiving a formal education. Whereas in 1976, there were only two high schools in southern Israel serving the Bedouin community; their number has increased considerably, and fewer parents hesitate to send their daughters there (Givati-Teerling, 2007). Similarly, the first Bedouin woman was accepted by Ben Gurion University (BGU) in 1988; 10 years later, 12 Bedouin women had received a bachelor's degree (Negev Center for Regional Development 2004). As of 2007, almost 250 Bedouin women were enrolled as undergraduates and currently, there are at least that many doing graduate work at BGU alone and many more at the University of Haifa and at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

As more Bedouin, especially Bedouin women, receive a formal education, they will see less job discrimination and achieve greater status and influence within both the public and the private spheres. Despite discriminatory practices still in place both by the authorities and by the traditionalists within the Bedouin community, the education of Bedouin women is in the process of evolving new norms.

At the same time, there are some new challenges. While the proportion of women in teaching has increased substantially, the number of men has fallen off. This has generated a new problem. Because only men are allowed to discipline boys, high school-aged boys in at least one Bedouin school have been suspended or expelled for bad behavior (Fields 2011). Corporal punishment is against the rules of the Israeli Education Ministry. Ironically, this applies to Jewish schools as well but appears not to be unenforceable in the Haredi-run schools, which are gender-divided both in the classrooms and

in the curriculum. It is ironic indeed that, in regard to gender, the Bedouin are modernizing, while the ultraorthodox Jews sink back into medieval practices!

Polygamy and the Law

The conflict between modernity and tradition permeates every aspect of the lives of Bedouin women. This is especially noticeable in family practices. While polygamy is prohibited by the state of Israel, some of the social needs that mandated polygamy remain cogent. Adaptations to reconcile the law with traditional practices are nowhere more dramatically evidenced than in polygamy. Israeli law prohibits polygamy yet the traditional values and status ascribed to having many children persist. These bases for family-social economy in tribal life and law, which are the framework of Bedouin culture, are more readily advanced through polygamy.

Polygamy, as codified and established, was one of the stated intentions of the prophet Mohammed, who introduced Islam as a social reform movement. Its purpose was to ensure that women be protected and safe (Sechzer 2004).

In fact, Islam improved the treatment of women in the Arab world. Before Islam, women were chattel and not only did they not inherit property, but they were also themselves property to be inherited through their “owner’s estate. As Mecca’s economy became mercantile, and the spirit of individualism at the time of Mohammed had led to the neglect of poor tribal members, especially women. This was the original movement from tradition to modernity. Poverty is one of the basic conditions out of which polygamous practices evolved in many societies. Two additional circumstances derive from and extend poverty—militarism and adverse environmental conditions, such as drought.

At present, key stressors include the environmental conditions in the Negev, which make farming difficult unless done on a large scale with scientifically developed irrigation and protective “hot houses” as well as desert desalinization systems. This is currently being addressed by several projects that are cooperatives between several Bedouin villages, BGU and the Jewish National Fund (JNF) donors. These “Kibbutzin” are a couple of years old but increasingly popular. They are well suited to the traditional Bedouin collectivism and the necessity of doing large scale rather than small family farms.

Islam and Polygamy

After the Battle of Ulad left many men slain, the prophet Mohammed formally instituted polygamy in order to protect widowed, unmarried, and

divorced women (Mermisi 1985). The shortage of men has been a primary factor not only in polygamy, but also in infanticide of girls. But Mohammed prohibited infanticide, which further intensified the need to care for unattached girls and women.

Many other reforms were intended to alleviate other degrading practices that made women equivalent in status to chattel such as livestock. Polygamous marriages under Islamic law provided conditions for code treatment of wives and encouraged interfamilial connections, assurance of care for widows, orphans, the infertile, and the disabled (Sechzer 2004).

Culturally as well as economically, most important for the Bedouin of the Negev is the increase of family size resulting from polygamy. In this society, the attribution of power, wealth, and social standing to a man derives from the number of his offspring. Islam also requires that a man have no more than four wives at a time and that he must provide equally for each wife economically, along with appropriate attention and care. Some researchers also point out the importance of many sons so that the father will also decrease his investment in each son instead of the favoritism or primogeniture that could increase family conflict. Incidentally, this kind of effort when carried forward to the heirs of Mohammed himself split Islam into the Shiite and Sunni sects. Again, this strategy clearly emanates from the traditionally difficult way of life of the Bedouin: the high rate of infant and child mortality; the mortality rate for women in pregnancy and childbirth; and relatively short-life expectancy for men.

In Muslim society, the first wife is the senior, who is accorded more authority in the household. But among the Bedouin she often has a lower status than the second wife. First marriages are arranged by the families and often are between cousins. In contrast, a man takes a second wife out of free choice and love.

In contemporary Bedouin society, a man often has a first wife before he has completed his education. He is likely to go away for his higher education and perhaps even establish a business or profession either in Europe, America or among Palestinians in other part of Israel or Jordan. His second wife is likely to be selected from among the educated women he meets in this progression. Thus, the second wife may enjoy greater resources, attention, and social support.

Subsequent wives may contribute value to the family because of their skills or their fecundity, or have clan connections or cooperation in trade, business, and domestic matters (Elbedour et al., 2002).

Finally, the basic purpose of a family system, under any circumstances, is to bear, breed, and extend that family. Polygamy ensures more children. In many militaristic societies, the Bedouin included, a man's prestige is

enhanced by the number of sons he has produced. His daughters represent prospective bride-prices and, of course, encase in their bodies the family honor.

Although Israeli law dictates monogamy, the Bedouin in practice sidestep this by divorcing the first wife to take the second. This divorce-remarriage scheme may not result in casting out the divorced wife, but sustaining her and her children in the same or an adjacent household. In contrast to the Western practice of serial monogamy, divorced wives and their children are provided for by the marriage contract itself and the family agreements.

This may appear to minimize family conflict but in practice there are often serious emotional problems in the family (Al-Krenawi 2001; okokokayAl-Krenawi, and Graham 2006; Al-Krenawi and Slonim-Nevo 2008; Elbedour et al. 2002okay). Individual wives may feel frustrated about the truncation of their aspirations for education and economic independence. Or there may develop rivalries and conflicts between wives in regard to the husband's time, distribution of resources, and attention (Al-Krenawi, Graham, and Abuelesh 2001; Al-Krenawi 2001).

In particular, the emotional life and cognitive development of children, who are frequently the source of conflict among wives, may be damaged in a familial environment of continual disputes and competition. Although polygamy is increasingly relegated to the wealthier and more educated families among both the Bedouin and the Saudis, it contributes to financial stresses in Bedouin families, which in turn, adversely affects school-aged children.

The advantage some infertile women, or women who do not bear sons, gain by being one of several wives, can develop into acrimony when they are either at the edge of divorce for that reason, or find themselves generally disfavored.

Veil

It is important to note that from the 1940s through the mid-1980s, Arab women (not Bedouin) had, in Palestine and Israel, put away their veils and abayas, and dressed and coiffed as did their Christian and Jewish neighbors. When abroad those with the means to do so, dressed and still dress in high fashion. It was apparent that Wahabism and perhaps the influence of Revolutionary Iran were transferring to Israel, when, at An Najjar University in the West Bank women students were increasingly veiling themselves with hijabs and abayas (with blue jeans underneath and nail polish in evidence). In Nazareth, it was quite impossible to distinguish between Arab and Jewish teen girls by either features or dress. Among the Bedouin, modernity

compelled adaptations to which families made practical adjustments, even while retaining old beliefs. For example, in the 1970s, when television watching became a feature of life among the Bedouin of the Negev, women often veiled themselves while watching men presenting news on the TV screen. They believed that they felt themselves “in the presence of the shadow of respectable, unrelated men!” While this may appear to be an adaptation of the modesty regulation, Abu Lughod (1985) and Abu-Rabia Quedar (2006) suggested in separate articles on veiling that the gesture might actually be a way to conceal their emotional reactions from the male family members in the room.

The practice of veiling among Muslim Bedouin is rooted in pre-Islamic practices (Sechzer 2004; Weisfeld 1990; Zine 2006). Veiling was incorporated into the code of family honor long before the seventh century, when Mohammed articulated the principles of Islam. Veiling of brides undoubtedly originated with these practices and continues in contemporary Western society as a significant feature of the wedding ceremony.

By the time of Mohammed, Bedouin tribes had extended their influence over sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, as well as their own ethnic base in the Fertile Crescent.

Female Tattooing and FGM

The practice of female circumcision and tattooing were incorporated from Egyptian-influenced sub-Saharan African customs.

Family honor issues also predated the Qur’an and the Hebrew Pentateuch. When Abraham went “down to Egypt” he introduced Sarah, his wife, as his sister. Even at that early time, this declaration ensured that no man in Pharaoh’s retinue or household would try to take her, as it would have been an act of war. On the other hand, it was not unusual for a woman of the host household to be given to a guest. Thus, Hagar, who was probably a slave from one of the tribes of Canaan, was given to Abraham, and as long as they were in Egypt he didn’t have access to his wife. This undoubtedly contributed to Sarah’s barrenness during her reproductive years.

In Egypt, the royal family was primarily descended from sibling marriage. This as well as “uncovering the nakedness” of parents, children, and other close blood relations distinguished the monotheists from other nearby ethnic groups, even while they resided in Egypt.

The Philistines, from whom some Palestinians claim descent, neither observed modesty nor family honor. For instance, Delilah was used by her brothers and the tribe to seduce Samson. There are other biblical examples. In fact, the Israelites’ family honor code was unique in Canaan. If a

daughter of Israel were “defiled” by a man from outside the group, she was avenged. If she was a daughter of a Cohein (priestly caste descended from Moses and Aaron) and married a “foreigner” she would be stoned to death (Deuteronomy).

The Negev Bedouin incorporated this into the family honor code. They employed strict penalties for violations of the tribal caste system or inter-tribal relationships.

Much of the legal and ethical system Mohammed admired and sought through the Qur’an to require of his people (who were primarily Bedouin) derived from the monotheism of the Israelites. What has become for Muslim women the injunction for modesty and virginity is interpretation from Judaism and Christianity as applied to their life circumstances. But over time rules that were once protective of women were transmuted into possession and control of women in a fiercely patriarchal system.

The practices and interpretations by the Bedouin of the Negev are in many ways distinctive amongst the Muslim and Arab communities, as is the Bedouin response to modernism. For instance, when the first Bedouin dentists opened practices in Beersheba, Bedouin women came for dental work wearing abayas and hijabs that all but completely covered their faces. Among Bedouin women, showing their face to a Bedouin man is forbidden, making it even more of a struggle for Bedouin dentists apart from having to find space on the women’s faces to get to their mouths and work.

This had the effect of inducing some Bedouin women to go to Israeli Jewish dentists (but for many of the elderly women this, too, had been impossible and their teeth were left untreated). This was better than having a Bedouin man not of their family look on their faces. Husbands would take their wives secretly at night to visit a Jewish doctor, because it was potentially more devastating for anyone to know that this woman would be looked upon by a man.

This prohibition had yet another manifestation in the open market, or *souk*. Bedouin women will bare their faces to bargain prices with a merchant who is not Bedouin. But when doing business with Bedouin traders, they wear their veils.

Although the Qur’anic Hadith has been open to many different interpretations, but the one that is most widely accepted regarding the veil is that they must be loosely covered from head to toe with only their face and hands left exposed (Clarke 2003; Roald 2001; Zine 2006). More conservative interpretations require women to veil their entire body, leaving only their eyes exposed.

These varying interpretations, including more liberal interpretations that discount the reliability of the Hadith, act as a way to dispute veiling,

according to Zine (2006, p. 243) as a “symbol of religious practice and as a means for the social and legal demarcation of women’s bodies as being part of private, non-public space.”

Nevertheless, in a curious irony, the veil, which is meant as a method of social control and subordination of women, in fact, may accomplish exactly the opposite, some have pointed out. The veil, in fact, may give women freedom for exploration under the mask of modesty (Hoodfar 1993; Khoury 1996). It can symbolize an unspoken protest between women and society, giving their wearers freedom to move about within the public sphere while avoiding undue harassment or denigration (MacLeod 1992). Such traditional practice in the contemporary scene generates a visual presence of woman’s devotion to her set of beliefs, while granting women “extra authority as they struggle with male Muslims to achieve gender equality” (Fernea 1998, p. 421).

Support for this comes from the work of Hoodfar (1993) who found that women who hold higher status in the community may feel it unnecessary to veil themselves in front of males who are thought to be of lower status (potentially insulting the men).

Within the Bedouin society, veiling of woman is believed to be founded on religious decree but is strongly tied to tribal pre-Islamic embedded patriarchal cultural and social practices. The veil acts as a “preserver of honor” (Khoury 1996, p.179), a method of regulating their sexuality. The whole practice is meant to be a visual display of a woman’s modesty.

As Abu Lughod (1987, 26) who studied the Bedouin community extensively described this as “an internal state of shyness and embarrassment add to a set of behaviors, associated with these feelings . . . such behaviors includes not only sexual propriety but also requires modest demeanor and dress (covering the hair, the arms to the wrists, and the legs to the ankles) for both sexes. The modest person looks down, sits or stands formally and does not eat, smoke, talk, laugh, or joke in certain types of social situations.”

Most “Israelicized” Bedouin women discarded these practices in everyday life 30 years ago if not earlier. Palestinian and Jewish women during the last decade of the Mandate and the first decades of the state of Israel were virtually indistinguishable. Even though the Bedouin of the Negev were more traditional than their Palestinian cousins to the north, among the Bedouin of the Negev adolescent girls wore blue jeans and shirts to school and in the community.

In fact, throughout the Arab world, perhaps beginning with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, urbanized and educated Arab and Muslim women threw off their abayas and niqabs. If particularly pious, women used

a headscarf. In fact, in modern Turkey, even the headscarf was outlawed in schools and public buildings.

In the 1980s, Bedouin young women in Israel, not unlike other young Palestinian women, later began reverting to these coverings, against which their mothers and grandmothers had rebelled, coincidental with the Iranian revolution, which brought strict enforcement of modesty laws for women.

In the Western world, the veil, the hijab, or the niqab have increasingly become iconic for identifying Muslim women over the past 30 years. The practice of veiling has become a basis of contention in Europe and America, even as Bedouin women have increasingly used it in recent years. Today at BGU, Bedouin women graduate students have returned to the veil and often to the abaya. It is possible that the influence of religious forces from Gaza and West Bank may have provided the impetus.

Yet 30 years ago, when Islamism had begun to pervade student politics of universities in Israel itself, one could note the gradual change at Arab universities such as An Najar. Student political groups began to identify most notably with the Islamic revival rather than with nationalists. Those women who identified politically, emphasized their choice by dressing in hijab and abaya. These were recognized to be Haamas influenced women. Increasingly, they distinguished themselves from the politically secular Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) women students.

This was exceedingly rare at Bir Zeit University and at Bethlehem University, which were founded by Christian or secular groups. At the time of the Oslo accords, when Hamas leadership diminished, women in Gaza took again to modern attire. They demanded equality and their right to education and a place in the work force.

When Hamas won the 2006 election and took control of Gaza, the wearing of traditional dress such as the abaya and hijab were enforced. But in the Bedouin community, Abu-Rabia-Queder (2006, p. 15) analyzes veiling as a provision imposed on family by family, so as “to appear in a mixed public space [such as] the coeducational school.”

We would also propose that many women decided to assume traditional garb out of their own conviction. Supportive evidence is suggested by Shadid and Seltzer (1989) who found that 34 percent of Palestinian students were more likely to dress traditionally and veil themselves, compared to 14 percent of Palestinian. Similar findings were reported by Fronk, Huntington, and Chadwick (1999). They found that women, especially those who were educated and more autonomous, sometimes choose traditional roles as well as traditional dress.

Although modernization is proceeding in the region in these traditionally patriarchal cultures (Kaufman 1993; Rapoport, Lomski-Feder, and

Masalha 1989; Rosaldo 1974; Fronk, Huntington, and Chadwick (1999), it is found that the family's gender-role expectation had the strongest impact on women's choice in these matters.

Psychological identity issues drive this dynamic as well. Increasingly, Bedouin women have been going on Haj, and return wanting to distinguish themselves. Wearing the hijab is a preferred way to do this. Many educated and modernized younger Bedouin women who have never worn this garb at home find that when they become university students and are more isolated in a diverse population, wearing distinctive dress becomes a link to their identity, heritage, and origins.

In Europe and America, converts are among the most fervent partisans of traditional Islamic dress. But in most Arab societies, Muslim women, including Israeli Bedouin women, in their homes and among themselves wear the latest modern fashions. One of the newest women's fashion magazines, *Dazzle*, which is published in Saudi Arabia, is supported by advertising for New York and Paris fashion labels—jewelry and cosmetics. The articles include pieces on fitness, exercise, diet, and fashion designers.

Can it be that even as women in the most conservative Muslim societies are modernizing, the more educated and professional Bedouin women in Israel (a more permissive and diverse society) are actively expressing a preference for their traditional identity? Or, is it a desire to distinguish themselves in the larger community? Muslim women in Europe and the United States are increasingly adopting head coverings and the hijab. In the United States, employers who refused to allow employees to wear these coverings on the job have been sued for religious discrimination—and won!

Bedouin Conflict Resolution within the Family

Among the Bedouin, tribal law has always taken primacy in resolving conflict, including family conflict (such as what is now called domestic violence) to intertribal conflict. Of particular note is that family law is itself the basis for all conflict resolution in Bedouin tradition. Undoubtedly this is because the Bedouin, like other traditional societies, exist as interconnected families that become tribes, and in some cases expand from tribal communities to complete societies. Whether they comprise a cluster of families or a society, their institutions and customs are based on this law.

Again, the imposition of the civil law by the host country easily becomes a point of contention. The Bedouin means for mediating conflict within the family is largely based on preserving women's honor and private might, as these concepts are central to Bedouin society.

Among the Bedouin all conflicts involve the collective, extended family, and do not belong to the individual (Bailey 2009). By basing the system of justice on collective honor, Bedouin vastly limit the likelihood that people in their society will infringe on these laws, as they will want to avoid all threats to their family's or tribe's honor.

When there was conflict between husband and wife, tribal law enforced the traditional lines of authority. Now in the Bedouin society of the Negev, which is incorporated within a centralized government, there is obvious dissonance between the national legal system and tribal law enforcement. The police, representing the authority of the state and its judicial system, displace the tribal law as enforcer.

This dissonance is quite clearly evidenced in the legal relationship of husband and wife, the single most basic family institution. Despite the patriarchal nature of Bedouin society, family honor code prohibits the use of force against woman whether or not she has committed a legal wrong. Bedouins consider any attack on a member of their family or clan as an attack on their own honor, and view the "female body as a literal repository for her male kin's honor, and thus any injury or attack to her physical being was, by proxy, an attack on her male kin's honor" (Bailey 2009).

Traditional family law dictates that punishment of a wife must be either done in an educational or disciplinary manner and not in anger or spite. If a man intends to divorce his wife, he cannot beat her first because then there is no need to discipline or educate as there will be no further relationship because they will divorce.

According to Bailey (2009) a man may not insult his wife or demean her in public. If he does, and the family conflict is serious, an elder, such as the father or mother of the husband, is responsible for protecting the wife. If the conflict is not resolved, the woman returns to her family of origin, which, according to Bedouin law and custom her family is her protection. The elders of the clan then mediate between the conflicting parties and in defining the claims of each party. When the clan elders cannot resolve competing claims, then it is necessary to call on volunteers from the larger society who attempt to reconcile the conflict between the two families.

Bedouin justice is more concerned with the restoration of family's or woman's reputation than on the punishment or penalty. Therefore, Bedouin may follow the practice of *fawat*, "concession."

When a judge or mediator determines that the violator owes a fine, others may ask the violated party to relinquish his or her right to the fine, which is tantamount to forgiving the wrong done. Although the law does not require this, the practice illustrates that the fine itself is not as important as that honor is restored to the wronged party.

A formal procedure to deal with an insult is the *badwa*, in which the self-perceived victim of violence issues a complaint by calling on a delegation of elders to approach the alleged violator to relay the accuser's complaint and persuade the alleged violator to admit his guilt and make amends (Bailey 2009). Because these are dignitaries who serve the *badwa*, the alleged perpetrator must respond and give his victim justice.

When a husband has impinged on the family honor of his wife by his behavior, the *badwa* requires him to admit his guilt or prove his innocence. It initiates the first stage in conflict resolution and is used in many kinds of conflict, such as adultery, murder, or rape, apart from insults or mistreatment of a woman.

The second stage is the *ja'ha*, which consists of a delegation of notables sent to the victim asking for leniency to avert further violence: *ja'ha* is the counterpart of *badwa*, aiming to strike a truce and begin talks to settle the family conflict (Bailey 2009). During the process one or another can declare themselves "throwing the face" of a "notable" between two contending parties.

While this is happening, neither party can attack the other. This practice allows weaker parties to call on the protection of a more esteemed and powerful individual in Bedouin society from retaliation and violence (Bailey 2009). By throwing someone else's face into a situation, a potential victim brings another's honor into the conflict. If the violations continue after a respected member of society's face is thrown, it is as if the violator commits his crime against the honor of respected person as well as the victim.

The final stage is when the aggrieved parties agree to meet with a judge who will determine an appropriate resolution. Bedouin are also protected by *dakhala*, or entering; if a Bedouin woman enters somebody's tent or home and announces *dakhala*, it is understood that she is taking refuge there, and the owners of the house are expected to protect her (Bailey 2009, p. 53).

When Bedouin have no witnesses to a crime, and no solution can be found, they resort to *bisha*, or ordeal by fire (Al-Krenawi and Graham 1999). A *bisha* begins with the summoning of the two groups to the tent. Everyone attempts to resolve the conflict a final time, but if the accused insists he is innocent, the *bisha* commences. The accused is given a glass of water and then has his tongue examined to verify its condition. Once a medal ladle is sufficiently hot, the *moshaba*, or man administering the *bisha*, removes the ladle from the fire and commands the accused to lick it (Al-Krenawi, 1998). If his tongue is damaged he is declared guilty, but an unaffected tongue shows innocence.

Many Bedouin tribal rituals date back to pre-Islamic times, while much of civil law is based on Sharia. Bedouin look for a tribal judge because they

know a civil court would not place the same weight on the honor of women. They seek their cultural definition of justice (Welchman 2009).

For example, in most instances where an individual commits a crime against a member of another clan, not only will s/he be held responsible, but his/her fellow clan members may be as well. This is because the actions of one person are seen legally as performed on behalf of his or her clan. Regardless of whether or not the other members actually had a say in the matter, the fact that this perception exists provides significant incentive for clan members to act responsibly. This also provides another substitute for a permanent institution of law enforcement.

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, conflict resolution within Bedouin families is sought through the Israeli court system. Through the latter, men jailed for domestic violence might have received an entirely different resolution through the traditional tribal system.

The Bedouin continue to adhere to their tribal system through which it is recognized that women are honored and protected. The role of the husband is to protect the family just as they protect their other property. In tribal law, there is potential financial penalty and threat to his life become the effective deterrents from thoughtless or malevolent violence toward his wife. They do resort to Israeli courts when they have to as when the police or Israeli law is concerned but even when a judgment is issued by an Israeli court, the family may seek Bedouin justice through their own system. In fact, in Israel, although the official legal system is suspicious of tribal customs that operate independently of state institutions (Nawwaf 2002), sometimes if the police are involved, they will bring the case back to the tribal system to more appropriately handle the resolution of the conflict, especially if these are mild disputes. Even though the government does not always agree with tribal or pre-Islamic law, rulings of tribal judges are usually respected (Welchman 2009).

In recent years, legal systems in the West Bank and Gaza strip have shifted to be more accommodating to tribal law. Israel has been moving toward making its legal system more effective in the Bedouin community by cultivating a more cooperative, as opposed to adversarial relationship with them. Israeli police have discovered that working within Bedouin culture, instead of around or against it, allows them to more effectively enforce Israeli law and protect individuals.

One area where this is has been effective is in handling violence toward and killings of women for “honor crimes.” Cases involving Bedouin are very difficult to investigate because witnesses are hard to find. When someone in the Bedouin community testifies against another Bedouin, he or she put their whole family at risk (Elbedour 2011). Those who have served long

prison sentences can expect physical retribution upon their release (Nawwaf 2002).

On occasion, the alleged perpetrator will protest the double jeopardy in which he is placed if both the tribal system and the courts get involved. The disparities between these two systems may be so great that yet another conflict ensues. But in the end, the tribal system usually takes precedence when the conflict is between families or individuals. State law is more likely to be enforced if the crime is an illegal action such as killing a woman in “honor” killing or femicide-killing or aborting selectively girl infants.

Divorce

A popular misconception of Muslim divorce holds that a man can cancel a marriage by saying to his wife, “I divorce you” three times. In truth, the Hadith, a collection of sayings of the prophet Muhammad that guide Islamic daily practice, considers divorce the most destructive and disruptive process in religious law.

According to the Qur’an, the major values in life are represented by the family that has children and money. Qur’anic decree grants women the right to divorce if he has “bad habits.”

In most Muslim societies, the marriage contract includes a paragraph that outlines the women’s right to the return of her bride-price if her husband divorces her.

Furthermore, the woman’s character is not to be impugned because of the divorce. Rather than open the gates to an increased rate of marital breakdown, the incidence of divorce is especially low in such traditional societies of which the Bedouin are typical. (Al-Krenawi and Graham 1998). This may be because marriage in the Bedouin community is often cousin marriage and includes many tribal and caste strictures. A woman’s character can be impugned by divorce and precautions must be taken that this is avoided.

Thus, a single divorce has disruptive implications and consequences for an entire extended family, because family honor is at stake. In this kind of interfamilial dynamic, one cousin can say to the other, “If you divorce my sister, I will divorce your sister.”

The low rate of divorce is also probably related to the diminished social status of a woman if she is divorced. This places her at even greater disadvantage if she is uneducated and has no skills for the work force. In addition to the stigma associated with divorce, and her need to be self supporting, Bedouin women deciding whether to stay married or seek a divorce also must recognize that, as a divorced woman, if she marries again, she is unlikely to be a first wife, and will probably be in a polygamous marriage.

Divorced women feel rejected and ostracized by their tribal community (Al-Krenawi and Graham 1998). Because of the stigma and other ramifications associated with divorce, many married women would rather tolerate years of unhappiness in their marriage than obtain a divorce (Al-Krenawi 1998; Brhoom 1987).

In addition to social stigma, Islamic personal-status laws grant fathers custody of their sons who are over the age of 10 and daughters over the age of 12 (EGEP 2009–2010). In this patriarchal tribal community, a woman who is divorced is giving up not only her social status and place in the tribal society, but also the custody of her children. This practice makes divorce a less desirable option. Arab society also frowns on women who remain single and encourages them to marry, and often, women must marry for economic security.

Recent years have seen increased opportunity for exogenous marriage. Educated Bedouin and Palestinians in Gaza, Jordan, the West Bank, or Galilee—or even European single women—are viewed as attractive marriage partners by many educated male Bedouins. This places even more pressure on Bedouin families to marry off their daughters within the community, and also makes it more difficult for women to divorce.

A study by Al-Krenawi and Graham (1998, p. 111) on divorced Bedouin women reported that almost 30 percent of those surveyed would reject a marriage proposal for fear of another “disappointment,” or because of the traditional concern that the new husband would reject her children from a previous marriage.

Divorce rates in Arab countries have slowly increased due to societal changes in women’s status (Altneu Sechzer 2004) but not as extensively as has been seen among the Bedouin. Although Al-Krenawi and Graham (1998) found that Bedouin women with a high school education or more tend to initiate a divorce more readily than those with just a basic education, in recent years, it is not clear if the total rate of divorce among educated women is higher.

Growing economic participation and steady increase in education of Bedouin women are changing the gender-role dynamics within families. Bedouin women are likely to engage in higher levels of financial independence and more autonomous decision making. But this does not necessarily mean that the rate of divorce will increase. It might signify that the woman is gaining the means to have a happier and more long-lived marriage.

Family Honor Codes and Killing among the Bedouin

Honor killing in Israel is most likely to occur in a Bedouin community. In contrast with Jordan, which incorporates family honor killing into its legal

system, and has seen a rise in such crimes, Israel has outlawed it and rates of occurrence have diminished.

This is particularly significant because both populations have similar ethnic and cultural roots. Codifying into a jurisprudential sentencing guideline, the penalties or lack thereof, appears from the comparative data, justification of the concept and encouragement to those who would engage in murder of a daughter, sister, wife, or other close kin.

“The concept of ‘woman’s honor’ in general, has deep roots in Bedouin culture,” wrote Abu-Rabia (2008, p. 22). Violence against women and domestic violence generally is based in the idea that the woman’s body incorporates the honor of the family—literally the repository of the family honor. The fiscal success of the malehead of household as well as the number of sons symbolizes the family’s success and status.

Some studies indicate that honor crimes appear to be increasing. In the Bedouin context, the revelation that a woman has been sexually abused (including all varieties of sexual contact—whether of a verbal or physical nature) or had a sexual relationship exposes her entire community to dishonor, disgrace, and shame. Therefore, all acts that impinge on the sexual purity of women are perceived as crimes against the family honor code and are therefore punishable by death of the woman who brought about the dishonor even if it was unwittingly.

Sexual exploitation of females is reinforced by honor codes that often contradict the laws of Israel. Family honor places emphasis on virginity, family codes, and veiling. All of these regimens can and are used to oppress and marginalize women. The concept itself of family honor is embedded in traditional societies, especially in “shame” societies such as that of the Bedouin.

This kind of thinking legitimizes blood revenge by the male kin against not only the perpetrator but against the female victim as well. These killings are committed in situations in which a woman’s actions or the actions taken against her by a third party are perceived as affront to the honor of her male relatives. The reasoning goes that it would be too “expensive” to retaliate against the man or a male relative because that would set off a series of revenge killings in vendetta. Therefore it is simpler to kill the woman who “attracted” the dishonor—even if she was an unwilling victim of rape.

It is said that if a man insults your horse, you may kill him. If a man insults your wife, she must be killed. Killing another man requires a series of individual and clan vendettas. Thus, since it is the family honor that is impugned, best to do.

In other words, such retaliation against a male perpetrator might unleash a cycle of violence that would result in the death of many men. In these circumstances, the woman is killed by her own family members.

Honor killings of this type represent a stark departure from the theoretical construct of blood revenge that some theorists posit, and a tacit acknowledgment that the sanctioning of private violence as a method for deterring wrongdoing often results in excessive bloodshed. Killing the woman was rationalized as “cleansing the family honor” (Bailey, Elsana 2010, 4–5).

Writers on this topic have defined family honor as a woman’s honor. Kressel, who researched family honor killing within the Bedouin tribes (1981, 142), notes:

In Arab Muslim culture, the honor of the patrilineal group is bound up with the sex organs of its daughters, and a specific term, *‘ird*, combines the two... Maintenance of group honor means continuous supervision over daughters’ movements... never to leave young girls on their own... thus her sexual behavior remains the concern of her family of origin even after her marriage—indeed, throughout her life.

Ginat (1987, 114), also a frequently quoted authority on honor killing, states:

The most serious breach of modesty is an illicit sexual act regarded as sinful... a sinful act is any unseemly contact with a male; to have been seen in the company of one in doubtful circumstances is enough to stigmatize a family and to reduce the *‘ird* of her agnates.

Al-Khayyat (1990, 21) maintained:

The most important connotation of honor in the Arab world is related to the sexual conduct of women. If a woman is immodest or brings shame on her family by her sexual conduct, she brings shame and dishonor on all her kin.

Hassan (1991) notes that a woman’s consent is inconsequential and that participation in any sexual act, including rape, desecrates the family honor.

Antoun (1968, 680) discusses honor in terms of the Islamic notion of modesty:

The man preserves his honor, in great part, by protecting the modesty of his women. Among Arabs the man who does not do so is termed

“cuckold” (*dayyiith*), a term that in a religious context confers the strongest opprobrium in its meaning, “reviled one.” . . . the conceptualization of honor seems to take as a model the fully-clothed women. Honor is complete when fully dressed (and thus protected) and incomplete when exposed (and open to violation). The height of immodesty, and thereby the greatest loss of honor, comes with the exposure of that which, above all, must remain protected and hidden, the pudenda.

Because of the collective and patriarchal nature of the community, and the fact that one’s own behavior is understood to be connected closely with the behavior of others, it is expected that males protect their family members such that any sexual act perpetuated against a family is considered to be the fault of the family in general—and male members of the family in particular—because they failed to protect their women. They reason that therefore the source of the violation, the immodest woman, must be “extirpated from the ‘body.’”

Every individual’s identity incorporates his or her family, the extended family or *hamula*, and the tribe (Al-Krenawi 1990, p. 21). Haj (1992, p. 764) claimed that one’s “sexual purity and lineage honor are seen as inseparable.” For this reason an indiscretion, alleged or in fact by a woman is viewed as an egregious attack on the family’s collective honor, or “*ird*” (see Anderson, Seibert, and Wagner 1998; Araji 2000; Bates and Rassam 1983; Ginat 1979; Kandiyoti 1987; Lateef 1992; Ortner 1978; Schneider 1971; Yousseff 1973).

The strict gender roles embedded in patriarchal culture increases the possibility that Bedouin women will be victimized (Abu-Rabia 2001; Nelson 1973). This is especially the case, as breaking the code of silence about such breeches of the code of sexual conduct could bring disdain from outsiders and interferes with the autonomy of the family, which is one of the highest values of the culture.

Social workers, psychologists, and nurses are reluctant to intervene, declining to report incidents of abuse to the police or family because this may result in threats to the victim, and to the counselor as well.

Lack of reliable statistical documentation of the number of cases defined as honor killing in the Bedouin community can prevent the state taking legal action. The statistics that do exist in Israel show a deep decline in such murders, but human rights groups and other civil organizations insist that the phenomenon of honor killing is still grossly underreported, or misrepresented as deaths by suicide or accidental causes.

A study found that 53.3 percent of Bedouin women surveyed had been sexually abused at least once and 89.6 percent disclosed physical abuse (Elbedour et al. 2006).

Blaming the Victim

In a different study surveying Palestinians, conducted by Haj-Yahia (1998a), 60 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women “strongly agreed” or “agreed” that “a violent husband is not solely responsible for his behavior because it was caused by his wife and the conditions of his daily life.” Of the men surveyed, 27–57 percent reported that they “strongly agreed” or “agreed” that women are at fault for their own victimization in some situations, particularly when the wife is perceived as not conforming to traditional roles, and 62 percent of Palestinian-Israeli males and 67 percent of the Palestinian women surveyed felt that husbands are justified in beating their wives due to suspected infidelity. Another study suggested similar findings, and found that of those surveyed, 80 percent (both men and women) report that a husband need not be officially reported for abusing his wife (Haj-Yahia 1998b). But these studies were done in the 1980s when far fewer women were highly educated. These studies show that a patriarchal climate supports the use of physical violence toward women, particularly when she conducts herself outside her traditionally prescribed gender roles (Douki, Nacef, Belhadj, Bouasker, and Ghachem 2003).

Campbell (1964) suggested that in some patriarchal societies that observe honor killing as an acceptable punishment, the killer may be positively regarded for performing his duty. In many instances, the killings are rationalized on the basis that family honor needed to be restored (Ginat 1982, 1987; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 1999a and 1999b). Perpetrators are often exonerated after a less-than-thorough investigation and prosecution (EGEP 2009–2010a). Except the last-noted study, all of these studies were done with less educated respondents.

The situation for Bedouin women in Israel is more closely akin to those of Bedouin women in Jordan, ethnically, culturally, and in family systems. In a recent survey of Jordanian women, the respondents had a strong tendency to justify wife beating; to believe that women benefit from violence against them; and to assume women are to blame when they get a beating.

Furthermore, participants expressed clear opposition to formal assistance for battered women from governmental agencies. In this vein, they considered wife abuse a personal problem that should be treated within the family.

The results also revealed that while the women showed some tendency to blame violent husbands for spousal abuse, the prevailing belief was that violent men should not be punished for their behavior. Elbedour’s study suggests instead that women and girls who experience abuse are afraid and anxious. Traumatization increases the mental and emotional stress level and

discourages them from reporting the events, especially if the fear stems not only from the abuse but also from the possibility of further violence that the family or community may undertake once the abuse is discussed openly (Elbedour et al. 2006).

In Israel, the attention of secular authorities and judicial proceedings are hampered by these fears and influenced by their denial of the facts. While in Jordan and many other Arab countries, the laws themselves identify circumstances and practices that legitimize honor killing, the penalties under law seem to have little effect on lowering the incidence or extent of abuse of women generally.

But in Israel, where abuse is not only illegal, but there are institutional alternatives for women seeking asylum from abusive spouses or fathers, the incidents, though better reported, have decreased. Unfortunately, many secular judges as well as police continue to regard this problem as the private concern of the family and as a phenomenon that is part of the social norms and values of traditional Bedouin society. Out of concern and respect for the traditional culture their judgments fail to deliver adequate protection to abused women.

Many cases of violence against women cases are likely to come to Islamic religious courts, even though they are violations of civil law. Matters of personal status relating to marriage and family are still based on cultural laws for Muslim communities. These religious leaders may be ill-equipped to provide effective guidance in cases of violence against women, having received no training to handle them.

Bedouin women are also unlikely to establish or participate in support groups aimed at combating violence against women and many women's rights activists among the Bedouin have focused on achieving equal rights for women in the workplace and in education. They are reluctant to take on the highly charged topic of abusing and killing women for the sake of family honor.

The plight of Bedouin women is complicated by the existence of multiple oppressions that come into play in their victimization. Family honor codes are chronic stressors. Consequently, victimization of women and family honor killing carries tremendous costs and consequences to women, families, and society. It is clear that the economic and social empowerment of women in this community cannot be achieved unless this lethal threat is removed. In Bedouin society, protection by law and practice of the right of women and girls to make personal choices, protection of bodily integrity, and to pursue self-actualization leads ultimately the advantage of all Bedouin society.

Early Marriage among the Bedouin

Social transformation across the Arab world has heightened the tension between traditional norms and modern practices, even in the most

conservative societies. This is especially apparent in marriage practices, especially in early marriages and cousin marriages. Elbedour et al. (2006) noted that rapid urbanization and the concurrent expansion of educational and employment opportunities in the Negev led to an increased rejection of early and forced marriages among the Bedouin women, a process that echoes developments in the UAE (Green and Smith 2006), and among West Bank Palestinians (Fronk, Huntington, and Chadwick 1999).

While the phenomena of early and cousin marriages have not disappeared among the Negev Bedouin, the fact that the marriage age for women in Israel, across all religious groups, has increased over the past decade (EGEP, 2009–2010b) indicates that social change is affecting the Bedouin community, no less than in other Muslim communities.

What most hinders these shifts is apparently the law and socioeconomics of the community, and the failure of some community leaders to accept educational reform (Raz and Atar 2003). It is also possible, as Sirhan (1975) twenty some years earlier suggested in regard to Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, that political oppression, or in the case of the Bedouin, second-class status within Israel, fosters greater retention of traditional values.

Although opportunities are available to Bedouin women, they continue to maintain allegiance to their rigidly patriarchal society, according to studies conducted in the 1990s (Aswad 1994). Thus, even if university-educated Bedouin women tend to reject traditional gender roles (Seginer, Karayanni, and Mar'i 1990), they are still too few to have much effect on their community at large, even though their numbers are growing. Furthermore, marriage within the Bedouin community serves to advance many group objectives, including cementing alliances between clans, according to Al-Krenawi and Graham (1999) and strengthening the clan by preserving property within it (Raz and Atar 2003). UNICEF (2001) also found that because of the large family size in Bedouin communities, early marriages were perceived being economically beneficial, lifting from the family the “burden” of supporting unwed daughters.

The aforementioned economic benefits might also encompass social benefits, particularly the preservation of family honor (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 1999a) and perceived notions of increased fertility among younger brides (Al-Krenawi and Wiesel-Lev 1999).

One final consideration for continuing high rates of early and consanguineous marriage among the Negev Bedouin is the counterintuitive notion that educated women in cultures with a strong patriarchal base may choose to adopt more traditional roles as a means of identification with the group. This has been reported among Palestinian women (see, for instance,

Ammerman 1987; Brusco 1986; ookayKaufman 1993), while Fernea (1998) cites Palestinian women who abandoned leadership positions to raise a family asking, “Why didn’t anyone tell me how wonderful it would be to have a family?”

While advanced education and increased employment opportunities within the public sphere could lead to the disintegration of traditional roles and the rejection of early and consanguineous endogamy marriages, education coupled with strong religious convictions and a well-developed sense of community could lead to the search for self-fulfillment within the matrix of traditional familial roles for women. In one clan in Laquia, the rate of birth handicaps was so high that the current generation has completely abandoned consanguineous marriages and deliberately sought spouses in the larger West Bank Palestinian and Jordanian community.

Female Circumcision and Birth Control among the Bedouin

The World Health Organization (WHO) does not have figures on female genital mutilation or circumcision among the Bedouin. This may be because the Bedouin of the Negev are counted in Israeli statistics. However, a study published in 2008 in the International Society for Sexual Medicine focusing on the Bedouin of southern Israel as a follow-up to a study done 15 years earlier on the same population (Hailila, Baniker, Abu Rubia, Froinovi, and Applebaum), found a dramatic shift compared to studies of female genital mutilation.

A study in 1995 by Asili et al. found six Bedouin tribes in which FGM was the norm. Physical examination of the women found no tissue removal scars but 100 percent had indications of ritual incision on the prepuce of the clitoris or on the labia, about 1 cm in length. Data from studies performed in 1983 and earlier also indicated that 100 percent of the Bedouin women in southern Israel had undergone FGM.

What is particularly encouraging is that the 2008 study compared the rates of FGM with other morbidity and mortality data for this population, including infant mortality, maternal mortality, mean birth weight, and educational variables, and found that these data also had shown improvement over the years from 1995 to 2008. According to this study, there were no indications of newly performed FGM and there are significant gains in morbidity and mortality, successful childbirth—significant drops in maternal mortality. There is no comparable decrease in FGM in any other population surveyed by the WHO.

It should also be noted that Bedouin women, like many of their sisters in African tribal societies, have traditionally been tattooed on their faces. It is

rare to find this on women aged 50 or younger in the Negev. Ironically, tattooing and piercing on the face, while diminished in these populations, has become fashionable among young Jewish women in Israel!

The earlier persistence of FGM, despite its being outlawed in Israel, as it is in the international community, may have been another instance of the clash between modernity as represented by Israeli law, and cultural traditions that connect with family honor.

The history of female circumcision has been traced to the second century BCE when a geographer, Agathraclides of Cindus, wrote about its prevalence among tribes residing on the west coast of the Red Sea, which is now part of Egypt. It appears to have spread out from there through North Africa and northern sub-Saharan Africa. Given tribal relationships among the Bedouin of the Negev, there is reason to believe they are close kin with the Bedouin of the Sinai and thus likely to have originated in Egypt, which is a major center of this activity, and, as mentioned elsewhere, has 100 percent of girls and women circumcised.

It is also practiced in non-Islamic countries, including Christian countries. Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Liberia, for instance, have predominantly Christian populations, but circumcision is seen as a rite of passage to adulthood.

While frequently attributed to the Bedouin family honor traditions, and to similar traditions among the Muslims of the Middle East and South Asia, the fact that the practice has declined among the Bedouin of the Negev raises some interesting questions about traditional family honor practices in contest with modernity. This is especially remarkable because Egypt is in most ways as modern as any country in the Middle East or North Africa, yet FGM has persisted at the same rate over time.

Birth control was condemned among the Bedouin, as in many other tribal societies. Now it is widely practiced among the Bedouin of the Negev and in many other Islamic societies such as Indonesia, where big families are no longer seen as an asset but rather as a costly liability.

Conclusion

The Negev Bedouin are, historically, nomadic people moving in an “annual cycle over 4,000 square kilometers of land” (Dinero 1996, 262). In ancient times, the Bedouin traversed Eurasia and into south Central Asia (Meir 2005). Family values are rooted in a nomadic, pastoral life with a patrilineal and patriarchal structure (Kulwicki 2002, p. 84).

This traditional social system is a male-dominated hierarchy with social strata shaped by clan and family membership. In a political economy based

on herding and competitive advantage in relation to other tribes, men are dominant, having the physical strength to do heavy labor and protect their own property and the wealth of the clans and tribe.

The landscape in which the Bedouin evolved is largely arid, with frequent droughts and limited arable land. These physical conditions plus the adoption of Islam in the seventh century CE formed the Bedouin family code, a complicated system of values and customs supporting conflict resolution and regulating marriage and family as a foundation for the social structure and stratification of the society.

The social system within the tribe is hierarchical, but the clans that comprise the tribe perceive themselves, and are perceived by others, as a collective. Because of this collective identity and the dominant role of men in the structure (Kulwicki 2002, p. 84), the upholding of the tribal honor code is understood by all family members as a critical, overriding moral and legal responsibility.

In social psychology, the Bedouin are a “shame culture.” The shame of one individual or the taking or degrading of the possession of that individual in the group (be it his land, horse, or woman) brings shame on the whole family, which is compelled to act against the perpetrator to reinstate the familial honor. The difference between the honor code and ordinary vengeance is that in the case of perceived violation of a sexual nature, the punishment generally is, redirected at the “possession” or person whose mistreatment has dishonored the family, clan, or tribe. The restoration of honor justifies the killing of the relative who was violated by the predator, or who is suspected of any intentional violation.

This practice is based in the traditional conception of the female body as a literal repository for her male kin’s honor, and thus any injury or attack on her physical being or reputation becomes, by proxy, an attack on family honor. Among the Bedouin, blood revenge targets the victim.

In addition, Bedouin society is collective in focus, not individualistic. Marriage among the Bedouin is not decided by the man and woman, but rather between families or even tribes (Abu-Rabia-Queder 2006). Therefore, marital structure, generally including cousin marriages, early marriages, and polygamy, are prearranged by close family members to maintain collective tribal interests rather than out of love. According to Abu-Rabia Queder (2006, p. 22), in Bedouin society, “marriages had to fulfill not only individual needs but familial and societal ones as well.” Thus, romantic love is suppressed, as it threatens the tribal social cohesion (Abu-Rabia 2006) and may impinge on the family code and the honor code.

Modernization has, in many ways, challenged and controverted the patriarchal structure and the family and honor codes. Probably the biggest

change brought by the educational and jurisprudential systems has been in the lives of women and their options for choice and change. Recently, as the Bedouin of the Negev have been informed through medical consultants in the community, the increased incidence of mental retardation, dwarfism, diabetes, and other genetic anomalies is attributable to inbreeding via cousin marriages. Currently, the Bedouin are searching for marriage partners much wider afield and avoiding cousin marriages.

Modern education in a traditional Bedouin community breaks the sacred traditional social norms of honor. First of all it takes family children out of the domestic sphere and ultimately leads them to participate in the job market. Education in the contemporary sphere introduces children to reasoning, creativity, and problem solving, plus broadens their social sphere and deepens their understanding of human relationships.

The geopolitical and social landscape in which the Bedouin have traditionally made their home has rapidly shifted. The majority of the 120,000 members of the Negev Bedouin community now live in permanent stone dwellings and spend their free time watching television and engaging in pursuits similar to their Israeli peers. Most have moved away from the traditional, pastoral lifestyle and toward a wage-labor economy (Dinero 1996, p. 263).

This change is not without challenges. With education and service sector careers that require higher and professional-level education are now within the reach of women. This has become a common aspiration for the adolescent Bedouin girls of the Negev—but less so for their brothers.

The Bedouin face high unemployment rates as they struggle to find wage-labor employment. This has wrought enormous shifts in gender roles and family relationships. Roles of women are expanding as a natural consequence of educational opportunities and the availability of employment outside the domestic sphere, and through their contact with Israeli society. Their traditional way of life is constantly challenged, and the status of women in this hierarchal society is changing along with it.

This is evidenced in the emergence of a new, educated generation of women; the direct involvement of the state in enforcing criminal law when acts prescribed by the tribal code violate basic human rights; the right to life and formal law in areas that previously required tribal mediation (e.g., family conflict, family honor killing, divorce); and the process of urbanization (Ben David 1989; Lapidot–Firilla, Elhadad 2005; Meir and Ben David 1995).

As traditional values weaken, the Bedouin are adopting many Western values, but on the other hand there has been what Lapidot-Firilla and Elhadad call a “pendulum” reaction that tries to preserve some traditional

elements. There is a “push-pull” between modernism and tradition for men as well as for women but for the former it is not as obvious.

Even more than their male counterparts, Bedouin women are at the crossroads of modernization. They want to uphold their traditional values, which entail aspects of family honor, while trying to pursue self-fulfillment. In the same manner, they want to move toward self-actualization while taking pride in their cultural and ethnic heritage.

Thus, one finds younger Bedouin women returning to the use of the niqab and hijab even while they read and discuss Freud and Schopenhauer. They reject FGM but maintain silence about their own abuse and the abuse of other women they know. The conflict is individual and rarely made public. Bedouin women, constrained in a gender-segregated world, use that segregation, as they often use the veil itself, to grow closer with each other as they search for new alternatives and choices.

Finally, the conflict between modernity with an emphasis on health and fitness means the generations of women aged 40–60, who have been sequestered in their stone houses with dishwashers, washing machines, and other labor-saving devices, have also been constrained, as are their daughters and granddaughters, by the restrictions tribal law places on their public physical activity. For instance, girls aged 14 and over, cannot ride bicycles in public because of honor code modesty regulations.

Meanwhile their mothers and grandmothers develop early-onset Type 2 Diabetes, rheumatoid arthritis, and cardiac conditions, because they no longer perform the workaday labor they were once expected to do, such as setting up the tents; herding the goats, sheep, and camels; and fetching water in buckets on their heads, and firewood as needed. The hard labor of traditional Bedouin tribal life, like the hard labor in American Indian society prior to urbanization, along with their diet, enhanced the health of women, even as their tribal culture placed their lives at risk and devalued them in many ways.

The particular example of the Bedouin of the Negev demonstrates that effective application of preventive and punitive interventions can save and improve the lives of women. It is a strong argument in favor of international action against violence against women.

CHAPTER 4

Sanctioned Mass Atrocities: Women in Afghanistan

Violence comes in three forms in Afghanistan. They are not equally conspicuous, but they can be equally deadly. The first is rocket and gunfire violence. The second is the violence of vendetta, which may simmer under the surface in nominal peace, only to flare anew now and then over the course of generations. The third is a silent violence, like that of strangulation, and it hangs over the heads of the people like a heavy, stifling curtain. (See figure 1.2.)

The definition and history of Afghanistan is violence. It is a militaristic society founded in Pashtun tribal law, populated for the past five thousand years by Pashtun, Uzbek, Tajik, and Khassari ethnic communities.

The dominant Pashtun have, for the past several hundred years, held sovereignty over the region known as Afghanistan. Nominally it is an Islamic republic, but actually, whenever Pashtun custom and tribal law conflicts with Qur'an, Sharia, and Hadith interpretations of Islam, Pashtun tribal law or customs prevail. Nowhere is this more evident than in the treatment of women.

My examinations of refugees from Afghanistan, since 1979, have revealed that the women were in much worse condition than the men. The latter were combatants, and would be suspected of suffering head injuries and PTSD, but, contrary to most warring populations, in Afghanistan are in much worse mental and neurological health.

This was especially puzzling because the men had been directly involved in fighting. Many of them were Mujahidin, "holy warriors," fighting the Soviet occupiers and successive Afghani regimes since 1979.

When the Soviets pulled out, these warriors, largely supported by United States and British advisors and weaponry, fought among themselves on behalf of warlords until the Taliban (students of the Qur'an) took over in Kandahar in 1994, and in Kabul, which had already been destroyed, in 1996.

They tortured and killed the last ruler elected by an Afghan electorate, Najibullah. Two years later, Taliban leader Mullah Omar joined forces with Bin Laden's Al Qaeda. They quickly came to dominate most of the cities and countryside of the largely Pashtun region in the South, while the Northern Alliance, composed largely of Tajik and Uzbek militias and another smaller force, primarily Khazari militias coalesced to fight Taliban domination. They remained united under President Rabbani and maintained the UN seat in the name of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

Over Afghanistan's history there have been conquerors and armies of occupation; neighbors who intruded and occupied territory; European powers that saw the opportunity for colonizing and extracting mineral wealth; and outlaws who exploited narcotics that grew abundantly. The last 50 years of war and invasion amount to only the latest chapter in a 5,000-year history of invasion, civil wars, and intertribal feuds.

The British, Persians, and Russians fought each other in empire building—often with Afghan surrogates in what is now Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan. The conditions of a warrior society, with frequent periods of draught and food shortages leading to prolonged violence, are precisely the circumstances that result in devaluation of women.

After 2000, Afghanistan had developed into a failed state that provided a foundation for Al Qaeda, which in turn was under surveillance and threat in its former base in Sudan. Osama bin Laden had decided to move to Afghanistan. Founded by this Yemeni, bin Laden, whose family fortune was established in Saudi Arabia, Al Qaeda consisted of Arab fighters primarily from the Middle East but also volunteers for North Africa and a few from European and US radical would be jihadis.

The Al Qaeda alliance with the Taliban is what drew the United States and its NATO allies to attack Afghanistan in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks. That drove the Taliban from power, but the group seeks to regain its governing powers, and the present government of Afghanistan, along with the United States is quietly pushing to somehow include them in government. If the Taliban succeed, the Tajik, Khazari, and Uzbek of the Northern Alliance will take up arms again, reigniting a civil war. Half the population of Afghanistan will again be imprisoned—physically, morally, and psychologically crippled.

Gender Genocide

Atrocities on the scale of the genocidal have been occurring over many centuries in many places, and targeting one gender for destruction is not new. But only recently have we understood that such intentions are recognizable and preventable and they are now being considered for analysis. There are precursors and preconditions that make women as a group vulnerable to gender genocide or as others named it, “femicide.” These include:

Militaristic societies or conditions;
 Women are neither counted [as individual residents or citizens] nor independently identified
 Violations of bodily integrity of women are not prosecuted;
 Female infanticide;
 Patriarchal/patrilineal tribal identity;
 A woman’s body houses only and exclusively the honor of her male family;
 Gender constrained social and economic roles;
 Educational and literacy restrictions against women;
 Child marriage; and
 Restricted or denied political participation.

All of these practices have been rationalized historically as “protecting” the women. In Afghanistan, they have been transmitted primarily from ancient Pashtun tribal law dating to the pre-Islamic period, into the Taliban’s severe, stringent version of politicized Islam. Among the Tajik, Uzbeks, and Khasari, ethnic groups in Afghanistan that live outside the reach of the Taliban, women by contrast have enjoyed more educational opportunities, and religious minorities have been free to practice their faith.

In Kabul, the status of women has for nearly 100 years been very much better than that of their sisters in rural areas, except as it disintegrated under Taliban rule in the 1990s. In Kabul, the first educational institutions for women developed, and a high percentage of women worked in the government, and the professional community. The Taliban banished women from the public sphere, making it impossible for them to practice their professions, even in Kabul.

During the preinvasion years, the Soviet-influenced Afghani government had gradually been improving conditions for women. Many of the reforms instituted by these officials and immediately prior Afghan kings and presidents, were aimed at abolishing illiteracy and inequalities. Kabul had modern hospitals that were reputed to be among the best in Central Asia with women doctors and medical students in abundance.

Unfortunately, the Soviets combined these “modernizations” with their determination to eliminate Islamic practices as they had in their other central Asian republics. This provided a unifying core for the opposition to their occupation. Thus, the Mujahidin mobilized an armed opposition, including the Taliban, whose brand of Islam, which incorporated ancient Pashtun tribal law, gained popular support.

But the Soviet occupation in the 1980s did not set a tone of danger and uncertainty for everyone. When the Soviets took over, many Afghan officials and other prominent people had access to travel to Moscow for specialist medical services, for instance, not available in Kabul.

It has been impossible to obtain any statistics on the incidence of brain damage and mental illness, and knowing that the nature of referrals to a clinical psychologist or to a neuropsychologist would not be representative of the total population, I’ve based this chapter in part on anecdotal data gleaned from interviews and examinations of refugee patients, an extremely insightful memoir, and data provided by involved clinicians, educators, and journalists.

The most recent World Health Organization (WHO) data, along with that of other international organizations and the US Research Service Country Studies are the basis for few statistics available. The dates and sources for these demographic, morbidity, and mortality statistics may not be up to date (within the past two years).

In November 2009, UNICEF reported that Afghanistan is the most dangerous place in the world for a child to be born. In that year Afghanistan had the highest infant mortality rate in the world. While Save the Children designated Niger is the worst due to a severe food shortage in 2012, Afghanistan still rates as the second-worst place for children to be born.

According to the Human Development Index of the UN Development Programme, Afghanistan is the second-least developed country in the world. Every half hour an average of one woman dies from pregnancy-related complications; another dies of tuberculosis, and 14 children die from preventable causes. Before the start of the wars in 1978, the health system was improving and Kabul’s two hospitals were among Central Asia’s leading state health institutions.

But during the six-year rule of the Taliban, women were not allowed to seek healthcare at all. There is an estimated one million disabled or handicapped people in Afghanistan and some 80,000 people in Afghanistan have lost limbs to landmines and other explosives. This is a conservative estimate. No national census has been taken since 1979.

Given the exposure and experience of violence, it is likely that a large percentage of the population of Afghanistan has personally suffered violence

and threat of loss of bodily or family integrity. Combatants and women who have suffered closed-head trauma, or watched female relatives violated are probably suffering Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and organic brain damage.

The Hidden Wound: Mental Illness

A plethora of studies document the probability of mental health impairment under such circumstances. Of particular relevance are the studies of Holocaust survivors, with additional useful case studies performed of Israeli soldiers and terrorism survivors that document consequent mental illness (Breznitz 1983). The series of books edited by Spielberg and Sarason (1973–1978) include several chapters dealing with coping and support as ameliorating stress. In a chapter on coping behavior, Coelho (1980) describes a dozen ways coping and social structure especially the consistency of the ecology modifies traumatic experiences (Spielberger and Sarason 1980, pp. 247–261). This finding explains the transgenerational phenomenon of trauma-induced mental and behavioral illness evidence in most of the societies examined in this book.

Social supports, institutional consistency, and social ecological constancy are extremely important for adolescents' emotional development. In this chapter, we examine the case study of a whole society that is characterized by transgenerational violence during its millennium of existence. It is also a tour of the epitome of *gender genocide* and its consequences for the mental health of generations of men and women. Statistics, especially on women in Afghanistan, have little significance because outside of Kabul, collecting data on women is impossible because many have neither names nor are available to respond. Thus, what statistics exist based on such fragmented samples, done at different times without sampling databases. It is nevertheless certain that men, women, and children are scarred.

Afghanistan's gender genocide is viewed through the personal history of a woman from a prominent Pashtun family. She and her sister were beneficiaries of education for women, having parents who were intimately involved in the social and political history of Afghanistan even as the latter were exceptional. Maryam Totokail, in her memoir, *For the Love of a Son* (Sasoon 2010), and extensive interviews by this psychologist, offered a window into the social and psychological lives of generations of women in her family long before the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

Two generations before she was born, her paternal grandmother, Marianne, was kidnapped by a Pashtun tribal chief and became his child

bride and favorite wife. She gave birth to three daughters, all of whom were later killed by their half-brother, who inherited the tribal sovereignty by primogeniture and fraud after their father's premature death.

This new chieftain had frequently tried to kill his youngest brother, who was his father's favorite. He failed to do that and he was determined at the very least to get rid of the woman, his half-brother's mother, who was his father's favorite wife, and who remained a challenge to his legitimacy as chief.

He tried to sell his stepmother into a marriage with a very old man. When she refused, he ordered her stoned to death. She was already tied to the stake and half buried in the ground when her son, Maryam's father, arrived and bargained with his brother for his mother's life. In return, he gave up his paternal inheritance and all claims to tribal chieftain.

In the generations still alive when Maryam was a child lay the brutal history of deaths and dismemberments of women who were out of favor or "in the way" and homicidal contests for hegemony. The family history is a microcosm of Pashtun and Afghan history. It is also a history of femicide.

Maryam was born and raised in Kabul, and even though she left in her mid-teens and lived in India and finally, in the United States, this family psychohistory was ever present. Her parents, who themselves repudiated what they viewed as barbaric primitive law and custom, eventually gave in to some of the practices. Her very worldly, sophisticated, and loving father, alarmed at his daughter's Americanization, decided to arrange a marriage for her with a Pashtun man.

A Personal Vignette

As a child of six, Maryam used the name Yousef for herself. Her parents tolerated her preference for dressing like a boy and wanting to be a boy. Her first day at school, she was self-identified as a boy and all went well until she tried to undo her trousers to use the toilet. Crying she finally asked for help and her gender identity "secret" was out. Through very sensitive and tactful strategies her teachers helped avoid the painful social consequences.

Few if any educated women in Kabul would be surprised that an intelligent girl would prefer to be a boy! She was the second daughter and felt that her gender prevented her father's accession to his patriarchal inheritance because he lacked a son. Despite her parents' insistence on gender equality, their environment was imbued with gender inequities. Maryam's rebellion against her own femaleness became a lifelong pursuit. She would not become a lesbian or transgendered man, but she has been acutely aware of the politics of gender and particularly in Afghan society in which she

underwent this humiliating initiation as a rebel. It became the pervasive script for her life in rebellion against patriarchal authority and gender expectations.

Etiology of Probable Brain Damage

Women in Afghanistan, can expect to be dragged by their hair across the cobblestones if they displease their husband or mother-in-law. Beating for disobedience or just because of a husband's anger over anything, is commonplace. It is aimed at head, face, eyes, and ears. Women often have no name, and identify themselves for official purposes, such as immigration or medical records, as Um (mother of) Mohammed (a son's name).

In fact, according to the WHO, 98 percent of women in Afghanistan lack identity or citizenship papers, or formal papers of any sort. They are uncouned. Thus, they are neither protected nor are their lives indemnified if they are killed or die from other causes.

Women may not be examined by male doctors. Yet 2002 statistics show only 28 percent of doctors is female and they live and work primarily in Kabul. There are fewer than 500 midwives.

Ninety percent of Afghan women deliver their babies at home without trained midwives or doctors. These figures and percentages of service providers are even lower now except in Kabul. Roughly 56 percent of women younger than 18 years of age are married (the exact numbers are unknown). But families marry ever-younger girls in order to get a bride-price, to assist in the family's survival. The high price of groceries, housing, and joblessness has made girls expendable.

Increasing numbers of young girls are abducted by the Taliban and forced into polygamous marriages or sold for sex. Under the Taliban, girls were denied education, and women working outside the home and women outside without a male family member as escort, are subject to horrendous penalties, including death. In fact, Physicians for Human Rights declared that half the population of Afghanistan was imprisoned, because women were not allowed outside their homes.

When women were allowed outside for marketing or other essentials, accompanied by a man of their own family, they were enshrouded in burqas covering them from head to foot with a narrow window of net through which to see directly and dimly ahead. These restrictions were imposed on all women, including on non-Muslim minorities such as Sikhs, who had previously been permitted some freedom of public appearance so long as they were accompanied by a male relative. In the end these minority groups entered the Taliban's crosshairs. Sikhs were forced to host Taliban fighters in

their households, who were known to sexually attack the wives and daughters when the men of the household were not away, as described in the case study to follow.

Prior to the 1994 takeover by the Taliban, women in Kabul comprised 50 percent of government workers, 70 percent of school teachers, and 40 percent of doctors. (WHO 2003). But in the rest of the country, with the possible exception of the northern centers of the Tajik and Uzbek minorities, the proportion of women in these occupations was far lower, although women in rural areas had begun to benefit, as did men, by Soviet imposition of literacy programs in the countryside, as previously mentioned. These reforms were fiercely opposed by Salafists Wahabi imams sent by Saudi Arabia to educate this remote Islamic society.

Conditions of pregnancy and delivery, the maternal morbidity, and mortality are themselves indicators of probable prenatal and birth damage to the brain and central nervous system. Dr. Sheila Jahan, Afghan-American neurologist, described women's predicament during pregnancy and childbirth in her native Paktia province:

With no doctors or midwives within reach, some women, with the help of their husbands, try to travel to the nearest city. There is no transportation infrastructure, so they travel by animal drawn cart over rutted dirt roads and across terrain made even more impassable in winter time with snow and ice on the ground. In spring and summer, there are sinkholes, sand, dust and sudden storms. But then they get to a large body of water—a river, or a lake. There is usually no way to cross it except on the back of their husband who swims, wades and holds onto their pack animal to make the crossing. Bridges don't exist even in places where there had once been one. Ferries are peripatetic and infrequent. So the locals say, "She went to Kabul to give birth and returned home for burial."

Developing the requisite infrastructure, in Jahan's experience, meant paying huge bribes to officials and purchasing the materials, only to see them disappear within months of their arrival, and six months later, still no road!

The beatings and other hardships of daily life for women can cause closed-head trauma with a high probability of brain and central nervous system damage. Some injuries may result from proximal explosions. Following are other circumstances that threaten the mental health of all Afghans:

1. Repeated traumatic stress inherent in war that threatens bodily and family integrity.

2. Torture and threats of torture, a fact of life for women in tribal law, which mandates honor killings and beating of wives for “discipline” and “education” (Liberman and Yager 1994).
3. Denigration of everything female by custom, speech, and practice.
4. Growing up in a social system that deliberately confuses fabrication with reality; this was particularly examined in *For the Love of a Son* (Sasoon 2010), which describes how Maryam’s son was kidnapped at the age of two and raised by his father in a Taliban and Al Qaeda defined world. The growing child, surrounded by schizoid representations, was convinced that his mother was a whore and his father was the only repository of truth but unpredictable, inconsistent, and conditional in his affections.
5. A polygamous household in which relationships among the adults are contentious, conflicted, inconsistent, and competitive.
6. Minimal formal education and maximal mythologizing. Children growing up in a violent society are frequently traumatized in their early years and rarely treated. By the time they are in early adolescence, they are reinforced at their developmental level of vendetta. Mythology and icons continue to reinforce the notion that taking vengeance was essential. Boys in particular are encouraged to “demonstrate” their masculinity by “fighting back” and rewarded for inflicting damage on their personal, family, or tribal “enemies.”

Denying the Value of Human Life

The forebrains of adolescents have potential for developing subtle and complex decisions and judgment, given stimulation and education both formal and informal. The young adult must self-identify in the myriad of moral choices. Without that, fully mature moral and legal reasoning does not emerge.

A violent society necessarily restricts the physical and experiential activities of children. Parental enmities further limit associations. Bullying is encouraged as the masculine ideal behavior for boys, especially by fathers.

Shalhoub-Kevorkian’s *Crimes against Women or Femicide* (1999) refers to Messerschmidt’s 1933 findings that violent crimes against women are closely related to the construction and reinforcement of violent and domineering masculine role identity. Violence perpetrated against the sexuality of women is a public manifestation of masculinity, and masculinity “serves as a socially constructed mechanism of control and objectification” (579). Although his research and data focused on Palestinian women, these observations and

findings can be appropriately applied to Afghanistan, which has been likewise fashioned by patriarchal and paternalistic moral and legal codes glorifying masculinity, expressed in the form of violence against women.

Any of these circumstances would be damaging in and of themselves, but loaded on all of them is the ready availability of opiates. In Afghanistan, as poverty and degradation increased and widowed women with children for could not seek employment, some turned to prostitution and drugs to dull the pain. Children inhaled the secondhand fumes of these opiates and became addicted.

Again, there are no reliable statistics on the numbers and proportion of the population thus affected. In addition, of course, Afghanistan is a major producer of opiates to the world.

Meanwhile orphanages have been filling with children who are without parents or fathers to support them and protect the household. Those with disabilities are not treated, given a ratio of 30–60 children per caregiver. Caregivers are also not trained paraprofessionals or professionals, and are most often serving not because they are qualified but because they are available.

The madrassas, Islamic schools for boys, in Afghanistan and Pakistan have been recruiting grounds for Taliban fighters. The education they offer boys is rote recitation rather than reasoning skills. Discipline is corporal punishment reinforced by peer bullying. As in all other social services, orphanages in Kabul are more likely to have enlightened staff and a curriculum than are those in the countryside.

Furthermore, orphanages in Afghanistan are for boys. There are none for girls. Traditionally, girl children are sold into servitude, trafficked, or become, as in India and in Thailand, child brides. They have no names and leave no records.

Also unknown are the numbers of women and children trafficked. Many surface in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States as child slaves and contemporary Asian versions of *Oliver Twist*.

As with every other kind of health and human rights travesty, incidence; outcome and treatment; morbidity; and mortality in Afghanistan is not recorded. Symbolically and in fact, there is no more definitive denial of the value of a human life than this.

Parental Kidnapping and International Law

Maryam describes her own experience of the violation of American law, and her son's later development of schizophrenia under the stress of his father's brutal upbringing. As shown throughout this story, Afghanistan is

impervious to international law. Yet it demands recognition by the international community, application of partisan protections, and prosecutions by gender.

In a marriage arranged by her father in the United States, and under the laws of the state of California, Maryam was repeatedly physically violated by her husband. She bore a son, Duran, and got a protective order that initiated procedures for legal separation and sole custody. But through subterfuge her husband snatched the boy, and with lies and false documents, took him back to Afghanistan where American legal jurisprudence has no standing.

Afghanistan is not party to the Hague Convention and so parental kidnapping is not a crime. In fact, boy children are their father's possession. Mothers have no custody rights. Her husband ordered Maryam's death if she entered Afghanistan and all her attempts to contact the boy by phone or mail were intercepted so that he never received them.

Duran was told what he knew to be lies, but over the years, with no substantial evidence to contradict them, plus his father's ongoing cruelty, he turned inward, and developed the hallucinations and delusions that characterize schizophrenia. By the time he was in adolescence his hallucinations incorporated images of raping and torturing his mother. His social environment was the chaos of Afghanistan in the 1990s. By the time this author interviewed him Duran was completely delusional and had just tried to rape his young cousin.

In a study of treatment for traumatized children presented at the International Conference on Wartime Medical Services, Sharon Bauer (1990, p. 484), notes that establishment of a therapeutic relationship with abused and traumatized children "under conditions of peace is a most difficult objective since often they have been abused and threatened by caregivers."

In such instances, the child takes the burden of "blame" for whatever happened, confirming what an awful person he is and that the ongoing trauma is punishment for bad behavior. Bauer points out that a child "may struggle for a lifetime with inappropriate expressions of anger that do not lead to violence or antisocial behavior." Instead, they manifest in chronic depression, adjustment or attachment disorders and reflect in anxiety neuroses.

Among the potential consequences that can reach into adulthood is that anguished memories will develop into unbridled hostility that manifests in antisocial acts toward themselves and/or others. Certainly, in her memoir Maryam describes behaviors that are so hostile and vile that her son cannot be trusted even by those trying to maintain an intimate relationship with him. His Afghan-American wife in fact has obtained protective court orders to keep him away from her or their children.

In this and many other ways longitudinal violence springing from a violent social culture—eventuates in mental illness. In the instance of the Holocaust, when genocide was imposed by an external force nevertheless, the violence fractionated and polarized the victimized population. But the perpetrators and their descendants recognized the enemy as external to and different from those who suffered. The stress of survival and coping is transmitted through generations. In the case of the Holocaust and intercommunal violence such as in Northern Ireland and Lebanon, xenophobia is the common consequence (Fields 2008).

Elie Wiesel, whose father who died in a Nazi concentration camp, wrote, “Now I know what frightened him. I know that he felt guilty. And I also know that he was wrong. Who do I know this from? From myself, that’s who, from myself, his son. For we resemble one another. I carry within me his past and his secret” (Wiesel 1998).

In practicing therapy with the third generation of Holocaust survivors, Dr. Ilany Kogan refers to concretism, a behavioral phenomenon. She refers to patients who, without understanding what they are doing, act out the traumatic aspects of their parents’ lives as if they were their own story. As Freud described it, psychosis disavows reality and tries to replace it. When reality looks worse than fantasy, the patient hopes to ameliorate or undo a terrible reality by retreating into hallucinations and delusions.

Past as Prologue; Present as Future

Violence expressed as femicide has intergenerational consequences for men as well. Women who are not accorded humanity live in fear and shame, and their sons carry their mothers’ trauma into their own psychosis. Thus, gender genocide leads to the destruction of an entire ethnicity. Afghanistan can never unite, it constantly splits into factions, and as does even the Taliban, each faction fighting the others. Violence between and within groups, while a different experience than that of the Holocaust genocide, has similar longitudinal and transgenerational psychic consequences.

Prolonged political or intercommunity violence overhangs generations of descendants casts a shadow on the social institutions of the society. Though neither embedded in the DNA nor the sole option for defense or offense in the human behavioral repertoire, violence as a primary social and psychological response is transmitted from one generation to the next and incorporated into cultural symbols and icons. The latter are incorporated into the brain as are values and moral judgment (Fields 2004).

The consequences are evident in the demographic data-morbidity and mortality statistics; mental illness; family breakdown; crime; and juvenile

delinquency. Disruptions between the individual and social institutions are mirrored in all interpersonal relationships. These are particularly obvious and measurable between men and women and between elders and youth. Political violence is the unavoidable outcome when one group gains advantage over the other in legitimacy, and the legal, institutional, and economic structure favor that group. This also opens the way to atrocities committed against disadvantaged minorities within the larger society. Women are not a numeric minority but in Afghanistan they are decidedly disadvantaged.

All interpersonal relationships mirror these tensions between individual and social institutions. This is particularly evident and measurable between men and women, and among generations.

Atrocities on the scale of genocide have been occurring over many centuries and in many places. Targeting one gender for destruction is not new. But only recently has the social science community realized that such intentions are recognizable and preventable. Bellamy (2011) theorized about precursors and preconditions that increase women's vulnerability to gender genocide.

As previously mentioned, more than 30 years of conflict in Afghanistan have produced generations of orphans and refugees, the greatest part of which have taken refuge in neighboring Pakistan. In 1994, after the Taliban capture of Kandahar, some 12,000 Pakistani and Afghan students from madrassas in Pakistan joined the Taliban. From that time on Pakistan has provided munitions, mines, and military support to the Taliban, whose members at present are almost exclusively Pakistani-born and bred, many with ancestral Pashtun roots in Afghanistan. Pakistani fighters recruited by the Taliban through Pakistan's Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence offer other assistance to the Taliban in the form of vehicles, weapons, money, and manpower.

Although conflict persists between Shiite Iran and Sunni Pakistan, with active Sunni terrorist groups bombing Shiite mosques, the two are engaged in bilateral talks over Afghanistan. This mountainous land with lush valleys and deserts has been the scene of multiple conflicts not only because of its strategic location, but also because it is believed to be rich in natural resources. These include rare minerals such as lithium. Precious and base metals such as gold and copper are also abundant and precious gems, emeralds, lapis and possibly diamonds are also believed to be in the earth of Afghanistan.

Adding to the explosive mixture are oil companies vying for access to exploit the fossil-fuel rich resources. Corporations are laying 790 miles of natural-gas pipeline from the Turkmenistan-Afghan border to Multan in Pakistan, with another 1,300-kilometer gas pipeline from Yashar a decade ago. Even now the Taliban strive to achieve control of these regions.

It is not difficult to recognize Taliban members among the soldiers and police of southern and eastern Pakistan. Raised in Pakistan and schooled in madrassas, Taliban recruits speak Urdu more fluently than Pashto or Farsi, the lingua franca of educated Afghans. Most were refugees in Pakistan or born in refugee camps and many are orphans. Their socialization has been in the madrassas where beating and bullying are passed off as “discipline” and denigration of females is the “Masculinization” curriculum.

The Taliban have carried out atrocities against Afghans for the past 20 years, including beheadings, mass executions, amputations, public whippings, bombings, and rocket attacks that kill hundreds of civilians and wound thousands.

Despite evidence to the facts, the Taliban in parts or as a whole appear unwilling and unable to sustain agreements made with international bodies neither like the United Nations or any government, Afghan or foreign. In 1996 at a UN meeting, the US State Department’s assistant secretary of state for South Asian Affairs made the following observations:

It must be acknowledged as a significant factor in the Afghan equation and one that will not disappear any time soon. The Taliban control more than two-thirds of the country; they are Afghan, they are indigenous, they have demonstrated staying power. The reasons they have succeeded so far have little to do with military prowess or outside military assistance. Indeed, when they have engaged in really serious fighting, the Taliban have not fared so well. The real source of their success has been the willingness of many Afghans, particularly Pashtuns, to tacitly trade unending fighting and chaos for a measure of peace and security; even with severe social restrictions... the Afghan people are weary and tired of the factional fighting. The people are eager for peace at almost any price.

These observations articulated more than 15 years ago might well apply today.

Rampant corruption overlays the issues of insecurity, unpredictability, and chaos as does the weariness of the international community continually faced with war in Afghanistan, the Afghan refugee problem, and continuing violations of human rights and international law. Adding to the growing pessimism and constituents insistence that their forces be withdrawn, have been the “insider” killings of American and other allied forces by Afghan soldier and police trainees. Once again, they have issued a strong cry for peace through reconciliation. Hopeful analysts suggest that factions of the Taliban might be willing to come to the table for peace talks, and that, if granted a legitimate role

in the government, the Taliban might conciliate. The Western allies want to believe that with Al Qaeda gone, the Taliban have lost militant momentum.

But this simply isn't true. They are, in fact, pleased to have been rid of Al Qaeda that they had viewed as an unwelcome interloper and albatross around their necks attracting international opprobrium. Al Qaeda was not helpful in establishing the Taliban version of Sharia law or enforcing their agenda to establish an Islamic emirate. Still, Mullah Mohammed Omar, spiritual leader of the Taliban, and Osama bin Laden remained allies.

Mullah Omar had claimed to be restoring peace and security in Afghanistan by enforcing strict Sharia law, with no a functioning judicial system, but actually his system of law derived directly from Pashtun tribal law. It represents exactly the kind of practice the Prophet Mohammed eschewed nearly two millennia ago, when the Bedouin of the Arabian Peninsula engaged in it. The Prophet's battle against what he referred to as "abominations" such as the maltreatment of women and children developed into the practices that defined Islam.

In Afghanistan these outlawed practices from an ancient pre-Islamic culture passed into the version of Islam that the Taliban would impose today. They frame it as Sharia law, but wherever Qur'anic law diverges from ancient Pashtun tribal law, the latter prevails.

The population of men is more than 60 percent illiterate but when the family has money, boys are sent to madrassas. In these "schools" they are compelled to memorize the Qur'an, harshly punished and taught by teachers who generally have not much education themselves, but are available to "train the boys." Just as only a man can train his own horse, only a man can discipline a boy. But the penalty for insulting a man's horse is more violent on the perpetrator in contrast to the penalty for an insult to a woman, which is penalized by death to the woman. But the horse is not punished!

Afghan Women without a County

The story of Komal is taken from my clinical notebook. She was referred to me for psychological evaluation pursuant to her claim for sanctuary as a refugee.

Interim Report on Psychological Evaluation of Komal

Komal K. was seen in 2006 at the Arlington Detention Center in Virginia. She was brought there from the Hampton facility and had been crying and upset from the time she arrived the previous evening.

She explained that she was sharing a cell with a woman she thought was a drug user and perhaps a prostitute. In the Hampton facility she was with other women who, like her, had problems stemming from their immigration

status. Also, in both places, she was unable to adhere to her religious dietary regulations and had lost 10 percent of her previous weight, which was already below average. But she had to be examined by the psychologist preparatory to her immigration hardship plea.

She cannot claim Afghani citizenship although born in Afghanistan, as were her parents and older brothers before her. Because she is Sikh the Afghan government assigned her Indian origin/nationality even though she has never lived there.

Komal is a petite woman who looks younger than her chronological age, despite the obvious distress apparent in her facial expression and in her posture. Months of crying, sleeplessness, and extreme stress are etched on her face and frail body. Her voice is soft and her English is remarkably fluent although her language comprehension is not as good as her verbal expression suggests.

Komal K. has been in the United States approximately eight years. However, she left Afghanistan in 1997 having suffered war and personal threat and violence through most of her adolescence and adulthood. Prior to the Taliban takeover of Kabul, she was able to attend classes in a Sikh school, and received instruction in the Punjabi language taking some courses in English. Even in the best of times during her childhood, when there was a large enough Sikh community in Kabul to support the school, there was never a time of serenity or security.

Born in 1973 into a rapidly changing political scene, she spent ages 6–14 in the shadow of the Soviet army occupation and the war waged by the Mujahidin against the Soviets and anyone they perceived as allied with them. Minority religious communities were distrusted on both sides.

At the same time, in 1979 and several years after, Afghanis sought escape either into the sordid refugee camps established for them in Pakistan, or to India if they had money and connections. Maryam's family, in the interests of their daughters' educational opportunities, chose refuge and eventual exile in India, where her mother died. The father and daughters sought and got refuge in the United States.

In Kabul, the Islamic schools were still open after the Sikh schools closed; Komal's father would not let his children attend. Her father had a clothing store and he and his sons worked in it. Komal stayed at home with her mother. When she did venture out to go to the temple with her parents, when the Mujahidin and Taliban were in charge, she was confronted and threatened because her face wasn't covered. She was ordered to wear a burqa or be punished with lashings. That ended her outings. These public punishments were not only visible but her view or sound of them was inescapable even when she was housebound.

Both of Komal's parents had more schooling than she and her younger brother had. When the Taliban came to power her mother was also forced to stay at home. If and when anyone who was recognizably Sikh went out of the house, for example, when she went shopping with her mother, they were called names and threatened.

Her father felt obliged to give the Taliban money whenever they came to his house or shop and made demands for money, which was quite often. When he didn't have money, they would present their demand including the number of hours he would have before they would take violent action. Her mother could not go shopping alone, and one of her brothers had to accompany her. It was impossible to obtain medical care.

Komal was terrified whenever there was a knock on the door. She had to hide in her own house during the first days and months of the Taliban takeover from the intergroup warfare of the militia factions of Mujahidin.

Shortly after they came to power members of the Taliban forced their way into their home. They included three men, two women, and four children, who occupied the upper story of the house. Two of the men were married to the two women. She was never sure about who had which children, nor was that important because one or the other man were threatening agents to the other women as well as to her mother and herself.

Komal's family was also tormented by the intruding women, who wanted to use the two burner stove they had to cook their food. They latter appropriated the family's property and also called them names and constantly threatened Komal and her mother.

But what constituted physical as well as mental torture was what the men did. They threatened Komal at first verbally and demanded she go off with them and threatened her father and brothers when they tried to intervene and protect her. Then they attempted to rape her mother and started tearing her clothes off Komal. For eight or nine months before she left Afghanistan, it was a daily ordeal. These uninvited "guests" in their house demanded that the family become Muslim and when her mother was taking a shower tried to force her to have sex with them. These threats and assaults went on for at least eight months. They threatened to kill her parents because they protected her. Finally, Komal's father paid an agent to get her out of the country to safe refuge. She thought that the family would all go together when her father took her to meet a Pakistani man who was the agent. He, in turn, took her to the home of an old couple in Pakistan. She had never met them before, but her father told her to go with them and paid them a lot of money. She never knew how much. And then he said that the rest of the family would join her soon. But in the eight years since then, she never heard from or about her parents and brothers again. She feels guilty because

she thinks they were probably killed by the Taliban in fulfillment of their threat when they found that she had disappeared.

Komal stayed with the couple for two or three months. They gave her little food. They were Muslims and she had to work hard for them. When she made the journey to the United States she was accompanied by a Pakistani Muslim man whom she didn't know at all. However, he had been given the telephone number of a relative of her family in the United States as a contact person to notify when she got there. Komal's father had told her a lot about America and how much better and safer she would be once she got there.

She went to stay with her father's friend in New York for six or seven weeks. She felt like she was a burden to them and was desperately lonely for her family and to know what had happened to them. She met through them and fell in love with Mohan immediately. She went back and forth between New York and Virginia where he lived and worked in order to be with him. When she was five months pregnant she came to New York and they married.

Her knowledge of English was very poor and she didn't understand what was happening in regard to her immigration status and hearings. She didn't know what to tell the lawyer and did not understand what the lawyer told her. She had little experience even talking to men outside her family and no idea at all about legal proceedings or status. She felt overwhelmed with guilt about her parents' disappearance and because she didn't know how to do anything that would help her new husband.

Given the sequence of events, it is reasonable to believe that she was in a condition of prolonged acute stress. Each trauma was succeeded by another and finally she was dissociating and depersonalizing most of the time. The pregnancy itself presented new challenges because she was physically quite fragile and poorly nourished when she became pregnant. Her emotional state exacerbated her medical complications. Her obstetrician warned her against any travel at all during her last two months of pregnancy lest she go into premature labor. She perceived all men other than Mohan with dread and suspicion and remained afraid to venture outside at all.

When their son was born and she held him it was as though, she says, she become a whole person again. She spent all of her time with her baby and within less than two years gave birth to her second child, a girl. Her days and nights were completely centered on her children and on being a help-mate to her husband. She improved her English and even learned to drive so that she could take her children to school and do the grocery shopping and other chores. She tried to avoid thinking about her parents and home

in Kabul because she would start crying and become unable to respond to her environment.

She and her husband each suffered extremely brutal and inhuman treatment.

They are living with the disabling consequences, maintaining their independence financially and providing a warm, loving family life for their children. The children were extremely dependent on their mother for everything. She devoted herself to their well-being, interacting with them from the time they wake until they go to sleep. She has neither other interests nor involvements but caring for her family.

As a consequence, in her absence (during the months she was incarcerated as an illegal alien) her husband was totally helpless, and so stressed as to be unable concentrate on any task. If she were to be returned to Afghanistan, he would likely become totally disabled and the children would be so severely traumatized, they would be unable to function in school or at home.

She also can't return to Afghanistan for safety reasons, as she will be killed because she is labeled as Indian national, even though she has never been in India.

Komal's only effective defense mechanism for dealing with the emotional chaos of her past is Defensive Avoidance. It is only partially successful here, and will be of no avail at all if she must return to the environment in which the prolonged trauma happened. She would undoubtedly "decompensate" and become flagrantly psychotic.

Tests Administered

Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

Projective Drawings

Draw a Person

Self Portrait

House Tree Person

Beck Depression Inventory II

Perceptual-Motor-Memory tests:

Bender Gestalt

Memory for Designs

Traumatic Stress Inventory

Each of the tests provides a template of the emotional dynamics of the individual studied and is sensitive to experiences of torture and inhuman

treatment. This battery was selected because they have been widely used and standardized with traumatic stress survivors, including torture victims.

The Beck Depression Inventory scored Komal as significantly clinically depressed. Although she denies having any wish to die or to kill herself, her scores indicate very high feelings of guilt and self-loathing as well as serious eating and sleeping problems that accompany clinical depression. This finding is further elaborated on the Trauma Symptom Inventory (TSI), where they are part of a much wider array of symptoms typical of Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome. On the TSI she scored high on two critical items that indicate serious depressive symptoms.

Komal's projective stories on the TAT (as analyzed by Arnold's *Story Sequence Analysis*, 1964) suggest that she is a person of strong commitment who believes that people—close relatives—will be helpful and protective. She is also ashamed and guilt-ridden.

She believes that when people are attentive to each other they are happy together. She also believes that when a situation is desperate and dangerous, help will come but when something ill-intentioned is pursuing you have to escape or be devoured.

Following are the themes for each of the stories she told to the ambiguous picture cards. These themes indicate that she is quite dominated by feelings about family and the essential value of strong, close family relationships for happiness and fulfillment. They are indicative that her own family relationships have been sundered by distance and violence and that she is quite insecure when she is not with a close relative. The themes are as follows:

1. You want to learn to do what you have to do and want someone to help you. When they do, you are happy instead of sad,
2. Because when you expect someone they will come
3. and they do help,
4. and so when you get the attention of someone you want to be with you'll both be happy.
5. Because a child doesn't know what she needs or wants but her mother knows and can help her attain it.
6. When someone is being hurt by others somebody helps before one is killed
7. but when one creature is bent on devouring another, the victim will either be devoured or escape.
8. But when someone has done something bad sexually they need to apologize before they can both feel better.

9. Or when a family is happy together something bad can happen to separate one of the parents from the rest of the family and they are all very unhappy until the father, with the help of others can get them all back together again.
10. and when you get half way to your goal and are alone you are scared and need someone to come and help. You can only be happy when, with help, you get where you want to go.

Clearly, Komal is a dependent person. Her experiences in Afghanistan could hardly have encouraged her to be any other way. Her general feelings of helplessness are also typical for a Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) patient and contribute to her depressed state.

Her projective drawings are symptomatic of Depression and PTSD, two clinical conditions often coexisting or consequent to each other (Fields 2011). She sees herself and females generally as quite helpless in contrast to men and also as dependent and immobilized.

The Memory for Designs test indicates that Komal is suffering a visual memory deficit that is again consistent with other patients who have had serious trauma. One of the faculties most impaired by trauma is memory function. When the acute state of trauma is prolonged, as was hers, a permanent memory deficit can result from it. She otherwise has excellent eye hand coordination, perceptual motor coordination, and perceptual organization skills.

The TSI is particularly designed for use in assessing the consequences of trauma. As mentioned above, Komal scored high on two of the critical items that indicate self-destructive tendencies derived from guilt and self-loathing. These are typically scored by women who have suffered sexual trauma.

Also, typical of women who have suffered sexual trauma, Komal scored in the symptomatic range of dysfunctional sexual behavior. She scores very high on defensive avoidance. Unlike dissociation, in which the individual divorces from reality, she so extensively avoids threatening situations or people (who may not be objectively a threat, but in her perception are reminiscent of those who threatened her) that she uses a great deal of her energy and consciousness to avoid and repress. It is a defense mechanism frequently employed by traumatized individuals but it is insufficient for overcoming or coming to terms with the experiences.

She does suffer flashbacks and intrusive experiences despite her efforts to repress and suppress such reminders. Her anxiety and depression scores are also high and this chronic anxiety contributes to her feelings of helplessness.

Komal subsequently won the petition for sanctuary and became a naturalized American citizen. She remains haunted by the loss of her parents and siblings even as she adapts to her new allegiance.

Her experience is another reminder that, in the zeal of politicized religious extremism, whenever violence becomes the sanctioned expression of xenophobia, the first to suffer victimization are women and minority group members. Komal, being both woman and a member of a minority religion, was an example of the “canary in the coal mine.” If the international society of laws and justice truly aims to prevent mass atrocities and genocide, we must pay attention to the fate of the canary.

CHAPTER 5

India: Goddesses, Prime Ministers, Femicide Victims

The territory now called India was once a piece of imperial Afghanistan and, along with what is now Pakistan, was invaded and occupied by many distinct ethnic cultures and societies. In fact, the collection of diverse cultures, languages and even religions was referred to as “Indica” by the Greeks, who invaded and occupied the area around 400 BCE. The British nineteenth-century penchant for determining geographical boundaries in all of their “possessions” resulted in an act of Parliament in 1899 that took the name India from a smaller cultural region into a precise name for a territory in the British Empire.

Although we will focus mainly on India, this region of South Asia includes Pakistan, upper Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and the highly developed and urbanized Indus Valley. All but Pakistan are essentially Buddhist societies, but linguistically and culturally, India and islands in southeastern Asia, including Sri Lanka and Bali remain distinctly Hindu.

Thousands of years before, when the Aryans swarmed down from the Eurasian Steppes, the nomadic warriors were mounted on horses and their weapons were probably bronze. They took over from the darker-skinned indigenous people, Dravidians, a settled, pastoral people who had established cities. Archeologists have found indoor plumbing as well as other amenities in the ruins of the cities of that period.

But 2,500 years ago, around 1500 BCE, the permeability of the Himalayan mountains led to a mingling of Negroid aboriginals in the forests; pale, light-eyed Aryan nomads in search of a new home; Greeks; Scythians; Parthians; Mongols; Huns; and Chinese; plus mercenary warriors

of every skin color and physiognomy. These people intermarried to produce a genuine melting pot of ethnicities. The migrants usually headed for the Gangetic Plain, the fertile stretch of land that became the Aryavata, the Hindi-speaking heartland of those iconic of the Indian. Yet these people were not uniform in appearance, nor did they and those residing in other parts and places in India ever historically seek a political order on grounds of religion alone. British colonial rule imparted political unity never before characteristic of India. Ironically, even as the characteristic British political strategy had been to emphasize particularism and regionalism, in fact, it promoted unity in opposition and nationalism as dissent to colonial rule by a foreign power. But as the movement for independence mobilized, the historic unity across religious lines was exemplified by Mohandas Gandhi, himself a secularized Muslim by birth but by his own identity, Indian.

India is the second of three great human societies that arose three thousand years ago. It was first established at the confluence of the Indus and Ganges Rivers. That area had known as the Harappan civilization. They built cities and left many examples of their arts and technologies. Their teachers worked the Manu legal code into rules for moral living. This might be viewed as the origin of Hinduism. Two to five hundred years later Aryan invaders worked this moral code into scriptures called Upanishads. Siddhartha Gautama, known as the Buddha (“enlightened one”), would later incorporate this moral code into his teachings. He was born at the time these scriptures were assembled.

At that time in Hinduism, and later in Buddhism, goddess mythologies were incorporated. The Hindu goddess reigned over death and darkness, while the Buddhist goddess symbolized compassion. She was the patron of the farmwomen and pregnancy. The Hindu great god Indra, the Fierce, was the enforcer of justice even as the female goddess symbolized compassion.

India remains today the fourth most-dangerous place in the world for women although Afghanistan has been rated worst according to World Health Organization (WHO) statistical rankings. India shares a different statistic with China, as one of the most populated countries in the world: and in the growing gap between wealth and poverty, even though the urban population remains fairly stable. Poverty in rural areas increases along with population increases and infanticide of girl babies, abortions of female fetuses, and deaths of women by disease and homicide are most prevalent in these areas.

The Caste System and Women

The Aryans established the first racial caste system. They had two castes: the Brahmins, or priests, and the Kshatriyas, or warriors. They established a third class, the Vaishyaas or traders, and a fourth, the Shudras, or cultivators

of the land. Finally, there were the Chandalas, the lowliest of the low—“untouchables” outside the caste system, whose occupations had to do with “polluting” elements, such as sweepers, barbers, butchers, washer men, and those who cremated dead bodies.

Although India is not exclusive in “outlawing” such a caste (Japan has a similar “untouchable race”), India may well have the distinction of being the first such society. By 1000 BCE they had divided everyone into occupation-based groups, thus establishing irrevocable castes. The cultural glue that connected the many distinct segments was through a common mythology, and this caste and class system of orderly relationships, dictated first by the Brahmans and then integrated into the fabric of the society, incorporated elements of Aryan and Dravidian tribal law.

Later, when Islamic conversion and migrations established a large Muslim presence in the region, Qur’anic law and Hadith interpretations developed into Sharia practices that reinforced much of the tribal family law code while introducing new, more restrictive gender-role formulations. But Islam had a relatively late arrival on the Indian subcontinent. Even as this “orderliness” formulated institutional relationships as well as relationships among individuals, it made for a very rigid hierarchy and system of conventions. Conformity was mandatory and enforced usually by Brahmans, whose reach extended into every part and aspect of Indian society. Some authorities count as many as 3,000 subcastes, called “jatis” within community-based groups, which “share an occupation, a dialect or a religion” (National Geographic, *Eyewitness to History*, 41).

This established a pattern whereby the extremist, politicized Brahman religion incorporated elements of religious family law into their tribal law that would then direct the destinies of their realm, which, in 2000 BCE included Inner Asia bordered in the north by the Himalayas as far east as Papua New Guinea and including what is now Indonesia. Some of the archeological findings of that early period of human communities in the region suggest a kind of gender equality with parallel gods of equal importance, for instance. Nomadic warrior societies, as we have noted among the Bedouin, found little practical value for women. The opening of one early text dealing with the status of women dates to the Apastamba sutra, around fourth century BCE, says, “Women are enjoined to be of service to their husbands.”

Some scholars believe that in ancient India women enjoyed equal status with men, and works by ancient Indian grammarians studying ancient Sanskrit, such as Patanjali and Katyayama, suggest that women were educated in the early Vedic period, and verses suggest that women married at mature age and probably chose their husbands. Scriptures such as Rig Veda and Upanishads mention several women sages and seers.

Some kingdoms in ancient India had traditions such as Nagarvadhu (“bride of the city”), in which women competed to win this title. This is quite distinct from the tradition of devadasis, established in some parts of southern India, in which women were “married” to a deity or temple. At some point around the tenth century, illegitimate sexual exploitation of the devadasis became a norm. Along with suttee (self immolation of widows) and child marriages and dowries, this is presently illegal and unconstitutional but sometimes persists in rural areas. Like Jauhar, the voluntary immolation of wives and daughters of defeated warriors, and purdah, this imposes restrictions on women’s mobility and requires concealment of their skin and form, which came into widespread practice after the Muslim conquest. That brought purdah, exploitation of the temple women and polygamy, which became widely practiced as well as a ban on widow remarriage. Jauhar was practiced among the Rajputs in Rajasthan. After the Vedic period, at approximately 500 BCE, the status of women began to decline with the Smutitis (Brahman scholars and religious authorities). The invasion of Babur (1483–1530 CE) and the Mughal Empire, and much later, Christianity and Islam, brought further curtailment of women’s rights, according to some scholars and in different parts of India. Again we can note the differences connected to religious extremism, politicized. This happened, despite the fact that each of the monotheisms emphasized improvement or purification from tribal laws in regard to women.

It is likely that this setback was actually the result of the incorporation of some of the more repressive tribal family law systems into the practice of religious orthodoxy, as were vestiges of the caste system and practices. Thus, child marriages and tribal law restrictions on marriages outside of clan and caste that antedated Hinduism were the heritage of ancient tribal law. In fact, much of the tradition and mythology of Hinduism, or Brahmanism, were absorbed into the practice of Indian Muslims and, to a more limited extent, Christians.

These regional differences were so great that even when women in one part of India were subjected to extreme forms of purdah, women in other parts excelled in politics, education, and religion. Razia Sultana became the only woman monarch to have ever ruled Delhi. Razia, who was the daughter of a sultan and the only women ruler in Muslim India, was considered a judicious and progressive ruler, but her reign was troubled by revolts. She was killed by a Hindu.

The Gond queen Durgavati ruled for 15 years before she was killed in battle with Mughal Emperor Akbar’s general Asaf Khan in 1564. Jenigir’s wife Nur Jehan wielded imperial power and was recognized as the force

behind the throne. The Mughal princesses, Jahannara and Zebumissa, were well-known poets and influenced the rulers of their time. King Shicaigi's mother, Jijabai was deputized as Queen Regent because of her capabilities as warrior and administrator. In South India during the Medieval I period, many women served as administrators of towns as well as social and religious institutions.¹

The Bhakti movements tried to restore women's status and questioned some forms of oppression. Bhakti sects within Hinduism advocated social justice and equality between men and women. Reviewing women's history in India (Jagaplan 2001), it becomes apparent that women's status is a function and product of regions and localities as well as ethnic and religious particularities. To date, despite legislation and delegitimization of the ancient practices that destroy and diminish women, the Hindu holy city of Vrindavan, Uttar Pradesh, has more than 20,000 widows living together in ashrams where conditions range from horrific to tolerable. In these places uneducated and starving widows, who have no resources of their own and have been abandoned and thrown out of their homes upon the deaths of their husbands, try to survive on one meal a day.

According to the *Dharmashastra*, the sacred legal Hindu text of moral, ethical, and social law, widows are expected to devote the remainder of their lives to the memory of their husbands, renouncing life's luxuries and withdrawing from society, where they live a form of suttee—the now-outlawed practice in which widows burned themselves alive on their husband's funeral pyre. They are to wait for the moment when they will join their husbands in death. Some had been child brides that had not even reached their teen years.

Some who are still young are forced into prostitution, even while Indian women become leaders in major political parties (one of whom is now on the verge of becoming the next president of India). Over a million women are active in political life in India. All local elected bodies reserve a third of their seats for women, and Indian women are internationally acclaimed in literature, the arts, high technology, business, and sports.

This raises a challenging question: if a nation outlaws violence and discrimination against women, will this halt the destruction of women? If we consider the circumstances of the widows and child brides still endangered by the conditions of their lives in India, there is an obvious absence of preventive action and punitive action on a nationwide scale. This leads to the next question: can international law successfully intervene and hold perpetrators of violence against women accountable, even within a country or a region, where the survival of women is endangered and wherein mass atrocities against women are rationalized as religion?

Indian Women in Religious History

Neither Hindu nor Buddhist practices in their inception aimed to destroy women or even diminish their status. The great founder of modern India, Mohandas Gandhi, advocated for the equality of women, as did Buddha. Religion and religious practice evolve over time, and the role and status of women is frequently the bellwether marking these changes.

Patwant Singh in his book, *The Sikhs* (1999), challenges the image of India as a tolerant multiracial and multicultural society that was achieved through the multiplicity of cultures of Hinduism. In fact, the rules and rituals, and the exploitation of the lower castes and of women assume dominance by the Brahmins, he notes.

“Institutionally, Indian society has been rigidly hierarchical pursuing conformity by mandatory systems of symbolic distances,” which “articulated the hierarchy in a definitive and predictable manner,” writes Singh. “Tolerance was only another name for intolerance because it was a tolerance of injustice and disparities and of humiliation and deprivation by superior individuals and groups.”

Singh also attributes the persistence of rules and rituals disadvantaging women, for instance, the suttee, as one of the atrocities committed in the name of religion. In these instances, in the name of Brahmanism and the system it authored, mandated, and repeatedly reinstated: tribal family law. He notes, “From Alexander’s invasion of India in 326 BCE till the closing years of the twentieth century, Brahmin influence has helped shape the destiny of courts, kingdoms, nations and religious movements in India’s long history... Their supremacy was as much due to scholarship, erudition and intellect as to their matchless skill in statecraft and intrigue.”

Significant for our thesis, the religions that arose or became dominant in India and were not political, such as Buddhism, the most prominent, and Jainism, now vanished from India. Only Sikhism has become a potent political force in today’s India. Islam, which did not threaten Brahmanism and in fact incorporated its moral order into its own political agenda, maintained and finally executed its political goal in dividing India from Pakistan as an Islamic state shortly after it won independence from the British.

For instance, from the time of Muhammad bin Wassim (711) to Feroz Shah Tuglak (1350), Brahmins did not pay taxes. Abbe J. A. Dubois, the French scholar who lived in India from 1792 to 1823, observed, “The rule of all the Hindu princes and often that of the Mohammedan was properly speaking, Brahmanic rule since all posts of confidence were held by Brahmins.”

The word Mughal or Mongol was loosely applied to Muslims of Central Asian origin in India. It designates the emperors of Delhi or sultanates of several dynasties beginning in 1000 and continued through Tamerlane, who in 1338 destroyed Delhi, having conquered India. Babur's invasion from Afghanistan in 1523 inaugurated more than three centuries of rule by the Mughal in 1526. The Mughal Empire over northern India was Muslim, combined with Persian Mongol and Turkic culture.

The doctrine of Bhakti, while rooted in Hinduism, primarily concerned devotion to a personal deity. Of particular note is the connection with the Aryan myths that were incorporated into Wagnerian operas, such as Parsifal. The latter did not diminish women as such but relied heavily on caste and class as well as the universal spirit—Brahman. The Teutonic mythology quite likely shared the Brahman religion's Aryan linguistic and cultural origins.

Although Buddhism prevailed in the rest of Asia, it was nearly absent from India 500 years after its founding in India. Along with the teachings of the Buddha, which preached equality, humanity, and accommodation, while turmoil, terrorism, invasions, and destruction prevailed in India, where there was a mutually destructive struggle for supremacy between warring Hindu kingdoms. These extremes, coincidental and sometimes simultaneous in different parts of India, resulted in an inconsistent and often incoherent subcontinent, the kind of place ripe for invasion and colonization between the barbaric incursions of Tamerlane and Babar.

Meanwhile, between the fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries, Sufi scholars had presented the humane side of Islam and Bhakti Hindu origin, which originated in the thirteenth century in southern India and made no distinction of caste or creed.

The Emergence of Sikhism

Much like contemporary Afghanistan, India at that time was a place of poverty, internecine warfare between warlords and criminal gangs, and finally, the gap was huge between the very rich, powerful upper castes and the vast lower castes. This set the stage for the emergence of a new belief system or religion, and Sikhism was the response.

The founder of the Sikh religion, Nanak, was born near Lahore on April 15, 1469, at a relatively peaceful time, thanks to the stability provided under the rule of the Afghan nobleman Bahold Khan, founder of the Lodhi dynasty (1450–1520) (Singh 1999). Nanak's writings and works through the 70 years of his life not only became the basis for a new religion, Sikhism (from the Sanskrit term for disciple), but also brought a unique concept of religion to the Indian subcontinent.

Nanak opposed discriminatory doctrines and practices along with self-indulgent, corrupt religious and political hierarchies. "Religion lies not in empty words," he wrote. "He who regards all men as equal is religious."

He also aimed to eliminate idolatry as well as false distinctions such as castes. Unlike other religious figures of that time and place, he argued strenuously against the violence by one religious community against another's places of worship. He tried to get people to put aside their prejudices. "Nanek brought his clarity of thinking to highlighting the jarring social inequalities then prevailing especially discrimination against women," writes Singh (1999, p. 27).

Nanak also insisted that among his own followers there would be complete equality between men and women. His statements on women are directives made through insight and wisdom.

Nanek, who was monogamous, married at nineteen and respected his wife and sisters for their work and wisdom. What follows is perhaps his best-known statement about women's equal status to men (Guru Granth Sahib 1496):

Of woman are we born, of woman conceived
 To woman engaged, to woman married.
 Women we befriend, by woman is the civilization continued.
 When woman dies, woman is sought for.
 It is by women that order is maintained.
 Then why call her evil from whom great men are born?
 From woman is woman born
 And without women none would exist.
 The eternal Lord is the only one, O Nanek,
 Who depends not on woman.

"Sikhism emerged not as a synthesis of established religions but as an alternative to them," writes Singh (1999, p. 28).

Instead of appointing one of his sons to carry on the leadership, he chose a devout follower and former worshiper of the Hindu goddess Durga, who was himself a convert to Sikh. His successor, Guru, prohibited the practice of suttee; stopped women wearing veils; allowed widows to remarry; and appointed women preachers. The gurus who followed all performed manual labor as well as scholarship. All spoke out against religious and social injustice. The last, tenth guru, who gave the final shape to the scriptures enjoined his followers to look to the Granth Sahib as their supreme guru, "to worship wisdom and knowledge and not an individual" (Singh 1999, p. 36).

During the three hundred years of history in India during which the Sikhs struggled to retain their religious uniqueness and independence from the much larger and politically powerful Muslims and Hindus, Sikhs also formed distinctions among themselves that weakened them politically and adversely affected the cohesiveness of Sikhistan, in the Punjab. They are attempting to distinguish between the Rajputs and the Jats, which are two ethnic groups quite intermingled in their settlement of the Indus Valley before they spread into the Punjab. The core of Sikhism is the principle of equality and the right to free speech, fighting tyrants and studying the origins of their faith for further insights.

This minority of a minority in the United States, reviled and marginal, even as their numbers and political participation increased in the United States has mushroomed in recent years. Currently in the United States, they are serving in government, police forces, and the military.

While Sikh culture and ethnicity first took root in the Punjab, they are spread throughout South Asia and far into Southeast Asia, to include Indonesia, an archipelago of 113 distinct languages, ethnic groups and islands. Their culture has evolved as India itself evolved and represents, therefore, a significant example in regard to the status of women and warrior traditions interacted in one of the three oldest civilizations.

Referenced in the chapter on Afghanistan, the Sikh religion was carried into India by Aryan people at a time when many indigenous ethnic groups and cultures had already established their territorial bases.

Komal, born in Afghanistan to an ethnic Indian family, is officially without a country. Wherever in Asia Indians live their attributed nationality is always Indian. Komal became stateless because Afghanistan identified her as Indian despite her having been born in Afghanistan and never having been in India. The Pakistanis who were paid to get her safely into the United States viewed her as Afghani. Later the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement had decided that she had lied about her country of origin upon entering the United States! Traumatized repeatedly in her struggle to live peacefully with her husband and children in the United States, Komal was imprisoned and criminalized. Her story, which is told in full in chapter 4, is, in its way, the story of India, a country where she had never lived.

Women in the Workforce

Women head 9.2 percent of total households in India, but 35 percent of households below the poverty line. But the story is different in Kerala, a state in which they have approached economic equality. The major factor in women's social and economic success there is literacy.

The chief barriers to women's education in India are inadequate school facilities and gender bias. The authorities tend to underestimate women's contribution as workers. Far fewer women than men serve in the (urban and professional) work force. This is particularly true in rural areas, where women constitute 55–66 percent of the agricultural labor force. According to a World Bank Report in 1991, women constituted 51 percent of the total employed in forest-based small-scale enterprise. Although women in increasing numbers are engaged in the advanced technology industry and US contract work, these figures from 20 years ago are currently no less representative.

In politics and government, Indian women have achieved high positions, and despite the expectations of men who supported their rise in the expectation that they would be easily manipulatable puppets. The example of Indira Gandhi's leadership and accomplishments demonstrates that they underestimated women's capabilities by far!

The high technology and professional service occupations now proliferating in India portend well for women. In the software industry 30 percent of the work force is women, who are on par with their male counterparts in wages and authority in the workplace. In 2006, Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw, who started Biocon, one of India's first biotech companies, was rated India's richest woman. That same year Lalita D. Gupte and Kalpana Morparia ran India's largest bank and made it to the Forbes list of the World's Most Powerful Women.

Sexual harassment in the workplace as well as in schools and universities constitutes half of the total number of crimes against women. The Supreme Court of India issued a strong stand against sexual harassment of women in the workplace in 1997 (in comparison, the US Supreme Court recognized *quid pro quo* as a constitutional violation in a 1992 decision). And the Indian National Commission for Women subsequently elaborated their Supreme Court guidelines into a code of conduct for employers. In the United States, it remains nearly impossible for women in the military to obtain judgment or redress against colleagues who sexually abuse them, rape or attempt to rape their fellow soldiers.

Reviewing all of the data and cultural history, we cannot but conclude that the lives of rural women in India are at high risk; that widows and orphan girls are likely to be trafficked or starved to death; and that despite constitutional amendments protecting women and the high proportion of women serving in government, the caste system itself exacerbates gender genocide in India. Furthermore, Indian women who manage to enter the United States, such as Komal, who had never lived in India and was trafficked through Pakistan and entered the United States as Pakistani (because she couldn't

get an Afghan passport) are also at great risk from Homeland Security in immigration prisons and, equally, from husbands and mothers-in-law when they accompany their spouses on H-visas.

I have gathered many stories from Indian woman I have examined and counseled who have been in shelters for abused spouses; lost custody of their children; and required serious medical care because of spousal and/or mother-in-law abuse. The narratives far exceed the scope of this volume. I have chosen to relate one of an Indian woman who has been trafficked into the United States and abused albeit not as a prostitute, but as a spouse.

Dipal

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON PSYCHOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF DIPAL B.

DOB: September 18, 1981

Gender: Female

Date of Testing: January 15–18, 2012

Referred By: Attorney for Prince George County Family Crisis Center

A woman from India on an H-4 visa under her husband's H-1 visa needs help. Her husband is a successful businessman and she is impoverished because on this visa she lacks permission to work. They are married five years with a 2 year-old boy. All were living in a big house with her husband's parents, brother and sister-in-law and the latter's two children.

In September the husband beat her, choked her, and tore her child from her arms, and then forced her out of the house and locked the doors. She had no money and no transportation but only the clothes on her back. Some of the family members as well as the husband have beaten her over a long period of time.

A woman picked her up on the highway and took her to Greyhound Bus station and sent her to North Carolina where she stays with her parents. She has no money, no resources, and cannot work.

She has not seen her child for four months. The husband won't allow her to talk to the boy, blocked her phone number and disconnected her cellular service. He also cancelled her health insurance. On January 4, using a process-server in North Carolina, her husband served her with a complaint for a limited divorce, claiming that she deserted her child and that she is unfit to have custody in any form legal or physical. He is seeking child support from her as well, and an award of all property.

She must answer the complaint, and has no money. She wants a custody order and domestic violence relief. She will be in town for one week beginning on Monday.

If you can help her please give me a call.

Background

This 30-year-old woman was born and raised in India. She had excellent English-language skills and was educated to be a pharmacist. Her arranged marriage to a chemical engineer five years ago brought her to the United States as a spouse on his H visa. Their two-year-old son was born in the United States. They reside with his parents, who have US citizenship, his brother and brother's wife and their two children in a house in Maryland. Her parents and one of her brothers reside in North Carolina.

According to the police report, she and her husband had an argument that turned into an assault in which her mother-in-law participated against her. At around 2 p.m., her husband grabbed the child from her arms, took her keys and pushed her out of the house. He then locked all the doors and windows and would not let her back inside even to take her personal possessions. She was given reason to believe that he would kill her if she returned. On the afternoon of September 2, the Laurel Police Department, having received word from her husband of her leaving and going to her parents in Franklin, requested that the Franklin police check on her. Her husband had kicked her in the stomach and she was suffering pain and was emotionally upset. She went to the hospital, but according to the hospital report only her head injury was scanned and, having found no cranial bleeding, the staff did not examine her for other abnormalities. Pursuant to earlier beatings including during her second pregnancy, for which her mother-in-law demanded abortion because the fetus, on scanning, was found to be a girl, Ms. B. had other medical reports in 2009 and 2010. She reported dizziness and headaches as well as abdominal pain and was found to have an inguinal hernia, with normal pulse and blood pressure and was prescribed Advil for pain. She apparently was afraid to tell the (family) doctor that these bruises and pains emanated from beatings by her husband, marital rapes, and threatened rapes, and that her fear and anxiety interfered with sleep and digestion.

On September 20, the Medical Center reported symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and diagnosed depression. She made no follow-up appointments. During the months that followed leaving the home she repeatedly contacted her husband and kept records of their communication.

He refused to allow their son to speak with her on the phone and refused her requests for her personal papers and possessions. Finally he threatened to take away her medical insurance so that she could not get treatment for the illnesses she continued to suffer. Not previously reported were instances of marital rape that resulted in nighttime incontinence and pain. She has not yet been examined by a gynecologist and was afraid to report her husband's sexual predation. With the help of her parents, she was able to rent a car to return to Prince George County, Maryland, and seek help through county authorities. She was staying at the Family Crisis Center when I began working with her on psychological diagnostics and interviews.

Findings

Besides several hours of clinical interviews, Dipal took three standardized psychological tests, one of which was scored and interpreted by blind scoring through the test publisher, Pearson. The following report on the findings incorporates the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) II, the Traumatic Stress Index, and the Patient Pain Profile scored by NCS Pearson.

All of these tests indicate that she has been in a state of clinical depression, PTSD, and high anxiety. This has seriously impaired her ability to act to regain custody of her child and to obtain appropriate treatment for herself. In her culture there is more shame and social guilt attributed to the beaten wife than to the wife-beater. In India as in the United States, there are laws against violence against women, but the laws are not enforced and the social opprobrium cast on the woman who complains, and on her family of origin often prevents her from reporting or seeking remediation. Death or lifelong crippling is often a consequence of assaults by husbands and mothers-in-law. Following is a summary of the findings.

Beck Depression Inventory (Second Edition) II

This is a 21-item self-report instrument for measuring the severity of depression in adults and adolescents. This version of the Inventory was developed for diagnosing depressive disorders listed in the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-Fourth Edition (1994). During the past 35 years the BDI has become one of the most widely accepted instruments for assessing the severity of depression in diagnosed patients and for detecting possible depression in normal populations. Her responses to these questions indicate that Dipal has, in the last six months, been suffering severe depression. At this time, following several counseling sessions and discussions with attorneys, she has become

minimally depressed rather than severely. She is presently in PTSD, which often overlaps diagnostically and symptomatically with severe depression.

Trauma Symptom Inventory (TSI)

The TSI is a 100-item test of posttraumatic stress and other sequelae of traumatic events. It is intended for use in the evaluation of acute and chronic traumatic symptomatology. Despite the dramatic presentation associated with posttraumatic stress (flashbacks, nightmares, hyperarousal, psychic numbing) few standardized instruments have been developed to tap such symptomatology.

The relative lack of PTSD standardized specific instruments has resulted in the application of more labor intensive, time consuming projective tests and interview and, more typically, a tendency to under-evaluate posttraumatic difficulties. The TSI produces clear profiles based in several thousand standardization samples of populations of men and women ages 18–80, socioeconomically and culturally diverse.

Dipal's profile shows her to be in the severe range for anxious arousal, depression, intrusive experiences, defensive avoidance, disorientation, sexual concerns, and impaired self-reference. All of these conditions have seriously impaired her ability to report and take action in regard to filing legal complaints and obtaining custody of her son. Her dissociation is at the highest level and indicates that she has been dissociating herself from reality as regards her attackers and the implications of their behavior. She works hard at trying to put it out of her consciousness and reacts, of course, to the PTSD inconsistencies. She has an impaired sense of self and of her ability to effect change and protect herself.

All of these behavioral consequences and anguished mental states are not only typical of PTSD but also causing further damage through the pain she experiences, damaging her central nervous system and potential for attention and concentration. Her trauma has been prolonged, acute trauma over several years. This is further indicated in the Pain Patient profile scores.

Pain Patient Profile (NCS Pearson Blind Scoring)

Pain resulting from physical injury, illness, or disease is a multidimensional phenomenon composed of physiologic, psychological, and other influencing variables. Factors such as depression, anxiety, and excessive somatic thought are specifically identified in the literature as actively contributing to the etiology, maintenance, and intensity of pain. When these factors are appropriately identified and clinically addressed, treatment concerns resulting from

nonsurgical and rehabilitative interventions are significantly improved. The P-3 is designed to identify patients who are experiencing emotional distress that may be affecting their symptoms and offers recommendations. This patient's scores on the Validity index suggests that she was able to read the items and appropriately attended to item content. She approached the test in an open and honest manner. Her score suggests that the test results can be interpreted with confidence. Her depression and anxiety scores are in the average range for pain patients and these areas are unlikely to interfere with her progress in treatment.

Summary and Recommendations

It is clear that Dipal has been living in a condition of prolonged acute trauma and that her efforts to maintain her judgment and cognitive capacities have been effective even as they've strained her nervous system. She has been severely traumatized by physical abuse and threats. She is currently in a state of anxiety and fear. She needs continuing psychotherapy and complete physical examination and treatment.

Patient's Statement

Dipal's statement *describes* the status of women and violence against women in India and her own situation.

In the north of India women are more vulnerable than in any other part of India. Because they don't have as much education, the people are more poor and don't have money to get an education. There are many Muslims in that region. Men have power, she said.

"Women are subjugated and cannot raise their voice. Women don't have rights. They don't think it is necessary. They accept arranged marriages."

In her own case she said, she "wanted to carry on my career as a pharmacist and this guy was already in the U.S. so if she married him she could pursue her career training. So my parents thought it would be a good match."

Her son was born in the United States. She had another pregnancy and her husband forced her to have an abortion because he didn't want another child. Husband's family is highly educated, she says.

"Class doesn't matter so much, it depends on the respect for women in that family psychology. Every woman thinks she will be with her husband all her life and doesn't have to think about money. Women do not have their own accounts. They don't have to think about money. They don't think

about being independent. They need support. The mother-in-law has a lot of power. Girl babies are aborted across all classes. Some families are more modern but a woman cannot refuse her husband and in-laws if they demand an abortion. They have to abort because women don't have the status or financial support if they leave their husband."

Dipal says "here (in the U.S.) it is more developed and more educated and people are trying to be modern. There isn't child labor as in Gujarat. It is not like in the north and middle part of India. If the woman is going to have a son, there is support, if she is having a daughter, they don't care to help. It depends on the kind of family they are from. In the small towns they are still living in traditional ways. In the big cities people are changing."

She says her husband's brother beats his wife in front of everyone. This is not the first time he did it in front of the family. His father keeps silent and his mother encourages her sons to beat their wives. In the north and east parts of India, poor people sell their daughters to brothels and slavery. They can't find husbands for daughters. If a daughter is to be married, they have to have education and money.

Identifying Criteria of Femicide in India

Gender genocide or institutionalized violence against women is endemic when these practices are supported. There are laws against these practices in India, but lack of enforcement and lack of prevention diminishes women's survival from infancy to old age.

1. Suttee or the immolation of widows on their husband's funeral pyre has been illegal for many years. However, the practice of banishing widows from the family home remains commonplace in rural India and more than 50 percent of Indians lives in rural communities. This is connected to the lack of property and inheritance rights of women, and although it has been addressed by courts and legislature for each religious group in recent decades, enforcement and evasive practices essentially nullify the intent of the law, particularly in rural communities.

2. Abortion of female fetuses or selective abortion remains commonplace in India and has been made even more commonplace through sonograms and other imaging techniques that determine the fetus's gender. Infanticides of girl babies, both deliberate and incidental, such as failing to provide nourishment feeding, and/or protection from the elements, are said to account for the much greater ratio of men to women in most of Indian society.

3. According to UNICEF's "State of the World's Children-2009" report, 47 percent of India's women aged 20–24 were married before the legal age of

18, with the rate rising to 56 percent in rural areas. The report also showed that 40 percent of the world's child marriages occur in India.

4. Denial of education to girls. Fifty-one percent of India is illiterate. The rate of women's illiteracy is twice that of men.

5. Dowry murders. Although dowries have been made illegal, they remain a significant feature of marriage and too often, the bride is murdered for her dowry, so that another bride's dowry can be sought. A 1997 report (53) claimed that 5,000 women die each year because of dowry deaths and at least a dozen each day in "kitchen fires" believed to be intentional. Among the urban educated such dowry abuse has been significantly reduced.

6. Trafficking in women. Girls aged ten and under are commonly sold into prostitution in the countryside. Child brides have been illegal for at least two decades. Nevertheless, children are affianced at an early age and it is not unusual for a much older man to buy a young girl from her family.

7. Family honor to "protect women" is practiced in many rural communities according to tribal law, which is essentially identical to Bedouin tribal law, in which a girl who is raped is a disgrace to her family honor and so will be killed or forced to marry her predator.

8. Dalit women ("untouchables" and aboriginals) can be, by local quasi-judicial bodies often made up of village elders, punished by gang rape for alleged "crimes" by men in their family. They can be forced to have sex in public, to go naked before the entire village or placed naked on a stake in a public place. They can be jailed for crimes alleged to have been committed by male relatives.

9. Average female life expectancy in India is low compared to many countries although there has been gradual improvement over recent years. Girls and women face nutritional discrimination within rural families particularly and are found to be anemic and malnourished.

10. The maternal mortality rate in India is the second highest in the world. Only 42 percent of births are supervised by health professionals. Most women deliver with help from women in the family, who lack skills and resources to save the mother's life if it is in danger. According to the 1997 UN Development Programme Human Development Report, 88 percent of pregnant women (age 15–49) were found to be suffering from anemia.

11. Women in rural India have little or no control over their reproductivity. They do not have access to safe and self-controlled contraception. The public health system emphasizes permanent methods, such as sterilization or long-term IUDs implanted without follow-up examinations. The latter accounts for more than 75 percent of total contraception, but female sterilization accounts for almost 95 percent of all sterilization.

Growth of Religious Extremism in India

There are many contrasts and contradictions within Hindu culture and practice. While some Hindus believe that the Buddha was an incarnation of Vishnu, the god who preserves the world, early Hinduism, thought by some scholars to be the world's earliest religion, contains vestiges of both Harappan and Aryan beliefs. It is a religion of many gods and gurus or scholars who first compiled their sacred texts around 1400 BCE. It posited a universal spirit, Brahman.

Because the caste hierarchy was so rigid and within each caste there were rules and regulations regarding women, the system gave scope for women to become leaders of a sort in the larger society provided they were born into the appropriate caste.

It also goes some distance in explaining how the lives of girls could be accorded less valuable, even to the point of being unworthy of life itself. The fact is that even with all of the female political leaders, professionals, and public figures, selective abortions of unborn female fetuses continues, as it does in China, to be practiced at all levels of society even absent China's one-child policy.

And, unlike other societies in which family law is incorporated into tribal law, religious practices, and gender relationships, this is not uniform among Hindus. Furthermore, there are regional distinctions in practice, ethnicity, and multiplicities of approach to religious identity. The fourteenth-century religious philosopher, Madhavacharya, identified 16 fundamentally different Hindu schools of thought in his celebrated treatise *Sarva Darshana Sangraha* (Tharoor 1997, p. 115).

The practice of selling little girls under the age of ten into prostitution, and of imprisoning and sentencing rape victims and penniless widows to death remain all too common. Alongside "progressive" political institutions, a thriving democracy and burgeoning market economy, there has been in some parts of India a growing religious extremism that has burst into mass atrocities and vendettas between Hindus and Muslims despite the patina of toleration and multiculturalism.

While Sikh culture and ethnicity first took root in the Punjab, they spread throughout South Asia and far into Southeast Asia, including to Indonesia, an archipelago of 113 distinct languages, ethnic groups, and islands. Their culture has evolved as India itself evolved and represents, therefore, a significant example in regard to how the status of women and warrior traditions interacted in one of the three oldest civilizations.

Referenced in the chapter on Afghanistan, the Sikh religion was carried into India by Aryan people at a time when many indigenous ethnic

groups and cultures had already established their territorial bases. Relics of human habitation have been found among these diverse and widely separated human societies of Inner Asia.

In chapter 7 on Siberia, we will examine these in greater detail. India's modern history is as full of contradictions and conflict as 5,000 years of invasions, occupations, immigrations and emigrations.

Note

1. [http://www.Skidmore.edu/academics/art history/ah369linkspg2.htm](http://www.Skidmore.edu/academics/art%20history/ah369linkspg2.htm) year.

CHAPTER 6

China: Contrast and Contradictions

The prehistory of China can be traced back to Stone Age when hominids were distributed thinly and organized in small units. This “land of passage” was a Stone Age passageway between the three great empires of the earliest time: Greece, Sumeria, and China.

The cultural history of China is complex, and because China was not a unified entity until the Han period, between 206 BCE and 220 CE and dominated by the contrasting Confucian and Lao Tse (Daoist) philosophies, a panoply of contrasts and contradictions emerged, warred, and finally integrated. This brought both vitality and fragility into the lives of women, which were also complicated by differences of social class and geography.

Many of the sociopolitical dynamics are repeated historically over the past 6,000 years to this very day but it would be an enormous mistake to assume that Chinese women now live in an underdeveloped or retrograde economic and political system. Yet the glass ceiling in contemporary Chinese politics is still as unyielding as anywhere in the Third World. No woman serves in the politburo and the number of women in the National People’s Congress has stalled at about 21 percent over the past 30 years.

Women and Power in Chinese History

From 71 BCE to 13 CE Wang Zhengjun, the first empress, known by her imperial title, Empress Xiaoyuan, reigned. Later she became the Grand Empress Dowager Wang, and she wore the crown continuously through the sovereignty of the Emperors Yuan (49–33 BCE), Chang (33–7 BCE), and Ai (7–1 BCE). She managed to place her male relatives in positions of

dominance while maintaining her own authority over all of them through a hundred years, including beyond her own lifetime.

From 45 CE to 23 CE her nephew Wang Mang was regent for Emperor Ping, who died in 6 CE, prompting the Empress Dowager to appoint Wang Mang as an acting emperor for the child Liu Yang, who then died in 25 CE.

Wang had promised to relinquish his control to Liu Yang once he came of age, but then declared that the Mandate of Heaven had called for the end of the Han dynasty and the beginning of his own, the Xin dynasty (9–23 CE). During his reign Wang Mang consolidated territory through wars and military actions that spread from what is now Korea to Vietnam. He acquired his last territory, the Indo-Chinese peninsula, when the ruling Trang sisters of Vietnam rebelled against the Han sovereign in 43 CE but lost to Liu Yang.

This was another interesting phenomenon of leadership by women. But it seems from that time forward, empress dowagers episodically held the reins of power in one or another kingdom in China but never long enough to give their name to an era, as had Wang Mang.

Wang also initiated a series of major reforms, including the banning of slavery; the nationalizing of land in order to equally distribute it among households; and introducing new currencies that devalued the coinage in use.

All of this evoked considerable opposition and led to his downfall following the massive flooding of the Yellow River in 23 CE, which dislodged thousands of peasant farmers. The displaced peasants joined bandit and rebel groups, and eventually an insurgent mob forced its way into the Weiyang Palace and killed Wang Mang.

The phenomenon of female sovereigns had no impact on peasant society anywhere in China. In fact, little of the culture of the aristocracy was emulated among the lower economic classes, except in a few instances, particularly foot binding of girls and women. In those instances it was incorporated into the Confucian paradigm of paternalism-patriarchy and the permitted women's dominance, which was only in the home.

Famines, floods, and natural disasters, along with a pervasive culture of regional and dynastic tribalism and warfare, contributed to the Asian preference for male offspring. Girl children in this peasant society had potential for financial and political gain only through carefully arranged marriages—preferably as wives and if not, as concubines. In fact, the economic base concubinage originated in traditions and laws that barred women from owning land. Wang Mang may have outlawed slavery but concubinage, prostitution, and the enslavement of women, persisted through warlords, Manchu

takeovers, a series of emperors and the Koumintang government corruption until the Communist Revolution. Mao Zedong led the Long March to uproot warlords, bandits, and the nationalist government and had as its stated goal the freeing of women, peasants, and laborers.

Jung Chang in her 1991 book, *The Wild Swans*, wrote:

For two thousand years China had an emperor figure that was state power and spiritual authority rolled into one. The religious feelings which people in other parts of the world have toward a god, in China have always been directed toward the emperor. For instance, Mao the emperor-god fitted one of the patterns of Chinese history, the leader of a nationwide peasant uprising who swept away a rotten dynasty and became a wise new emperor exercising absolute authority. But in fact, Mao turned China back into the days of the Middle Kingdom when it was isolated from the world. (261–262).

Female infanticide (essentially through abortions of female fetuses) continues in China, albeit fewer girl babies are aborted or left out in the elements to die of “natural causes.” This practice, together with the one-child-per-family policy interlocked with the long practice of abortion and infanticide of female infants.

The recent example of a woman who was forced by local officials to abort in the seventh month of her pregnancy, promulgated worldwide via the Internet, evoked a long-delayed expression of revulsion from officials and human-rights organizations worldwide. This may put an end to some of the most brutal practices of local governments in carrying out this national policy.

Still, thousands of baby girls born in China are on the international adoption market, thus populating the Western Hemisphere and Europe at rates beyond the historical periods of greatest Chinese emigration, exploration, and, when distances and foreign immigration laws mandated, picture brides.

At the same time there are fewer women of marriageable age in China and this has put a premium on Chinese brides—especially of Han ethnicity. They are able to demand and get all kinds of “premiums” in the marriage marketplace and are ever-less likely to marry young.

Education, once denied to girls in China, has become an arena dominated by women. Chinese society and governance has persisted, through the ritualized family system including the institutionalization of genealogy and lineage in male primacy. The family name lives on through the male descendants.

Although girls are given short shrift in genealogy and lineage books and tablets in China, their marriages have established kinship bonds and extended family relationships that have historically expanded beyond the boundaries of the separate kingdoms, spawning larger kinship connections, first between Manchu and Han, and later linking together the larger empire that is China today, comprised of 55 distinct ethnic groups. Among the peasants, the sons have stayed on their father's property, while daughters have married out and been sent abroad either as "picture brides" or as wives and now as adoptable infants and as university students.

On the other axis, the two traditional Confucian divisions of governance are the militaristic and the educational/scholarly. The ritualized formalization of this foundation for order in China underwent nuanced change until the victorious Communists ordered change in gender and generational relationships making the unit of population not the family but the collective. Contrary to appearances in the urban sector, overall the social structure remains patriarchal, with the state taking the role as the father, including even the authority of nearly all production and the substitutions and collectives, which are allowed to dictate whether the husband and wife can cohabit, as well as their eligibility for marriage. This system declined after Mao's death and reformists assumed the helm of governance.

The government, like the father, is the source of all violence and militarism. In the family, it is the father who may administer corporal punishment he deems appropriate. In the society at large, this allocation of authority has translated into centuries of torture of those suspected of antigovernment activity, and the meting out of horrific death sentences on the behest of an official, often without trial. Just as often a death sentence is a consequence of corrupt practices and personal animosities, jealousies, or rivalries.

The sequential revolutions declared by Chairman Mao from the 1950s through the 1970s and continued to his death bolstered his position as a god and destroyed any prospective challengers. All legitimization of violence is through governmental militarism, and all status and orderliness is through education, thus continuing the ancient Confucian paradigm for society.

The Cultural Revolution not only destroyed the Chinese cultural heritage but deliberately set out to eradicate educational institutions as well. Mao, unlike his historical predecessors, was himself less educated, and projected his personal rejection of expertise, professionalism, and academic excellence. Thus, in the 1980s the reconstruction of the educational system, which had been destroyed completely in the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard period that followed, was one of the two pillars of Confucian social order. Millions of books had been destroyed and cultural entertainment had been

restricted to the tastes of Mme. Mao. Thought Reform became the tool and bastion of mass culture.

Individuals punished themselves privately and were punished violently in public for having “the wrong thoughts.” Either real or attributed, these were sufficient basis for torture, death and the diminution of status, opportunities, and even marital rights. Entire families and the descendants of an individual who had “bad thoughts” suffered the consequences. Jostling for power amid fractionalization within the party became evident during the Great Leap Forward and Thought Reform became the weapon for enforcement of programs and regulations that on their face seemed irrational and resulted in massive starvation, civil upheaval, and failure. This trauma beginning in 1958 with the Great Leap Forward was repeated in various form including induced famine and the Cultural Revolution during which, ironically, all images of the Goddess of Compassion were ordered to be destroyed. This particular image was the patron of farm women in the countryside. (*one of the few remaining was photographed for the cover of this book.)The massive repression and resulting hysteria was finally expressed on a grand scale during the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989.

In succeeding years, as the quest for money increasingly occupied their descendants, conservative (strict constructionist) or reformer (open markets and the rule of law) in the inner circle of power worked together to make money and retain the closed political system in the belief that China’s power internationally would be enhanced through economic success. This is the ultimate example of the ideological proximity of left and right at the extreme ends of the spectrum (which becomes a circle not a line).

Chinese reliance, during thousands of years on herbalists to treat insanity and mood disorders is also not distant from contemporary reliance on tranquilizers to ignore poverty, injustice, and inequities of gender, race, or class. Expressing emotions was inherently contrary to Confucian philosophy or orderliness and structured relationships and behaviors. Jostling for power amid fractionalization within the ruling dynasty or government was historically the Chinese way. But under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) this became evident during the Great Leap Forward and Thought Reform became the weapon for enforcement of programs and regulations that on their face seemed irrational and resulted in massive starvation, civil upheaval, and failure. Although it was not apparent at the beginning of the Great Leap Forward, and possibly evolved during that period, Mao recognized that factionalism within the centralized democracy was inevitable and that it would be either his rule or the party’s rule and the latter might become many warring factions. Mao’s conviction that the path to international greatness was to rapidly turn an agrarian society into an industrial

one was recognized by thoughtful party officials as an impossible obsession as the party demanded that every social unit abandon all other objectives in favor of producing steel. As the country sank into famine and chaos conscientious party officials recognized that the reports and statistics issued by Mao were fabrications. The truth was evidenced on the streets of the cities and in the villages where little girls, daughters, were sold for a bag of rice (often by their starving mothers). This trauma beginning in 1958 with the Great Leap Forward was repeated in various forms into the Cultural Revolution and the leadership of the Red Guard. Ironically, the objective of the latter was to destroy everything culturally and historically valued. The massive repression and resulting hysteria was finally expressed on a grand scale during the Tiananmen Square at the announcement of the death of Mao. Thirteen years later the residual violence and cultural anomie mixed with the awakening of democracy became manifest in the 1989 Tiananmen Square student protests brutally quashed by political and military leaders lacking a unified response.

Thought reform and the demands for uniformity amidst chaotic destruction of all traditional culture meant that the expression of original thinking was all but extinguished. But with the reestablishment of universities and secondary schools with competitive entrance examinations and honors, Chinese women resumed their role as conservators of culture and excelled in the universities as teachers and as students.

Confucianism to Communism

For thousands of years women were denied entry into the established orders of military and educational/scholarly activity. Women remained illiterate and had no legitimacy in the use of violence. They were the property of their family, first of the family into which they were born, and after marriage, to their marital family.

In poor agrarian parts of China, women had no name, instead bearing the number of their birth order. The core system of organization derived through Confucianism, which prescribed relationships within the smallest unit of society, the family, and extended to the community and finally to the government, its institutions, and its citizenry.

Under Confucian philosophy the primary social unit is not the individual, but the family. It is expected that orderliness and manners will maintain each institution and the government. This need for order was expressed in the old practice of kowtow, or kneeling and lowering the head until the forehead touches the floor. The system stipulates the number of kowtows owed to various individuals by status, and by whom.

In addition, the system of filial respect (obedience) and the importance of dominance by age over youth sustained the required order. The father in the family is the supreme autocrat, as is the state over all institutions, and again parallel with the state, age imbues wisdom although it may decrease physical vigor and potency.

Wisdom, the other half of the duality, increases with age, even as the capacity for armed struggle or militarism may decrease in individuals. In the context of the family, the patriarch's power increases with age as does the government's.

In fact, if one reviews the history of dynasties and forms of governance during 6,000 years of Chinese history, one notes the vigor and energy of each new regime or dynasty eventually yielding to corruption and internecine violence marking the end of the dynasty.

This was no less the case with Maoism. His personal history and the sociopolitical forces that formed the CCP were rooted in pre-Bolshevik anarchism. As Fairbank and Goldman (1998) note that "residual anarchist ideas of mutual aid and making intellectuals into laborers and vice versa" permeated Maoism, though it had never been integrated into Bolshevism. In fact, the CCP survived and flourished through the Long March, and through years of struggle against its political and military foes, by maintaining party discipline through "democratic centralism." Each party member and even aspirants to membership committed to sustain the discipline that made the party and the people at the forefront, and eschew family loyalties or local personal connections. This discipline was strongly adverse to the "cult of personality" that Mao later embodied. In fact, Mao and the Gang of Four destroyed the CCP by establishing a cult of personality.

When Mao determined that he could only maintain control by either dominating the CCP or diminishing it by fragmentation, he applied the anarchistic model in combination with the ancient Confucian iconography of the God-Emperor. By the time he died on September 9, 1976, and the Gang of Four were dispatched to prison, the enormous physical, environmental, economic, educational, and human destruction and death wrought through this pseudo-philosophy was beyond calculation.

Still, when I questioned the prominence and omnipresence of statues of Mao during a 1998 visit to China, one academic friend pointed out that Mao did many good and important things in the beginning and during the first years of his regime. The CCP recognized the importance of scholarship and although emphasizing the study of Marxist theory, formulated theories for governance, economics, and continuity, bringing unifying values that laid the foundation for modernizing China.

Mao realized early on that Russian Communism would not be a model for China. When the Soviet Union chose to ally itself in the 1940s with the Koumintang, against which the CCP was fighting a civil war, Russian influence on the CCP waned, until the United States not only supported the Koumintang but also made incursions into China in its battle for the security and sovereignty of South Korea. Despite his flaws Mao will always be revered for leading China alone against the corrupt nationalists and all outside powers that allied with them.

The lessons of the Cultural Revolution extended to Vietnam and Cambodia, wreaking violence on the educated and the ethnic Chinese, along with everything Western, urban, and intellectual. The Khmer Rouge in Cambodia took their program of genocide directly from the pages of Mao's prescriptions in his proclamations in *The People's Daily* and his *Little Red Book*.

Hypocrisy and corruption had flourished. Socialism and patriarchy in tandem diminished women. In fact it is quite amazing that Maoism intertwined Communist and Confucianism, which are two inimical and opposite philosophies.

A review of female infanticide in China published in *The Times* (UK) in 1983 revealed:

Chinese parents who want their only child—all that is permitted under birth control rules—to be a boy have murdered at least 210 baby girls in two southern counties, the Canton newspaper *Meangfang* has said. It was the highest figure disclosed in a new government campaign against infanticide involving girls: In some villages they keep a bucket full of water by the mother's bed as she is giving birth, and if the screaming infant turns out to be a girl, she is immediately drowned in it... it quoted local officials as sympathizing and even supporting such activity.

Subjugating Women in China

Foot binding was the symbolic, ritualized, and pragmatic practice sustaining the subjugation of women. It was still extant at the time of the Japanese invasion of China, though it had never been practiced in Manchuria or in many urban centers. This violence against women was perpetrated not by men, but by mothers on their own girl babies in the belief that this would preserve the family "honor" and ensure the girl's eventual success in an advantageous marriage. To achieve this, the mother not only bound the feet so that the toes curl under and toenails grow into the underside of the foot, but using hard objects, to crush the top of the foot to halt growth. This process is repeated monthly and annually.

As in the practice of female circumcision in Kenya, a hostile culture drives the adult woman to hurt and cripple her own daughter. Of course, this practice produces women who cannot move independently, but is designed to force women to accommodate tiny embroidered silk shoes that men found sexually attractive. But they almost never viewed the naked, distorted, dysfunctional feet inside them. Thus, this method of crippling and immobilization of the woman is symbolic of the man-woman relationship of that time and place.

Some scholars attribute the practice to the royalty and a foot fetish in the tenth century. Others point to the prevalence of foot binding among the Han, including farm-women, who copied the aristocracy, but not among the Mongols, the Manchus, and most other minorities.

Little was written about women and their feelings, and it is impossible to learn psychohistorically the implications and consequences of this torture and imprisonment, rendering women unable to run, walk, or express their pain. Some novels and anthropological reports hint at the impact on the psychology of women in China over hundreds of years of subjugation.

As in Afghanistan, the practice of selling girl children and young women continues to this day in China despite the government's claim to have eradicated the feudal practice of slavery, prostitution, and forced prearranged marriages of underage women (under 20) through kidnapping and trafficking. Periodically the government cracks down on the traffickers but both international statistics and internal Chinese data indicate that poverty, especially the increased poverty of rural families, has correlated highly with trafficking of girls and women.

In 1948, it was common to see on the streets little girls wearing signs reading "Daughter for Sale for 10 kilos of Rice" (Jung Chang 1991). The revolution's enormous social upheaval left many families homeless, with a scarcity of basic provisions because of the inappropriate and even malevolent new bureaucracies brought the reemergence, in an even more repressive system, of the very evils that the new Communist regime had sought to extirpate forever.

The Impact of Revolution on Women

As has been the case in revolutionary movements throughout much of the world in the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries, these movements required women to change their clothing and grooming in symbolic and extreme ways to affect a unisex appearance.

The hard labor that the revolution required made physical demands on women that often resulted in "natural" birth control, as such tasks on

pregnant women made it unlikely that they could carry babies to term. For others the demand of heavy physical labor brought a temporary or permanent halt to menses.

This was dramatically ordered in China from the beginning of the revolutionary movement in the late 1930s and after. Whenever Mao championed a more militaristic, revolutionary phase of his mandated Long March, Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution, and so on, it was heralded by orders pertaining to women's clothing, hair styles, and family relationships. The role of Mme. Mao in all of this has been defined in contradictions. Perhaps during the next decade, there will be a definitive social psychological study published about her. She was at once the spokesperson for Chairman Mao and at the same time, his "puppet." What is known now is that each of them engaged in sexual profligacy and fiscal corruption.

Marriage and funeral practices were abolished or minimized, as were all Chinese traditions, and could take place only by government or party approval. If one married partner resided, by permit, in the countryside and the other in a city, they could only cohabit once every 12 days (although the number of days of separation varied over time and depended on whether one or both members of the couple were party members; members had to live separately with their work teams).

The Cultural Revolution especially aimed at teachers, a large proportion of whom were women. Jewelry, which throughout history in China as in the rest of Asia and the Middle East, represented a woman's personal wealth, was not only confiscated but also broken up and destroyed, and identified the owner or wearer as an "enemy." Even the classical poems traditionally written to women by fiancés or husbands were confiscated and destroyed. These were sufficient, during the Cultural Revolution, to identify the recipients or holders as "greedy capitalist-roaders" or worse.

In every society, women are the conservators of culture and traditions that make possible cultural survival. The revolution's demands compelled women to violate even their biological traditions and "prove" themselves physiologically equals to men. Women on the Long March suffered miscarriages, hemorrhages, and crippling but were not allowed to speak of their suffering.

Women were also among those "class enemies" later subjected to "punishments" such as having their heads shaven on one side. They were beaten, starved, and subjected to physically and psychologically damaging public humiliations. The conversion of Confucianism to Communism was not unlike the introduction of religious orthodoxy enforced through political systems, as has been seen in Afghanistan, among the Bedouin, in Africa, and in contemporary Jewish and Christian societies, with the consequences rationalized as religiously required, and with particularly horrendous consequences for women.

Population Control

Loosening the state's control over people's lives is credited with demographic changes in the post-Mao period. Mao had originally encouraged larger population in the belief that would make China more powerful. Consequences of this policy, coupled with his Great Leap Forward, when farms and pastures were converted into home manufacturing of steel. This involved taking apart all metal implements and heating them on giant community furnaces and adding chemicals as prescribed. Though unproductive and wasteful, this was the cornerstone of The Great Leap Forward. It brought about mass starvation, as farms stopped producing sufficient amounts of food to feed the increasing population.

Post-Mao leaders saw the population, which had been growing at 15 million a year—a fifth of the world's total—as a major threat to stability of governance. Beginning in the 1980s the state imposed draconian birth-control policies mandating one child to a family. By the mid-1990s the growth rate fell to 13 million a year.

Peasant farmers were allowed to have two children if one of the children was a girl, and they could, by paying a tax, also have a third child. In fact, many peasants returning to family farming saw their future success in having more sons to help with the work and had “hidden” children, who were kept at home rather than entered into schools to avoid detection by the authorities. This led to a decline in elementary education and probably contributed to the increased female illiteracy. The sudden decrease of agriculture's share of the work force from 70–50 percent in two decades doesn't even begin to account for the diminution of Gross National Product.

Ironically, the Great Leap Forward, with its attendant home steel manufacturing, proved to be the Great Leap Backward. But through (often deliberate) statistical fraud the officials in government hid this from the Chinese people and the international community. The effective agricultural workers were even fewer because they were declared “enemies of the state” or assigned to steel manufacture or otherwise removed from working the land.

This produced structural changes from a rural to an urban economy. As has been demonstrated in many other parts of the world, urbanized women have a greater life expectancy than rural women and in China that meant better access to health care, safer pregnancy and childbirth, and productive work that was less physically demanding. Even more significant is the practice that rural women gave preference to husbands and sons at the table and didn't feed themselves or their daughters until the men had eaten their fill.

After 34 years of the one-child policy and increasing urbanization, population growth is nearly at a standstill and even though the competition for

jobs is quite keen, the opportunities for education and professional careers are greater than they have ever been for young Chinese people. Parents, sending their children abroad for higher education, are paying \$25,000 a year and more for their daughters' and sons' university costs, and preparing them with private tutors and competitive secondary schools to compete with United States, Canadian, and British college applicants, and are avidly recruited for graduate programs in the sciences, technology, and bioscience. Despite these and the demographic surge of the "over 65s," Chinese officials continue the one-child policy. Exemptions to this have been somewhat liberalized, but for urban couples, the very demands of their lives argue in favor of having only one child.

China has been the contemporary laboratory of population-regulation demographics. Its present growth rate of 13 million a year, with a present base of over 1 billion people, represents a potentially ungovernable urbanized population, with insufficient agricultural production to feed it. At the present rate of growth, China will gain yet another billion people by 2500. The status of women throughout the history of China and its component kingdoms and vassal states, has been contrasting and contradictory. Particularly remarkable is that the essential protocol governing gender behaviors and expectations took slightly different forms, but remained essentially the same through the changes from premodern China all the way through the myriad changes in political regimes and cultural revolutions to the present day: the silencing of women, in the name of "protecting their virtue and survival of the family." This runs through all classes, even in the "classless" society.

Yet the contradictions are many. Marriage laws, customs, and traditions strictly prohibit women from taking multiple partners. Even if widowed, a shadow was cast on a woman if she remarried. If she was a concubine she was expected to put herself into the grave with her husband. *Purdah* or the segregation and self-sacrifice of women appear to have been extant throughout Asia.

In some dynasties, for example in the last Manchu, a reigning dowager regent held power and with the help of selected viziers successfully managed the affairs of state. But the internecine battles between wives and concubines for influence and dominance brought the downfall of many dynasties. This family system resulted in women vying for scarce "power," pitting women against each other, for example in conflict of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which ultimately furthered male dominance. Self-immolation by widows was practiced in China although not as extensively, nor into the twenty-first century, as in India.

While men ruled the political and economic world, women—or rather the first wife—ruled the domicile. Men have traditionally taken on concubines as a sign of wealth and power. Among the aristocracy this was commonplace

and often led to bloody contests between the women, sometimes by proxy through their families and their eunuchs.

John Fairbank and Merle Goldman, in their encyclopedic work, *China: A New History*, summarize the role and status of women in China as follows (1998, p. 19):

The inferior social status of women was merely one manifestation of the hierarchic nature of China's social code and cosmology. Ancient China had viewed the world as the product of two complementary, interlocking elements, yin and yang. Yin was the attribute of all things female, dark, weak and passive. Yang was the attribute of all things male, bright, strong and active...one was by nature passive toward the other. Building on such ideological foundations, an endless succession of...male moralists worked out the behavior pattern of obedience and passivity...expected of women...Forceful women, whom China has never lacked usually controlled their families by indirection, not by fiat.

Chinese homes have always been small, and peasant families of four to six persons in a household were common. The scarcity of land as well as disease and famine limited the population. The differences in landscape and environment between Inner Asia and the farmland dictated different land and resource usage. Inner Asia, or the steppe, consists of plateaus, rocky hills, grasslands, and unreliable soil. This area was Mongol. The other sections of Inner Asia that incorporated into what today comprises the People's Republic of China are the Tibetan, Manchurian, and Turkistan populations among the many cultures and histories that comprise China. The Han Chinese ethnic community has been a key element in the population of Central China, which, due to the landscape and soil conditions, brought them success as farmers. In inner China, pastoral, nomadic warriors often held the balance of power in governance. There are major differences, historically, between these populations' inheritance and family organization and their means for accumulating wealth.

Nature versus Nurture in Human Behavior

In all climes, corruption by those in positions of officialdom has been endemic. Not even Maoist Thought Reform could end the human competitive striving for power and preference. In fact, it stimulated even greater corruption and nepotism. Consequently, children of advantaged families were and continue to be enrolled in better schools and qualified for higher positions in their turn.

Nor could the organized cruelty and mayhem of the Cultural Revolution demolish all respect for life, for family, for art, and for romantic love. Out of the two decades of violent upheaval, if any theory of human behavior has prevailed, it is that human behavior cannot be reduced to a stimulus-response paradigm, and those cognitive processes and emotional responses prove victorious even to the consequence of psychosis.

An initial priority of the Maoist revolutionaries was to eliminate concubinage by giving concubines the option of marriage or freedom with a stipend taken out of the property of their “owner.” The revolutionaries also closed all brothels, and made similar arrangements to provide for the newly freed sex slaves.

But during the Great Leap Forward and different phases of the Cultural Revolution Mme. Mao, through her husband, achieved enormous power, including the power to identify the “enemies” of the revolution, and the “traitors” who might become a challenge to the power of the Maoists as they destroyed the Communist Party and sowed chaos, death, and destruction. This continual shift of focus and redefinitions of “the enemy” became the means by which they achieved godlike dominance and absolute power. They reinvented the Chinese tradition of the god-emperor in the person of Mao Tse Tung.

Their other objective was to equalize classes and genders, which in practice meant overturning traditional family organization and loyalties. Women, in order to become party members, had to prove themselves both physically and emotionally equal to men. Not an easy feat, given the biological differences.

But from a 60-year vantage, changes in Chinese culture, tradition, organization, and health have probably been greater than any equivalent period during the previous 6,000 years of Chinese history.

The May 4 Movement of the early twentieth century brought Western influences and missionary activism to China that increased the number of educational institutions and made enhanced educational opportunities available to women, albeit not on a par with men.

The Japanese invasion and occupation, and the period following their rout again saw the growth of educational institutions for girls and the opening of universities and colleges to both genders. During the last 60 years, the People’s Republic of China extended educational opportunities across class lines. Yet it has not quite been sufficient to change the valuing of sons over daughters, particularly in the farm family, or what used to be called the “peasant” class.

Remarkably, in China through the revolutionary years, socialism and patriarchy managed to coexist, and the revolution for women has remained less than complete. Nor has it been sufficient to change human nature

itself, it would seem. Greed, corruption, and nepotism remain stubbornly in place.

The so-called princeling is an example in the evolution of this privileged position of the children of party officials in education, and access to power in the CCP. Many acceded to the politburo positions as well as leadership in the military, commerce, and wealth. When their parents and grandparents were caught up in the interparty clashes during the Cultural Revolution, they were often unwitting victims of the jealousies, greed, and vendettas. But when a semblance of order commenced, many of them were best situated to matriculate in the universities and prepare for the meritocracy that followed.

Political Sociology

Previously, dynasties were brought down when their ideology turned against the regime and the withdrawal of land (and in modern times the means of production) benefited the ruling class to the disadvantage of the ordinary peasant (worker). As Fairbank and Goldman described it:

In some cases the final collapse of a dynasty came through peasant rebellion under fervent religious leadership. Since no dynasty tolerated an organized opposition, its opponents recourse to secret cults or societies.

As early as the second century BCE both components of the Chinese ruling class, the imperial government-military rulers and the scholar-teachers, were focused on keeping human society in “proper accord with the cosmic order of which it was a part” (Fairbanks and Goldman 1998, p. 49). This was accompanied by “ritually directed violence in the form of sacrifices, warfare and hunting. This ritualized taking of life defined the realm of political power” (Mark Edward Lewis 1990). Viewed in this paradigm and translated into the twentieth century one might view the denunciations, forced confessions, thought reform, and public torture as the latter-day ritually directed violence.

Confucian thinking arose in the fifth century BCE during the Warring States Period, when the Zhou philosophers sought a philosophical base for a society of peace and order. Confucianism’s rationale began with the aforementioned “cosmic order” and a hierarchy of superior-inferior relationships, which (Thomas Metzger 1977) called “a conventionally fixed set of social expectations to which individual behavior should conform.”

This recitation of Chinese history and culture is prelude to their repetition that, in more recent times, is parallel to modern China. The major distinction is that, unlike the relatively reclusive society of old and ancient

China, whose presence on the world stage was visible through its inventions and innovations brought from China by international traders, today's China is a highly visible entity seeking and assuming power internationally through its own initiatives in trade, military involvements, financial dominance; political and ideological assertions of dominance through its spheres of influence, and increasingly, through technological superiority.

Internal migration in China historically has been from the countryside to the cities. And so it continues, even though social benefits, such as free healthcare, do not migrate with them. For young women, in the past couple of decades, migration from the countryside to factories in town has greatly altered population demographics and gender relationships. These "factory girls" send their wages home to support their parents and younger siblings. Male children continue to work with their fathers as farmers, with a notable exception: sons perceived to be bright and academically oriented are sent to the universities. But girls in today's China have not remained illiterate.

In fact, women's literacy rate, as determined by school enrollment, is over 92 percent (as of 1993), and 20 years later, at the time of this writing, is closer to 100 percent, according to government figures. However, while the urban-rural gap in education and health was somewhat mitigated during the Mao period, especially in gender inequalities in education and health, female literacy declined briefly in the post-Mao period. In 1990, among the 22-percent illiterate population, 70 percent were female and 73 percent of those were in the younger female cohort aged 15–24, compared with 68 percent over 45 years of age.

This raises questions about future prospects for women's equality (Croll 1995, p. 125), especially since the state manufacturing system has given way to the entrepreneurial. It does coincide closely with the technological rise of Chinese manufacture and employability of young women from the rural areas, as illiteracy is greatest in the rural areas. Internal migration of women and factory housing and training has benefited women in the slightly older age cohort.

These young women have been the beneficiaries of the globalization of the workforce.

At the beginning, desperate for cash in economies beginning to contract for low-wage, low-tech factory jobs, Chinese rural girls flocked to city factories in which they were virtually imprisoned in unsafe, unhealthy conditions. As the international labor movement and the Western multinationals contracted with them, factories were compelled to change these practices. This evolution is not complete as of this writing, but the government of China has also established regulations and monitors workplaces and labor practices. Increasingly, goods are being manufactured and sold

within the domestic Chinese market as well as for European, American, and Asian-Pacific markets.

Chinese government labor statistics argue that in the first 30 years of Communist rule, discrimination against women in the work force decreased, but they were not able to obtain jobs with decision-making power. They did receive the same pay for equal work, however. Women account for 44 percent of the workforce in China, and now comprise 25 percent of senior management, fifth in world rankings among developed countries. Women hold 45 percent of jobs as chief operating officers.

The Grant Thornton International Business report, a quarterly survey of business leaders around the world, found that in March 2012, the third most common position for Chinese women in senior management is as chief financial officers. Nevertheless, only 9 percent of chief executive officers are women. It is probable that women who are CEOs are in companies they own and/or have developed to meet the demands of women in the marketplace.

These percentages are remarkable, especially considering how women fared during the Cultural Revolution 40 years ago, when schools, teachers, and scholarship itself were denigrated and made nearly unavailable. The peasants had schools but no teachers, and their night classes taught by city youths sent to these communes to learn the value of the simple lives of peasants, found their “students” so exhausted by their heavy labor all day, they had no energy for more lessons from Mao’s *Little Red Book* (the only text available) or the *People’s Daily*.

Women’s literacy in the countryside was nonexistent. It took the migration of over 100 million peasants from the countryside to towns, cities, and particularly to Special Economic Zones in the 1990s to begin to realize gender-job equality, and social motivation for literacy for women. Up to then no one saw reason to learn to read and write. Only when factory jobs became available and young women were seen as desirable as factory workers did their basic skills become a priority that needed to be addressed.

But only when China emerged from isolation under Mao to be recognized by the United States and the Western powers was it able to bring its technologic and industrial capacity from the low-skill manufacture of cheap items for export to an international center for advanced manufacturing that the state recognized the value of educated women workers. This accelerated and fostered opportunities for women on a large scale.

On the other hand, the expansion of the economy widened the gap between the advantaged and the impoverished. Although the 58 million living under the poverty line in 1996, made up less than 5 percent of the population at the time, those who suffered most were women and elders in the countryside. Female-suicide rates soared.

Arthur Kleinman estimated that in 1997, China had the highest per capita rate of women suicides in the world. (Kleinman and Cohen 1997). In 2008, Li Xiaolin, chairwoman of China Power International Development, daughter of former premier Li Peng, was listed among Fortune magazine's 50 most powerful women in business.

Psychology and Future Prospects for Women in China

Quality of education, employment equity, and healthcare for Chinese women point toward a future that sharply contrasts with the past. Since 2000, Chinese women, the percentage of which in the middle class equal that of men (and a prominent fraction of the wealthiest), are women. But these are women who, no less than their counterparts on the assembly lines, have survived multiple traumatic experiences in childhood and adolescence. Natural disasters, engineered starvation, displacement, family destruction, mental illness, and premature morbidity and mortality were rife during The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. These disasters were engineered through Thought Reform, engendering overwhelming fear of self and others. The persecution of their parents and in many cases, the descent into mental illness by parents who had held senior party positions, not only imposed enormous stress on their children but if and when the parent(s) reunited with the children, the crippling effects of their illness had irredeemably damaging impact.

After surviving incredible tortures, imprisonment and internal exile, all of which exacerbated the trauma of witness to the barbarities surrounding them when Red Guard clashes with each other in the streets, and raids on homes and cultural treasures were destroyed and lives butchered in the streets. Most of all that for which reverence was inculcated from generation to generation and tradition was the primary target for Red Guard destruction.

Also psychologically disastrous was the enforcement of the strictures against expressing "doubts about: politics, freedom of speech, the right to demonstrate and religion" (Osno 2011).

The forebears who were veterans of the Long March, and the establishment of official agencies of national, provincial, and local governance were, as party members committed and determined to rid China of the nepotism of the landlord system. They were determined to extirpate corruption in officialdom and live their most personal family lives in accordance with party discipline. Their children grew up in family conditions prohibiting expression of emotions and discussion of work, politics, or opinions. They grew up in a world of strict obedience to party authority in all things and adherence to the regulations that placed them beneath workers and peasants in class stature.

The orderly Confucian/Communist religious ideology was coming apart at the top, as old comrades became, for Mao, threats to his absolute power. Millions were made victims and victimizers. Sometimes the same individual was both.

The party barred any studies of the psychological impact of these tactics on the people. Even as psychoanalysis began its popular ascent in China, social psychology was taboo. In this there was a parallel with Soviet Eastern Europe. Sociology, which was largely taught on a Marxist dialectic, was popular, but psychological analysis of the social context and studies of mental health were, as Deng Xiaoping indicated in his final resolution, “debate on major historical questions will come to an end.” He revised an earlier draft of his resolution because he found it “too depressing” (Osno 2011).

The opening of the economy and the elimination of many of the state-owned factories instigated the quest for money. This dynamic increasingly preoccupied the children and grandchildren of the original party leaders whether they were, conservative (strict constructionist) or reformer (open markets and the rule of law) in the inner circle of power. They worked together to make money while retaining the closed political system, expecting that China’s power internationally would be enhanced through economic success. In most respects their economic thesis and maneuvering has proven correct. But it has transpired through the inflexible political system of Democratic Centralism rather than participatory democracy. This is the ultimate example of the ideological proximity of left and right at the extreme ends of the spectrum (which becomes a circle, not a spectrum of political and economic systems).

Chinese reliance for thousands of years on herbalists to treat insanity and mood disorders as well as physical maladies has a counterpart in contemporary reliance on tranquilizers and repressing emotions to ignore poverty, injustice, and inequities of gender, race, or class. Brainwashing, torture, and the savagery of thousands, perhaps millions of people officially “hounded to death” have left psychic scars over two or more generations of Chinese. Suicides and homicides, even murder of parents, previously unheard of in China, have become at least as common as in the West.

Mass Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) has yet to be studied. The Holocaust survivors and possibly the several million descendants of the gulags in Siberia might be the populations who have the most in common, but to my knowledge no study on this has been done. But in the DSM IV-TR there are diagnostic categories more inclusive of transgenerational dynamics producing PTSD and susceptibilities consequent to prolonged stress.

Not to be overlooked are the millions of women in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER 7

Siberia: Golden Woman, X-Woman, and Empresses to Anomie

More than a million years ago, there was a hominid woman in Siberia. One piece of her fossilized little finger was found by archeologists in 2004 in Denisova Cave located in south central Siberia. She preceded the Neanderthals, having and emigrated from Africa to Siberia to apparently coexist with the Neanderthals and her descendants, with Modern Humans—and possibly some other early Asian species. She and her species immigrated to Asia prior to the Neanderthal and Modern Hominids.

Did she interact with any of these, and did they interbreed? Was she a descendant of *Homo erectus*, who moved out of Africa 200 million years ago and began colonizing the rest of the world? Or had she descended from a third line that split off before leaving Africa?

Her DNA suggests she was a distinct third species (Jamie Shreeve 2010; BBC News, 2010). Tools and a bracelet found nearby are similar to those found in *Homo sapiens* and Neanderthal fossils of the Late Pleistocene period. DNA studies show her relationship with the Neanderthals, but had no direct connection with Modern Hominid (Nature Magazine).

An increasing trove of anthropological and archeological evidence indicate that this third version of Hominid, in combination with Neanderthal and Modern, populated the bridge from southern Asia (Central and Southeast Asia; Afghanistan and into Central and Northern Asia) and became the languages and ethnic varieties of indigenous peoples of Siberia, China, Mongolia, and Manchuria, and, of course, through the Bering

Straits to Alaska and possibly down the western coast of Canada and the United States.

There are several theories about the spread and integration of the three major species of *Homo erectus*. All theories agree that the three species emanated from Africa 3–4 million years ago and that they made their way through Euro-Asia, north through the Caucasus or else (perhaps some of the migrants) crossed over the Asian land bridges from Eurasia north to what is now Siberia and from there went west to cross the Urals and Caucasus.

Still, it is clear that there was a migration from Asia to Europe in addition to that from Africa directly north. These migrants had already achieved the human capacity for language and had nearly double the brain capacity of their nearest primate relatives. Their linguistic communication skills had evolved as their larynx rose higher up in their elongated necks, allowing them to develop not only languages but also the framework of cultures, including myths that were an informal matrix reflecting their values and way of life. This and other adaptations to the Savannah rather than the forests and to escaping predators by adapting to a watery ecology became the basis for hypothesizing the role and status of the female in these primitive societies.

These became shamanistic cultures. Their arts and myths focused on fecundity, as represented by the use of the exaggerated breasts, hips, and clitoris of the female form in goddess figurines. We might assume universality, as they are found in excavations in Siberia and the Sheela-nagigs of Druidic/Celtic origins in Armaugh, in what is now Northern Ireland. It is reasonable to assume that the mystery of female procreation had become embedded into the myth systems and beliefs of people in Pleistocene prehistory, the epoch stretching from 1.64 million to 10,000 years ago.

Over the first two million years of Hominid evolution, the most remarkable characteristic of each successive species has been the expanding cranial size ergo or an increased brain size. Of course, this extends the brain's capacity for communication, memory and making connections among experience, memory, and emotion. These simultaneous developments as well as the development and placement of the larynx facilitated complex vocal communication.

A significant link existed between Asian and European tribal systems that facilitated the sanctioned violence against women. Early on, Celtic tribes with Druidic beliefs apparently had close connections with the Aryan and Scythian peoples and a shamanistic society. The shamans in

the Celtic system were in the second caste—the intelligentsia. In India, the Brahmins, the highest caste, performed these functions. (Please refer to figure 1.1.)

As will be discussed in chapter 8, the Celts had a system of family law apparently quite different from that of Asia and Africa. This was never integrated into Christianity. Instead, Christianity imposed a system different again from the Druidic, Celtic systems although Christianity adopted and rephrased some of the myths and customs. Over time this tribal system morphed into the “new nationalism” of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. In fact, this tribal and family law system became the centrifugal force for the Crusades and all their violent horrors from the tenth century onward.

In the eleventh century, Pope Urban II viewed Christian Europe as fragmented and fostering ideas of Christianity quite at variance with those of the Vatican. In order to unify the Church under the banner of the Vatican, he spread word that the “pagan” Muslims had occupied Jerusalem and all the Christian holy places. In 1095, he called for the First Crusade, setting off a violent tide of armed men who swept across Europe murdering every non-Christian person and pillaging and destroying all non-Christian places of worship they encountered on their way to “recapture” Jerusalem. This was prelude to several more brutal Crusades over the next four centuries, capped by the Inquisition in Spain after the rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella, expelled the Jews in 1492.

Over the course of at least a thousand years of European and Asian history before that, women were bartered and sold as slaves by conquering and occupying armies and traded by Arab slave dealers in the marketplaces of Africa, the Middle East, and the Asian subcontinent. In the household of the First Emperor of China were Celtic, Jewish, and other European slaves along with Africans and Asians.

Much slave trade occurred between Europe and Eurasia (including Turkey, the Ottoman Empire, and the Barbary pirates). In the case of Arab captors, if male slaves accepted Islam the masters would limit their period of servitude. But female slaves rarely gained the same option, because they were captured or purchased for entertainment and sex, as were children.

Slavery was best suited to stratified rather than hunter-gatherer societies. Slaves could become scholars, scientist/technicians in their time, teachers, athletes, agricultural workers and herdsman, as well as skilled craftsmen, such as weavers and gold or silversmiths. Thus the civilizations earliest stratified in their tribal and family law systems built their civilizations on the backs of slave classes and women as property—another kind of slave.

These same societies lost their zeal for politicized religious extremism, such as the Crusades, after the Reformation and the 100 Years' War. By the nineteenth century, tribalism in several pockets of Europe remained immersed in religious extremism, vendetta, and xenophobia. The abolition of slavery in Western Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, carried with it consideration of the status of women—at least women of the growing middle and upper classes. But it did nothing to relieve peasant enslavement or serfdom in Eastern Europe and Russia, or sanctioned violence against Jews.

Where religious extremism continued as in Northern Ireland and Yugoslavia/Albania, beyond the Nazis' Holocaust, it was rationalized by the perpetrators in ancient tribal law coated with Christianity and adopting the "racism" carried by the Aryans into India to the pseudoscientific eugenics movement. Nazi ideology claimed religious-political roots in a Teutonic mythology that celebrated war.

This tribal sanctioning of vendetta and its consequences in xenophobia transformed into the kind of socioreligious political extremism that underlay the twentieth-century mobilization of Western countries to "fight Communism."

Alongside this tribal militarism were notable changes in the status of women, particularly distinguishing them from chattel property. Women of the lower classes continued to be devalued and used, even as middle- and upper-class women were encased in golden cages or placed on pedestals. Nowhere was this more dramatically evidenced than in the settling of Siberia, even as Elizabeth I, the first empress in Europe reigned in Imperial Russia from 1640 to 1643.

The Case of Siberia

Since this area was a crossroads of cultures, races, and languages from Asia to Europe and Asia into the Western Hemisphere, Siberia requires particular focus. Its Paleolithic human occupants migrated there from Africa and Europe, and north from Asia. They mixed, intermingled and interbred, spawning a multitude of languages, leaving a rich array of fossils of humans, tools, and utensils. In nearly every instance these archeological remains are connected with others in the aforementioned places and in places to which some of these populations later migrated in Europe.

Paul Stonehill, ethnologist, anthropologist, and author of *World-Mysteries.com*, has written extensively about the myth of the Golden Goddess. He suggests that the Russian goddess Baba, or Bau derived from a Sumerian goddess shown in relief as a mother goddess and goddess of healing. She is also

reminiscent of the daughter of sky god Ami, consort of the fertility god. Her temples were centers for healing and libraries.

Stonehill also wrote that the Ugra Golden Goddess legends extend to China, where she appears as the mother of “the essential fire” living in the Eastern Ocean and goddess of the sea fire “identified with the violent, worldwide whirlwind of the fiery deluge. She is mistress of the destinies of other souls” (ibid. p. 9) Legends, mythologies, and linguistic similarities suggest that, apart from their ethnic distinctions, there were relationships among these early societies that survived among the indigenous Siberian peoples retained their cultural connections with those in China, India, the Middle East, and Europe. Archeological finds continue to surface to the present and, as we can see in the case of the fossilized little finger of the hominid, ancient cultures were permeated with the mystery of Woman. This find, which is the most recent discovery of a unique DNA, may also contribute to the theory that human females and indeed human sexuality itself differentiated from other primates through this migration and settlement in watery climes (Elaine Morgan 1972). The areas of earliest documented hominid settlement in Siberia were essentially marshlands and grasslands at high elevations. Bipedal hominids, no longer able to take to the trees to escape predators, and were living in a place with no large, dense forests, needed to run and to swim. Were these the source of the hominid fossils, or of the fossils, of perhaps some species in between?

There are indications among the forms of the goddesses that the human woman evolved quite distinctly from her primate relatives, and that bifurcation of the human species became more extensive than its primate relatives. Morgan attributes these distinctions at least in part to a need to spend lengthy periods of time immersed in water in Siberia – especially the western and middle regions which have a plethora of lakes and rivers. As we shall see, settlement and exploration, as well as flora and fauna of the region, facilitated development. Ironically, a careful tracking of identity and origins of the indigenous inhabitants of Siberia indicate that after the Russians’ fifteenth-century invasion the residents of the region, particularly women descended into anomie. They were sold, bartered in slavery, and murdered with impunity.

At least four thousand years ago invaders recognized that in order to occupy and dominate the areas they had conquered they must wipe out the cultural memory and individual and collective identity. Sometimes the conquerors did this by genocide, but more often they achieved this by transplanting their own cultural practices into the territory to replace the previous culture. Thus, the Romans imposed their legal and religious systems and practices along with a ruling hierarchy that often included their sympathizers

among the prior ruling class, rather than bring in a new hierarchy not indigenous to the region. Ethnic identities could either be “protected,” as was attempted by the Russians (though too late to have any practical effects) in the late nineteenth century, or obliterated as the native languages grew ineffective for survival of the individual or the group composed of their own peoples. This is especially true when the indigenous population is illiterate and its culture is maintained by oral tradition (mythologies, mores, and morals passed on by shamans), such as in Russia’s Asiatic empire and among many of the Native American peoples. (Please refer to figure 1.1.)

The name “Siberia” itself has been attributed origins in Turkic with close equivalents in Mongolian. The first word, “su” or “si,” meant “water” and the second word, “ber” or “birr,” meant a “wild, unpopulated land.” As Ian Frazier tells us, “The naming pattern follows a common one of simple geographic description used by native peoples, whereby, for example, Baikal derives from the Turkic ‘bey,’ (‘big’) and ‘kul,’ (‘lake’). Sibir, therefore, meant a wilderness with water” (Frazier 2010, p. 27), or a marshy place which does describe many places in Siberia today.

We do know that the indigenous population in ancient Siberia had included quite distinct and diverse peoples with different languages, because early humans probably lived in families and had a slightly larger-than-normal cultural group and network of relationships. They were foragers and later hunter-gatherers and required a large territory to ensure that they could obtain sufficient food. When their brains developed to the full size of modern hominids (which happened in Africa before the great migrations could have proceeded), social and cultural groups could form, and symbolic languages could develop. But during the later Pleistocene period it appears that the pockets of these small populations throughout Eurasia and Africa, inbred, and in meeting the ecological demands of their habitations over 100,000 years or more, they developed distinctive physiognomies, languages, and cultures.

When they domesticated animals and used them to extend their territorial claims, it is likely that conflict between groups initiated. One of the considerations frequently overlooked, is that 5,000 years ago (or even earlier), human beings had the same brain capacity as we do today, which makes possible a relatively rapid developments of technology and culture as well as language, literature and philosophy, in Siberia and elsewhere.

Besides foraging, humans there turned to hunting and gathering and later to agriculture and herding. The shores of all Siberian lakes, which filled the depressions during the Lucastrine period, have turned up archeological finds dating from the Neolithic age. Furnaces and other artifacts dating from the Neolithic age are evidence of a dense population. Some of the

earliest artifacts found in central Asia have been in Siberia. This could mean one or the other of two phenomena:

1. The climate in Siberia was better for preserving artifacts and fossils; and/or
2. This was the major center of population development in Asia because it is a natural geologic crossroads.

The indigenous Uralic Samoyeds came from the northern Urals they produced the Selkap people, who remain in the Sayan region. Their artifacts are clearly Bronze Age and are scattered all over southern Siberia. They excelled in working bronze, silver and gold; their ornaments evidence artistry and taste. Their agricultural efforts produced wide, irrigated fields.

Indo-Iranian influences go back to 2300–1000 BCE Androvno culture. Between the seventh and third centuries BCE, the Scythians flourished in the Altai region and became a major influence on all late steppe empires. Silk goods that arrived via the earliest version of the Silk Road were found in Siberia dating to the first millennium BCE.

The development of the third century BCE Xiongnu Empire began a series of population movements. Many different peoples were settling in the Central Siberian Plateau. Turkic peoples such as the Yenisei Krighiz had already been present but various Turkic tribes such as the Khakas and Uyghue migrated north westwards from their former bases a subdued the Ugric peoples. They left many traces of their presence in two different periods. They were, unlike their subjects, already using iron and learned from the latter the art of bronze casting, which they used strictly for decorative arts.

By the thirteenth century CE, nomadic warriors were exploiting the region. Genghis Khan had conquered all of Mongol and Turkic tribes in Mongolia and southern Siberia. His eldest son, Jochi, brought back from a thirteenth-century expedition to western Siberia riches, and slaves, with not a single person or animal killed in the expedition. This suggests that the inhabitants were either compliant or nonviolent, or that they were not equipped with the kinds of weaponry required to combat these invaders. Possibly, since they were of different cultures and languages among themselves, there was little political development between extended families or tribes. These entities regulated relationships between individuals in the society and regulations with other tribes or groups. Given the ease with which they were conquered, it is probable that these groups may have developed defensive maneuvers to sustain themselves but no reason to make war on each other or on other groups. The ecology of Siberia provided a ready

supply of food-meat, fish, wild grains, and vegetation. When invaders came these relatively isolated groups were completely unaware.

The pre-Christian era in Siberia was influenced by the nomadic civilizations of the Scythians and Xiogru. The succession of nomadic empires invading and, in some instances, settling in Siberia included the Turkic and Mongol Empires. In the late Middle Ages, Tibetan Buddhism spread into the areas south of Lake Baikal. Genghis Khan gave the Telegrit and Tidis along the Irtysh River to an old companion, Quochi. He settled a colony of Chinese craftsmen and farmers at Ken-Kechik after the first phase of the Mongol-Jin Dynasty War. The Great Khans preferred gyrfalcons, furs, women, and Kyrgyz horses for tribute.

After Jochi Khan had subjugated the “People of the Forest” (Kesadin, Bayit, Turgas, and other groups) they spread to the west. Frazier says that in this context, Siber seems to mean both the place and the tribes in it. The expanded western side extended to Kiev and Novrograd and other Russian principalities. Frazier goes on to say “Jochi’s line founded the Golden Horde later ruled by Khan Mamai from whom Ivan the Terrible traced his Tatar lineage” (Frazier 2010, p. 28).

Jochi Khan gave this territory to his eldest son, Orda Khan, whose reign and territory became known as the Golden Horde.

Rashid Al Din, the Persian chronicler, described the territory of the Khirgiz people in the land of Aber Sabir. His descriptions place the many diverse populations as having expanded from Asia Minor across Siberia and into the Ukraine.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Europeans began to explore Siberia, but what was of particular interest to Russia was the explorers’ discovery of underground mineral wealth. Russian appropriation of the territory commenced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, coincidentally and in many ways, analogous to the European colonization of the Americas in that same period.

In the mid-sixteenth century, Russian tsardom conquered the Tatar khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan, thereby annexing the Volga region and opening the way to the Ural Mountains. In much the same way that The London Company colonized the 13 seaboard colonies, of what became the United States. Tsar Ivan IV granted large estates near the Urals as well as tax privileges to Anikey Storganov, who in turn organized the migration to these lands. The mercantile Storganov family developed farming, hunting, salt works, fishing, and ore mining in the Urals and established trade with Siberian tribes. Semyon Storganov and other sons of Anikey enlisted Cossacks for protection of the Ural settlements against attacks by the Tatars of the Siberian Khanate led by Khan Kucha Yermak, hired in 1577 to conquer the

Khanate of Siber. Yermak was successful in 1582 in defeating and scattering the Kucham. But three years later, in 1585, they attacked Yermak, killing most of his people. Although Yermak's Cossacks completely withdrew from Siberia, every year new bands of hunters and adventurers returned, supported by Moscow. These adventures and population movements is the likely origin of a common phrase, "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tatar."

Notably, in all the history of Russian invasions of Siberia, there is little documentation on Russian or, for that matter, indigenous women. The Khans demanded women for tribute but records of their fiscal valuation are scarce. The Storganov colonists included families but most likely, the Cossacks took brides by force or purchased them from the indigenous people (most likely from tribal men under their family law provisions). As they engaged in trade and exploration and hunting or bartering for animal skins, silks, spices, and precious metals, some formed settlements, but often evoked the anger of the indigenous people by taking while rejecting assimilation into their communities. Under the first Romanov tsar (1613–1645) Siberia became the destination for anyone the Russian authorities determined were enemies of the state, a land of forced settlements, labor camps and prisons. After his first victories over the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, Tsar Mikhail Romanov established the Ministry for Siberian Affairs, and by special decree in 1635 ordered that all war prisoners, including Lithuanian, German, and Jews, from the recent conflict were to be exiled there. This double-edged policy aimed both to inhabit and colonize Siberia with Western-born residents, and to extirpate all possible opposition to his regime from the tsar's seat of power in Moscow.

His successor, Tsar Alexei Romanov (1645–1676), also embraced this strategy. Alexei, who was embroiled in an extended struggle for the throne, resorted to punishing his opponents by shipping them off to Siberia. In 1659, for instance, the government expelled several dozen Jews and Germans from the German Sloboda district to Siberia.

But early in the eighteenth century, the Russian Imperial Geographic Society discovered the extensive natural resources of gas, coal, gold, tin, silver, and copper, spurring the establishment of a network of state-owned enterprises to expand industrial development. Initially, the work force was composed of the administrative and political exiles, but criminals later joined them.

Jewish merchants and expelled Jewish dissenters were among the first settlers of these towns. By 1813, Jews had established in Tobolsk their own cemetery and prayer house. A Jewish merchant named Preisman donated 10,000 rubles in gold to build a Russian Orthodox Church, which allowed his family to settle in town and build a synagogue. Nearly a century earlier

the governor of Siberia remarked that in the settlement of Kainsk Jews made up four-fifths of the population. That town became a key center for the Russian fur trade. Due to the scarcity of Jewish women in Siberia, Jewish religious authorities allowed Jewish men to buy and convert Kalmyk women and marry them. By 1817, Kalmyk brides had become quite famous for their devout adherence to Judaism.

During that period, despite continual changes in regulations and restrictions and discrimination, we are told that “the typical Siberian Jew emerged: similar in dress and language to his Russian neighbors, ignorant in Jewish learning and negligent of the mitzvot he nevertheless possessed warm Jewish sentiments” (Encyclopedia Judaica, Jewish Settlement in Siberia, Dr. Irina Vlademirsky).

In the modern state of Israel, which in the 1990s saw an influx of some 160,000 immigrants from Russia, particularly from Siberia, acknowledged that many could not firmly establish their Jewish ancestry. This is not extraordinary among descendants of a persecuted minority. One wonders how, if at all, identity records were maintained in regard to the origins for any of the other ethnic or indigenous groups that were cast into Siberia’s icy melting pot.

Siberia: Base of Warrior Tribal Societies

Of particular interest is the warrior society that arose in Siberia very early in its period of population. As we shall see, these warrior cultures were often tribes living in the mountains in the inner rim of Asia who raided the pastoral settled farmers of the interior. In these tribal societies women were not counted, in ways resembling those described in the previous chapters on the Bedouin and African tribal societies, where family law (in Africa referred to as “conventional law”) valued women as bearers of sons; as virgin brides; and as repositories of the family honor. In some tribal systems, women were also valued for their contribution to the family wealth. But there is no mention of women in descriptions of the artisans and craftspeople within these early tribal societies, or even as weavers. We do know that women who did not give birth to sons or were physically disabled or widowed were likely to be killed. The shaman mythologies of Siberia allude to that as well as to child brides and marriage by kidnapping.

Through war with neighboring kingdoms and empires, exploration, and establishment of villages and even towns, By the mid-seventeenth-century Russians had established the borders of Russia close to the modern ones. Cossacks were attracted to Siberia because of the potential furs of sable, ermine, and foxes. They collected these from local people who had submitted

to the Russian empire and in exchange received from the Cossacks defense against the incursions of southern nomads. For this service the Siberian locals were obliged to pay *Yasack*, or tribute. To facilitate collection and transport the *yassak*, a set of *yassachnaya* roads were built to Moscow.

There is evidence of assimilation of Russians of European origins with the local peoples, but the less developed areas resisted this, perhaps. These forced unfair terms that were never recorded. Resistance among the Manchu people was so strong and well organized that in 1689, by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, Russia quit advancing, abandoned further efforts, and settled into trade relationships instead, and concentrated on colonizing the vast expanse of Siberia, and trading with China through the Siberian market. Much later, in 1852, Nicolay Murayov explored the Amur River, and by 1857, a chain of Russian Cossacks and peasants were settled along the whole course of the river. This was recognized as an accomplished fact by China in the 1860 Treaty of Aigun.

The Siberian branch of the Russian Geographical Society was founded in Irkutsk became a permanent center for the exploration of Siberia. The opening of the Amur and Sakhalin Rivers attracted still more explorers, both Russian and European, and offered incentives for exploration of the northeastern territory of Siberia. It also led to the forced labor camps. The prisoners in these hard labor camps provided the needed cheap (slave) labor to cut down the forests and dig the mines.

All of these incursions into Siberia by such diverse forces, including nomadic attackers, Cossack defenders, explorers, adventurers, or the Mongol armies, diminished and blurred the identities of the indigenous peoples. As a result, truly native ethnic Siberians are all but extinct. Neither their languages nor cultures have survived. Many of the peoples of southern Siberia resembled the Mongols and spoke the same language. Those in western Siberia spoke Turkic, Samoyedi, or Yeniseian languages. Some Turkic tribes migrated north, and others northwest and conquered the Urgic indigenous peoples.

Empresses

In Siberia, serfdom was never established, and escaped serfs frequently sought refuge there, often joining outlaw gangs or concealing themselves in rural occupations.

But throughout this time in the rest of Russia, the daughters and wives of Russian serfs were not allowed to leave their domestic abusers or feudal landowners, who therefore determined their fate. Women were, indeed slaves of slaves, as James Connolly would later describe Irish women.

Despite the degraded state of women in Russia, however, the Russian empire saw a succession of empresses, the most important of which were Elizabeth I and Catherine the Great, whose names and power were recognized throughout the land and throughout Europe, as well as in China and the Middle East. Their rule had important consequences for Russia and Siberia. Both were remarkable for the governmental and social reforms they were able to achieve.

The four empresses of Russia were remarkable in many ways. First, *they* presided over a populous empire equivalent in size and scope to those of the British and the Ottomans. Unlike their female counterparts in other countries, until the arrival of Queen Victoria in Britain these Russian rulers gained their positions independent of marital relationships with men. Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, for example, ruled a smaller realm, and rose to the throne via her marriage into the Hapsburgs. Catherine of Aragon, who acceded to the throne of Spain through marriage to Ferdinand, also oversaw a much smaller empire. Finally, Elizabeth I and Catherine the Great were remarkable for the governmental and social reforms they were able to achieve.

In 1753, Empress Elizabeth I abolished capital punishment and replaced it with exile of the condemned to Siberia. Russian authorities wanted land in Siberia to be farmed, but because serfdom was banned there and indigenous people were considered lazy alcoholics, they erroneously believed that the exiles, who were not experienced farmers and especially ill-prepared for farming in Siberia's harsh climate, would become sturdy, productive farmers.

Instead, Siberia quickly became a haven of criminals and sociopaths. The authorities blamed the gender imbalance in the vast territory where there was perhaps one woman for every 300 men. The authorities expected that the "ideal Russian woman" brought to the region would turn unruly criminal men into well-behaved taxpayers loyal to their families and to the tsar. On the other hand, the women who would willingly marry a Siberian exile were often felons themselves, who, if they were serfs, might have fled their masters; or dealt in stolen goods; murdered; or committed arson.

Consequently, in 1832, a new ruling required wives of exiles to move to Siberia with their husbands, even if they were born free or did not want to go. Another method that the authorities turned to in order to bring more women to Siberia was to pay fathers 150 rubles to "let" their daughters or sisters marry exiles in Siberia. More likely, the women were sold and forced to go, and not simply "let" (implying that the women went voluntarily).

Marriage and family law in imperial Russia was strictly controlled by the Russian Orthodox Church and the landowners and/or serf-owners, through

whom control was vested in a patriarchal family system. The girl's family had to provide a "dowry" of household goods and clothes for the new wife and, of course, the wedding feast.

Until the liberation of the serfs in 1861, girls could be married at age 13 and males at 15. During the last 30 years of serfdom, the Russian Orthodox Church raised these ages to 16 and 18 respectively. Serfdom had not been established in Siberia but throughout Russia the Orthodox Church maintained hegemony over marriages, so one might assume that these age limits and other conditions established by the patriarchate would apply also to Siberia.

But, like everything else in Siberia, even the dominance of the church and orthodoxy seem to have disintegrated long before the Soviet revolution and the institutions and regulations that accompanied the establishment of a secular state. After serfdom was abolished in 1861, the 50 percent of the Russian population previously enslaved could still be beaten by landowners, and lose the little they owned, so the younger generation of peasants still had to give their earnings to their birth families, which also retained the power in marital decisions. It was they who decided when and who could be a marital partner for their daughter.

When Elizabeth I abolished executions, exile to Siberia had already become an alternative punishment to execution and she was lauded by enlightened humanitarian Europeans for this alternative. Although Catherine the Great realized that serfdom must end, and was an absolute monarch, throughout her reign she was confronted with the specter of peasant uprisings and the need to secure support from the nobility. Her wars to extend Russian political control over the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth thus pushed the Russian frontier westward into Central Europe. She also vanquished the Ottoman army as it advanced on Russia's southern boundary on the Black Sea. But she also ruthlessly suppressed a major peasant uprising in 1773. Viewing herself as an enlightened, compassionate monarch, she also introduced compassion into the law with the public trial of a prominent member of the nobility on charges of torture and murder.

Anomie: Normlessness and Anonymity

After each of these wars, the remnants of the conquered armies and the veterans of the Russian campaigns, mostly landless peasants lacking occupational training and resources, went to Siberia either to prison camps or to seek their fortune in mining, trade, or exploration. The former soldiers, many of whom were in fact AWOLs, were neither trained nor equipped to take up a new life in the harsh climate.

At one point in the 1870s about 500,000 people were exiled to Siberia but the population increase was not registered in the region. For instance, 40,000 were expelled to the Irkutsk region in 1873, but only one-fifth actually lived there. Others either escaped or went off to other towns. Local reports indicate that more than two-thirds of the exiles did not live in their houses. For example, only 300 people stayed in the Mazur district although official documents had registered 2,400 settlers. Thus of the 500,000 exiles, 400,000 seemed to have disappeared. Nor could the exiles increase the population of Siberia in the latter half of the nineteenth century, because women still comprised only 18 percent of the population, at a ratio of one woman to six men. Plus, the exiles were not allowed to marry during their first five years in Siberia. Most criminals apparently did not wish to start a family.

Native Siberians had little interest in introducing robbers and murderers into their families, either. Most of the exiles were sick with syphilis, consumption, and other diseases. Almost all of the exiled women were prostitutes or soon became such. Irkutsk city inspectors divided exiles into two categories: homeowners and homeless. The former, a minority, had their own small farms, and had come to Siberia with their families. They lived in small houses and farmed for their needs only. The homeless exiles were hired as workers.

The poor were the largest category of Siberians. They originated from fugitive soldiers who tried to conceal their origins. They lived a nomadic style and hated any form of labor. If they were in jail they would usually hide beneath plank beds to avoid work details. Besides becoming vagabonds they would go to work in the gold mines.

Old Siberian residents would sometimes house the exiles until they settled in a new place. There are many personal anecdotes of the kindness these forlorn strangers recalled receiving from Siberians when they were dropped from their convoys into the hostile landscape. Many of the exiles died in the severe Siberian winter of cold, hunger, and disease. Sometimes the new exiles, still disoriented and confused, would take to the woods, only to be killed by farmers who assumed the worst of them.

In fact, the exiles did perpetrate more than half the crimes in Siberia. Murder was the most common crime, followed by robbery, arson, and counterfeiting. A criminal environment consumed Siberia with 20,000 criminals arriving each year.

The newspaper *Irkutsk Regional News* published stories about the crimes committed by the exiles:

Two men of 22 and 50 years old broke the windows in the tavern belonging to peasant Yakov Chersachin late at night. They entered the room

where the owner and his family—the wife and two daughters—were sleeping. The criminals stabbed a five-year-old girl Avdotya and then started torturing the other girl trying to find out where her father was keeping money. They intended to kill the girl when she saw someone passing by and started screaming at the top of her lungs and the criminals ran away. (archived digitally on: <http://English.Pravda.ru/History/16-10-2003/3902-siberia>)

Another:

On October 5, 1873, Irkutsk was stuck with a horrible crime committed in the merchant house that day. Five people were killed: the merchant woman, her daughter, the kitchen maid, a worker and a janitor. The bodies of the worker and the janitor were thrown in the Angura River [the house was located on Angura's bank]. One of the criminals raped the maid and then choked her with a rope. The girl was lucky to live and she was the only witness of the massacre. The criminal gang consisted of three exiled men and three vagabonds. The criminals were very composed at the trial, they told the story as if it was an absolutely normal event. Three murderers of the group were sentenced to death. (archived digitally on: <http://english.Pravda.ru/history/16-10-2003/3902-siberia-O/>)

The journalist-author goes on to mention that criminals in Siberia did not hesitate to kill with axes. In other words, they didn't need to be subtle or inventive. The local police were unable to either control the situation or hold down the growing number of crimes. It was extremely dangerous to go out during winter nights.

Siberia, in short, was a battlefield. Prostitution, rape, and incest as well as illegal cohabitation concentrated in Siberia. Consequently, the Irkutsk region ranked second in all Russia with number of illegitimate children, after Petersburg. In Moscow, there were only 237 illegitimate children per 100,000 populations, while in Irkutsk the figure was 391. It should be noted that those counted were likely to have been a minority of that part of the population.

Criminality was also endemic in Siberia among the authorities, in industry and embedded in the culture. Writer Grigory Maksimov pointed out that Siberian variants of Russian fairy tales had their own characters—vagabonds and fugitives. Siberian children played at being criminals. The theme of contemporary Siberian popular cartoons is about the powerless outsmarting the powerful and taking off with the prize. The popular folksongs celebrated fugitives escaping across Baikal Lake.

Obliterating Memory and Individualism

During the Communist regime, they (the Russians) used a system of brain-washing through interrogations and confinement, geographic isolation from family and places of origin; unwanted consequences to loved one by “guilt through association.” This particularly affected women political prisoners because they were afraid to remember names, events, and associations lest their innocent truth telling endanger their own or the life of a comrade or loved one. This extinction of memory and identity was the larger strategy for eliminating any potential threat from dissidents. It was also a tactic employed against individuals to likewise extinguish any potential threat they represented.

Consequently, many in Siberia cloaked their family origins out of fear, but they could be targeted and killed because of their (unknown) identity. This was, at first deliberate. Then it became an automatic “forgetting.”

The endemic corruption that even today plagues Russian institutions created a “norm-less” society, which is to say, one that erases expectations of consequences and uncertainty of social relationships even within families. It also results in inconsistent rules and laws, thereby increasing uncertainty and thus makes life predictable.

Revolutions and Civil Wars

Twentieth-century Russia began with revolutions that ultimately became civil wars. Population movements within European Russia, the completion of the Trans-Siberian railroad, and a rough highway system incorporating waterways as highways when they were iced over and for marine transportation as weather permitted, improved access, and the revolutions, plots, and threats to political stability furnished a new population of prospective dissident slave laborers who could be forced to work in the unforgiving frozen parts of Siberia building roads, mining, forestry, and agriculture as well as building their own prisons as needed. Literature about and by women in Siberia really begins in the twentieth-century gulags. Dostoyevsky and Pushkin, the greatest Russian writers of the twentieth century were exiles in Siberia and wrote about that life.

The mass deportations of Kulaks, Ukrainian peasant farmers, who were labeled “enemies of the state” and Baltic, Polish, and German foreigners who were prisoners of war are remarkable for including families and extended family groups who were all under suspicion of conspiring to counter the revolution. Unlike the Siberian prisoners of earlier generations, the women prisoners of the Soviet era were often highly

literate intelligentsia, university professors, and political activists. In some instances, they were the widows of famous revolutionaries, for example, Nikolai Bukharin's widow, who was the subject of a book by Anna Larinia, *Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow* (1993); and the two-volume memoir by Eugenia Ginzberg, *Journey into the Whirlwind* (1967) and *Within the Whirlwind* (1982); and Margarete Buber's *Under Two Dictators* (1949).

But women's voices, in Siberia especially, were often muted and marginalized. The collection of memoirs edited by Simeon Vilensky, *Til My Tale Is Told* (1999) tells the stories of only a small number of these women.

Many of the women in the gulags during Stalin's reign and afterwards were Communist Party members. As in China, they had been educated idealists and were often brainwashed through tortuous interrogations into believing they had violated party discipline in some way or become enemies of the state. Many truly thought that they or someone they knew had indeed betrayed the party, broken party discipline or otherwise contributed to denunciations of comrades or relatives. After so many years of work camps victimization by criminal elements in the camps, which were not segregated by sex; exploitation by guards and administrators to which they submitted in order to gain some desperate privilege, such as rest and nourishment, many of these women were suffering memory loss and could hope only to survive, but unable to discern truth from the lies. They became pregnant, had babies, held onto them for only a little while and then saw their precious baby turn wizened and diseased because they were not getting food, care, or medicine in the nurseries and children's houses.

And that indeed seemed to have been the purpose of the interrogations and the work camps and the endless gulags: to destroy memories and identities. Who one was, where one came from, and why one was here became one huge secret into which thousands of men and women were encased, with women bearing the additional load of nonpersonhood. According to the testaments of surviving political prisoners, ethnic identities and even names, places of origin and past achievements were obliterated among the many who worked to death or died of diseases, hunger, and beatings. Children born into this anonymous vacuum were taken from their mothers (if their mothers were political prisoners) and either given to local relatives nearby or put into "children's houses" until they reached the age of 16, when they were released to make their own way.

Repetitive trauma, from birth through adulthood, and the equally repetitive directive to forget who they were; denial of their experience, because of self-doubt; and shock, contributed to a collective psychosis. Depending on the particular defense mechanism of the individual, the behavioral

manifestations were Addictive Personality Disorders, Conversion Hysterias (not too different from the classic cases described by Freud and his analytic colleagues in the first half of the twentieth century); Dysthymic Disorders; Adjustment Disorder and especially, for those raised in orphanages from infancy onward, Attachment Disorders. Untreated medical and developmental anomalies were manifested in Learning Disabilities, Mutism, and hyper- or hypo-activity disorders. Often infants born to alcoholic parents or drug abusers were born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome or in withdrawal if the mother had been taking drugs. Because many births were performed without professional medical or hospital services, there were many birth defects resulting from erroneous use of forceps or failure to assist or facilitate the birth with episiotomies. Most often, there were mothers who were anemic from inadequate nutrition.

Growing Up in Siberia

My interest and inspiration for researching this chapter has been a young woman from the Irkutsk region of Siberia, brought to my office by her adoptive parents. Svetlana's birth records indicated she was born in Kansk, which is in the Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia. The city is on the Trans-Siberia Railroad line in south central Siberia. It is north of the borders of China and Mongolia, and to the east of Kazakhstan. Kansk is farther from Moscow than it is from Ulambatur, the capitol of Mongolia.

By the time I met Svetlana, she had just turned 17 and had been multiply traumatized and in denial. In so many ways her life and the lives of her mother and siblings is symptomatic and symbolic of women in Siberia.

Below is a summary of my notes on her case, from which I have removed certain details at the request of her parents. Much of the background narrative is from her mother's account given to me with the referral for therapy.

Family History for Svetlana

DOB: February 7, 1994, 9 year, 10 months @ adoption

Born premature: Weight 4 lb. 3 oz. Length 15"

Siblings:

Natasha	DOB: January 2, 1985	18 @ adoption
Katrina	DOB: March 30, 1986	17 @ adoption
Pavel	DOB: July 24, 1987	16 @ adoption
Yuri	DOB: March 3, 1996	7 @ adoption

Mother (Olga) died, October 1, 2001—born 1967 in Chulman city, Neryungei district, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) region. Her mother lived in a city that was is at either the end or beginning of the Kolyma trail—depending on the reason for being in Siberia. If exiled it was the end of the trail. If released or immigrant it was the beginning of the route toward western Siberia and the Urals.

Maternal grandmother had two homes. One was quite a distance away by train; the other was in Kansk—Svetlana and her siblings traveled once to her grandmother's. Grandmother visited every year. Her mother's sister, her aunt, also lived in Kansk but apparently had little contact with her nieces and nephews.

Mother died on October 1, 2001, when Svetlana was six years old. Both parents were alcoholics. The child had returned from school one day with her then 12-year-old half-sister to find their mother lying on the floor in a pool of her own blood. Her head was cracked open. But she was still alive and taken to a hospital where she died. Svetlana was too young to be allowed into the hospital to see her mother again and, at the funeral, as the youngest daughter, she was told to kiss her mother before the burial. She did.

Her younger brother, Yuri was, as Svetlana said, "off in a world of his own." Her maternal grandmother, with whom she visited twice a year, had a home in Kansk as did an "aunt." Her sister Natasha, then 16, mentioned this aunt to her adopting parents but no one elaborated on how the aunt was related nor was the aunt in contact at the time. Svetlana has never said anything about her aunt and my mention of such just drew blanks.

Olga, her birth mother, bore the three older children with the man to whom she had been married while still a teenager. Svetlana, the fourth child in less than a dozen years, had a different father but carried the same surname as her older siblings. Her next older sibling, Pavel, was seven years her senior. She recalls playing with him and they played "rough." He teased and apparently bullied because, as she recalls, he was a "typical boy." Svetlana recalls her mother having been affectionate to her, reading to her and that she was beautiful—blonde and blue eyed, tall and always finding ways to be happy and celebrate. There is no way to confirm this description, and given her drinking addiction, it is unlikely to be realistic. But the part about her always being happy and "celebrating" could very well be the behavior of an alcoholic or bipolar sufferer. Svetlana was the baby of the family for only two years before her younger brother was born. When asked about specific behaviors of her mother in regard to monitoring her and her siblings, Svetlana insists that even though she would not tell her mother where she was going or what happened, her mother and sisters always knew she would come home even if she was gone for several days, they wouldn't go looking for her.

Svetlana has little memory of her parents, except that her father was bad. He was violent and once beat up her younger brother until one of the child's teeth fell out. Nearly two years prior to her mother's death while in her paternal grandfather's house, during her grandmother's absence her father beat her grandfather to death. She escaped his wrath by hiding under a bed. At that time she was five years old.

It was a year and a half later that she returned from school one day to find her mortally wounded mother. After Olga died the authorities turned Svetlana and her younger brother over to their father. Conditions in her father's house were terrible. She always carried a stick for self-defense. Unlike her little brother, she could outrun her father.

Finally, she became so concerned about the beatings of her brother, she reported to the school authorities about her home conditions. The social service workers who made a home visit verified the unsafe conditions and unfitness of the father to have custody of the children. He was legally declared unfit and Svetlana and her little brother were taken to Children's Homes.

Age 5, 1999, grandfather was killed by her father—beaten to death. Svetlana escaped her father's violence by hiding under a bed, but from there witnessed and heard the violence that ensued. Svetlana was alone when she witnessed her grandfather being killed by her father. Apparently the father wasn't held responsible for his actions.

Age 7, October 1, 2001, mother died—a violent death.

Svetlana found her mother near death from a head injury—Svetlana and her sister, Katrina found her with her head cracked open lying in a pool of her own blood when they returned from school that day. She died days later. Svetlana was told that a bad man had hurt her mother. There was reason to believe that the man had beaten her out of jealous rage or alcohol-induced anger. After the death of her mother she and her younger brother were placed in the care of her father – this lasted for only weeks.

While under her father's charge, the father repeatedly hurt the younger brother—Svetlana said she could outrun her father and always carried a big stick with her even when she slept. She finally reported to her teachers the beatings, the filth, and lack of food and strangers coming in and out at all hours. The investigators found all of this true. The description on the documents indicated that the home was unfit for children, the father didn't reside there and strangers wandered in and out throughout the day and night. There was no food, no table, no bed; it was filthy with trash everywhere and they immediately removed the two young children

and placed them in orphanages appropriate to their respective ages and gender.

Svetlana was 7 (October 28, 2001) when she entered the orphanage. Her older sister Katrina was in the same place for about six months after Svetlana entered and the two were mutually supportive. Then Katrina aged out and had to move on to an adolescent facility.

Age 8 or 9—Summer 2002 or 2003, oldest sister married.

Age 9—July 2003, selected for the US summer camp program.

Age 9—December 2003, eldest sister had first child.

Age 9—December 2003, Svetlana adopted, arrived in United States, December 24, 2003.

Age 16—Svetlana was victimized by bullying in public school. She became fearful and changed. She suffered blindness from Conversion Hysteria according to the doctors who examined her.

Her parents tried, unsuccessfully, to enlist the school authorities help in protecting their daughter. As a teenager, Svetlana was distinct for her beautiful, long, thick chestnut-colored hair, her extraordinary violet-colored eyes, her physical agility in sports and well-proportioned body. The bullying girls attacked her on all of these features, cutting off her hair and dyeing it, and threatening her to not participate in the sports at which she excelled, or she and her parents would be hurt. She did suffer several injuries, the etiology of which she refused to divulge.

Her parents transferred Svetlana to a private school with a small ratio of pupils to teachers, and academic support services for college preparatory programming. Although she was discouraged from further contact with the clique of bullies, she has shortly thereafter, through the leader of that clique, met a boy a year younger than she, who proceeded to increasingly alienate her from her parents. She met him in May of her fifteenth year.

Age 16—November 2010—start of sexual contact with “boyfriend.” She wore a silver wedding ring as a symbol of their commitment and was often in continual texting contact with him. It appeared that he was directing her in all other relationships and activities—even in therapy!

Age 18—May 2012—break up with boyfriend. It was clear that he had broken with her although she was reluctant to admit the relationship was finished. There was a nearly immediate change in her behavior. Besides the sadness, she became more open to other friendships and to pursuing other interests including plans for college. However, he reappeared in her life in July of that year, but she had made it clear that she had no intention of running off with him or of spending the rest of their lives together.

Although the orphanage through which she was adopted is an enlightened social service agency with social workers who seem to have been very committed to their young charges and to finding good adoptive parents for them, records of the children's earlier history were sparse and, as seems typical in Siberia, there were no records of geographic or ethnic family origins, or religious identity. Medical and education records likewise were sparse. Before Svetlana and her sister Katarina parted, the latter promised Svetlana that when she would be older and she had made a home for herself, Svetlana would come to live with older sisters. Her younger brother Yuri was placed in an orphanage close by and they were able to visit each other often.

The grandmother she believes was her mother's mother looked much as she, Svetlana, with blue eyes, brown hair, and medium complexion and somewhat smaller than Svetlana's mother. She believes that her grandmother also lived in Irkutsk and the man she believes was her father had dark skin, hair, and eyes. There were women she referred to as "grandmother" but doesn't know if and how they were related to her, and there are no records of whether they were blood relations. Her eldest sister married when she was 16 or 17, and by the time Svetlana left Siberia, was giving birth to her first child. She had a closer relationship with the sister next to eldest, and her relationship with Pavel, the brother six years her senior, was strained, as was her relationship with her younger brother who she described as, "living in another world" and unable to learn or share anything. From her descriptions of him and the fact that their mother was alcohol-addicted, as was their violent father, he was probably born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. Svetlana was herself a premature new born with low birth-weight, at a little over four pounds. She has neurologically based learning disabilities traceable to either or both prematurity, poor prenatal nutrition and care, and maternal alcohol abuse. She knows her mother was killed by "a bad man" who possibly was a boy friend in a drinking bout or a fit of jealousy or something about which Svetlana has no recollection.

Prior to this, she and her little brother had, when she was five, been staying in the home of her grandfather when he was beaten to death by her father. She witnessed this from a "hiding place." Following that trauma, she and her brother returned to her mother's home. For the next two years they lived with her mother until she was killed. Her older brother and sister were put into an orphanage suitable for their age group—they would age out and have to be on their own after they reached 16. The two younger children, however, were in different centers not far from each other during her first year there, her sister, Katrina was in the same facility. When the latter aged

out and went to a place for adolescents, she felt truly alone and entirely dependent on pleasing her peers as well as the adults in charge.

Although Svetlana recalls the place as a happy one, it is worth noting that she described most of the people and places she remembered as “happy” and that it was always good to be happy or happier. She could recall going to her mother’s funeral and the cemetery for the burial. She thinks she was Catholic, but that, too, is a foggy memory. When she discussed her religious affiliations she said that different religious “missions” would come by and give food and gifts to the locals and whichever came last they would join. There are other things she remembers, like her eldest sister’s wedding and her wedding dress and the party and having been given alcoholic drinks at celebrations. She remembers one of her “grandmothers” having a small horse for delivering canisters of fresh milk. She would ride the horse and make deliveries. In the summer, she recalls the beach at the lake and jumping into the cold water but cannot recall having learned to swim then. These last “memories” cannot be confirmed and are likely to be Svetlana’s attempts to “normalize” her story.

Svetlana knows that in the orphanage she didn’t own anything. Everything belonged to everyone including clothes, toys, and even underwear. Now at age 18, Svetlana needs to feel possession of her own things and shops for underwear at the glamorous Victoria’s Secret. Ownership is in fact an important, if not primary, value for Svetlana. She is the exclusive “owner” of her past and doesn’t want to share it. She vacillates between unwillingness to tell her story and denying any part of it that has been revealed by her adoptive mother. It’s as though the only control she experiences is this, the control of her own story and she changes it, denies all or part of it, and “forgets.”

Significantly, Svetlana’s place of “safety” was with her peers. In her birth family, particularly, her sisters, and later, in the orphanage, she tried hard to have friends and be friends with everybody. She adopted the motto “always look forward, never look back” and managed to lock the door on all memories. She incorporated her wishes into memories of reality. For example, she said her sisters often came to visit. In fact, they didn’t. She believed that her eldest sister would adopt her. In fact she didn’t even try. But in her behavior, Svetlana repressed these “wish memories” and thereby wiped out all memory.

At the age of eight she was selected for a new program the institution was developing. They would notify American applicants for adoptions that they would be bringing a dozen or so adoptable orphans to their location in Florida for several weeks of living with prospective adoptive families. If the first family situation didn’t work out they would try another. That was how Svetlana met the couple who eventually did adopt her, Jim and Janet. They

fell in love with Svetlana when she stayed with them. She was apparently very bright, learned English fairly quickly and formed good relationships with their large extended family. Best of all, from the start she was very keen on issues of right and wrong and had, it seemed, an innate sense of moral judgment well beyond her years. The process of adoption in Russia is complicated, but was accomplished during one trip to Russia and Siberia. During their time in Moscow dealing with the official requirements for adoption, Svetlana took on the role of official guide and seemed composed and poised. But as she departed from the orphanage with her adoptive parents, leaving her sister behind, she cried. She has rarely expressed her grief otherwise and other times. Asked if she would like to return for a visit, she asks “Why? No, I don’t want to go back.”

They brought her back to the home she had visited in Florida. It was near the homes into which three other orphans from Siberia were placed. Her adoptive parents were quite conscientious in ensuring that she frequently met with the others as well as age peers in her extended family. She now had two adoptive grandmothers with whom she had mutual adoration relationships; uncles, aunts, cousins, and a stepsister and stepbrother who were already adults with children near her age. They had a dog and a couple of cats and Svetlana was encouraged to enjoy affectionate relationships with these and a plethora of stuffed animals as well.

Svetlana progressed well with learning English and did quite well in school. She had friendships and communicated with her parents. Although she refused to call them “Mom” and “Dad” she would refer to them as such in conversations with others. The family moved to Washington, DC area three years after the adoption. They chose a home in a close-in suburb where the public school system is highly regarded and the town and schools are known to have an international population of ambitious, high performing families.

When I met Svetlana she was 17, and she had just suffered an episode of Hysterical Conversion reaction. In ninth grade, Svetlana had befriended several other girls whose friendship and respect was extremely important to her. She had been awarded a prize for having the most beautiful hair of any girl in the school. This apparently became a signal to the other girls to deride her hair and her looks generally and she let them cut off her hair and dye it.

Svetlana had naturally thick, wavy chestnut hair with natural highlights. In fact, she is a naturally beautiful young woman with violet eyes, long dark lashes, and a medium complexion that is bright and rosy. She is naturally athletic, proficient in swimming, soccer, basketball, and track. She appears to be taller than she is and her arms and legs are well proportioned.

She had fallen in with a clique of bullies who were themselves isolates from the majority and carried their anger and bitterness to engaging in asocial behaviors. For them she was, by her very good looks and talents, the “natural victim” for their predatory impulses. In more than one instance, the girls were caught shoplifting and she became, through their testimony, the culprit.

She suddenly went blind. Her frantic parents took her for every kind of ophthalmologic evaluation. The doctors found her eyes normal.

Many of the symptoms of her experiences and the threats she feared of further bodily harm to herself and her parents, led to her withdrawal from all of the activities she had enjoyed and excelled in. She became reclusive, self-destructive. Her mother found matches in her bed and removed them, but Svetlana had burn scars on her arms. Svetlana refused to discuss any of this. Svetlana began obsessive using the word “rape” and dressing provocatively. Her eating habits changed drastically. Each of these behaviors lasted a couple of weeks and then dissipated, but the changes in her previously sunny disposition were dramatic and devastating.

As her parents interpreted it, “She is so focused on need of friendship that she’s an easy target to be controlled, used for others’ means, even if not appropriate, and harmed physically and emotionally just so she can be accepted, and I don’t think she understands this as bullying.”

She met, through one of these “friends,” a 16-year-old youth, Marcelo, from an immigrant family, who became her boy friend, and they became “steadies” (her only love relationship is with a boy who appears to be prototypically asocial) and, like these girlfriends, was domineering, bullying and demanding her exclusive attention. He alienated her from her parents as well as the friends she made in the new, private school into which her parents enrolled her when the bullying at her previous school was doing serious bodily harm to her at school and during the school day.

Her parents discovered them in bed together and apparently involved in sexual activity. They forbade any company except downstairs where they could be readily monitored. But then Svetlana gave him the keys to the house and he entered the house surreptitiously when her parents had turned in for the night and the two spent nights in her bedroom, presumably engaged in sexual behaviors. Her attachment to this young man lasted for two years. During this time she rejected her new classmates’ efforts at friendship and dating, and preferred, she said, to consider them friends, while she wore the silver “wedding band” given her by the boyfriend she “loved” and persisting in talking about leaving when she would become 18 and with him working together at a Taco Bell while setting up housekeeping.

In her new school she was well liked by her peers, had classes that were smaller, more individually tailored, and the teacher-pupil ratio was quite favorable. She became engaged in a college preparatory academic program.

When I began working with her, I needed to get some kind of diagnostic assessment, especially given her reticence about discussing her past, or her present boyfriend relationship. I used a battery of personality tests including the MMPI-A; The Youth Depression Inventory; the Traumatic Stress Inventory; and the Story Sequence Analysis of the TAT (Arnold 1963).

Interestingly, her answers to the MMPI-A, questions a year ago seemed to be from the asocial perspective of those who had bullied her and of the boyfriend. She wouldn't talk about any of them, stating that this was "private." She had so completely internalized these values, ethics, and behaviors as the right ones, that she had repressed, denied, and grown alienated from the values and beliefs evidenced prior to these relationships.

This is the dynamic of an individual lacking a sense of self or identity. It is also characteristic of adolescence, a period in which the individual is trying out new and different life scripts and experimenting with the way they present themselves physically, socially, and emotionally. Furthermore, she was so convinced that she was bad and wrong, guilt-ridden about all that had come before, that she expected punishment from others as proof they cared about her.

Adolescents usually become much more sensitive to what their peers think of them and are likely to rebel against their parents' values and the value of those parents in favor of peer influences. Svetlana, more than most teenagers, had become extremely reliant on peer support. Her internal "script" gave her identity primarily through peers rather than from significant adults and/or siblings. Earlier, she had received contradictory directives and injunctions and an idea of herself as "bad" from some of the adults and apparently got supportive attachment only from her older sisters. They were the stable figures in her life.

Her older brother, like all the other men she knew and knew of, was a bully, demanding obedience and having authority even over life and death. She knew about her mother's and possibly her sisters' search for love, and not having stable attachments. Her attraction to a domineering boyfriend rather than to the other young men in her new school was much more consistent with what she expected as to who she would be and what she could expect from life.

Peer valuation was more important to her than parental directives or modeling. In her adolescence this has left her even more susceptible to bullying, peer pressure, and resistant to parental attachment. Svetlana also

suffered an Attachment Disorder as a child and displays all of the symptoms from an unresolved failure to attach. Unfortunately, she expresses it in her rejection of her adopting parents and their very consistent nurturance.

One technique that proved somewhat useful in opening the conversation with her and her parents in family group therapy was Berne's Transactional Analysis. Her mother is particularly keen on reading and adopting analyses and techniques from books and we had several sessions of successfully analyzing their transactions with Svetlana, recognizing her need to transact adult-adult and all of us realizing that she was very unresponsive to parent-child transactions.

Apparently, she had interpreted bullying behaviors as child-child playful transactions, and in her relationship with her boyfriend had very limited transacting from any ego state other than child-child—or sometimes he was the controlling adult and she was the child. She was more often trying to please him in whatever way he directed than genuinely forming a relationship with him.

Svetlana struggles with expressions of grief, loss, and pain, and remains unable to respond appropriately to traumatic situations. Therapy with Svetlana continues to be a work in progress and her relationship with her parents continues to show symptoms of extreme emotional blockage, and typical of the defense mechanism of denial. Her Traumatic Stress Inventory, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and Beck Depression Inventory indicated that she uses Defensive Avoidance of disapproval to keep her from falling into emotional chaos. Fortunately, however, she has begun to recognize herself as having the ability to succeed academically and to be a "good" woman. This is a beginning, but it took 3,000 years of denigrating and destroying females to make Svetlana so void of memory and so lacking in positive identity.

CHAPTER 8

Celtic Europe: Slaves of Slaves or Queens and Warriors

When the ice age ended in Europe and hominids began to grow their own food supply, *Homo sapiens* migrated from Africa and Eurasia north through the Caucasus. The earliest nomadic, foraging people formed farming villages reflecting the kinship nature of the bands who resided in these village farms. These groups were larger than the families and bands of the Stone Age even as kinship remained the basic organizing principle. In contrast with the nomadic family bands, these communities required permanent residences and systems of communication and relationships in contrast with the nomadic herdsman that previously constituted bands of a couple of dozen families. As the earth warmed and shepherding became a practical means for producing food and clothing, when the last of the Mammoths were killed or died off because of the climate change in late Neolithic times, early hunters obtained these basics by cultivating sheep and goats. The Celts probably with other ethnicities moved up from the Arabian Peninsula through the Caucasus and their place of primary settlement appears to have been in Central Europe (Lucy Seifers 2012). The Celts made their first appearance, according to archeological finds, in the late Bronze Age excavations of central Europe in the last quarter of the second millennium BCE. Their Celtic descendants in central Europe were the people of the Iron Age Hallstadt Culture from 800 to 450 BCE and later La Tene period from 450 BCE to the Roman conquest.

As these communities evolved they became tribes that included hundreds and were then joined by other Celtic language groups and thousands of people who required ways of classifying relationships between individuals,

families, and more extended kinship connections. There is archeological evidence of work divisions by gender and relative equality between families although inequalities were limited by the need for cooperation and survival in trade and conflict with other communities. As described in an earlier chapter, the informal bonds of language, mores, morals, beliefs, and a system of regulating relationships became (please refer to figure 1.1 here) a society that was multiethnic in contrast to other tribal societies of the time. The Celts were a language group whose informal culture both reflected the values of the collectivities that attached to it and incorporated the latter into the larger Celtic culture.

These informal collectivities formalized into societies with institutions and a legal system that supported them and circumscribed all of these through an economic system. When the laws are the formalization of the indigenous, informal culture, there is consistency between the institutions—most essentially—the family, and the economic and institutional surround. If, on the other hand, the legal system is one that is imposed and therefore becomes the support for these institutions, there is prospective alienation of the indigenous people. Colonialism does exactly that. It is the imposition of an alien social system. This is a critical formulation for understanding why rebellions transpire and why, contrarily, systems can change or absorb change.

In contrast with the Scythians, Romans, and Greeks, Celts are identified archeologically by their languages, arts and culture rather than their establishment of hierarchies and institutions. Thus, this ethnolinguistic group spread around central Europe during the Iron Age. Their first presence was in 1000 BCE to 800 BCE documented by archeological findings in the Halstadt cemetery in Austria. But relics of their presence during that period extend into Slovakia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Germany, France, and the Iberian Peninsula. They were widespread in Europe from the Atlantic and beyond in the west to the Balkans, Bulgaria, and Anatolia in Turkey in the east. These latter connections suggest very strongly that this and perhaps other ethnic and tribal peoples emigrated from Africa into Europe through Eurasia and the Caucasus. There are archeological records of Celtic peoples essentially identified through their cultural similarities and technologies rather than any written language. About 200 years after Moses led the Israelites into Canaan, there were Celts who led a slave rebellion against Ptolemy II in Egypt and were already present in much of Europe as Greek scribes reported.

Some of their ubiquitous presence may be attributed to their having been captured and sold into slavery. Celts, Slavs, Jews, Thracians, and most of the other European tribal ethnics were widely marketed by Arab traders and

later kidnapped from their villages by Barbary Corsairs. There is no evidence that the prehistoric Celts held slaves themselves. This may be because they tended to settle into permanent clan or relationship-based communities. We do know that in Ireland and England at the time of the Roman Empire, Celts held hostages and that a fourth-class category evolved as they captured combatants and enslaved them or incorporated them into their warrior class. They were likely themselves to be enslaved by their conquerors.

From Eurasia to the westernmost reaches of Europe there were several groups of tribes with a common Indo-European language that had already undergone variations depending is part on their proximity to other groups and environmental receptivity to other cultures in Eurasia and later in Europe. We know that there were Celtic tribes and villages in the Crimea at the time. The Romans, Greeks, and before them, the Egyptian and ancient Sumer Empires had active slave markets in which Arab traders sold Celtic and other slaves. Many were captured and marketed through Arab traders who managed caravans of “Human merchandise” through the Mediterranean rim and Eurasia, even into China and the Indian subcontinent; North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa to Zanzibar. Males usually were sold to be Galley slaves, sometimes soldiers. (The Ottoman Turks later used their European Christian slave boys to become Janissaries’ or elite warriors who were very successful in victorious campaigns in the Balkans). In either case they would be worked to death. Children were sold for household slaves often used as sex slaves by their masters who engaged in pedophilia as entertainment. Women were put in the Harem. According to the Code of Hammurabi the child born of a slave woman was automatically the slave of her master who could then sell the child at will. Evidently, there was, through the years, a degree of environmental receptivity to Celtic languages and ways and vice versa among the various tribal neighbors. Celts were Iron Age inventors. They produced the tools for farming, building, and war.

Druidism

They were a Shamanistic society but unlike Shamanistic societies in Asia and Africa their spiritual icons were differentiated by gender attributions. For instance, goddesses reigned over rivers, lakes, valleys, and other natural features of the earth. Gods reigned over thunder, lightening, war, wealth, and animals of prey or of command. Women named the goddesses after features of the earth and men’s names graced the gods who commanded forces of nature and animal powers. Another gender distinction peculiar to the Celts, was that the men wore trousers and the women, long, loose gowns. They loved color and made their clothes of different colors and later, when

they wove and spun their own fabrics were among the earliest people to use dyes from vegetable substances. These clothing distinctions were found in digs in which their art objects, decorated ornaments of gold and other metals at the Hallstadt Cemetery in Austria and in seven distinct venues in Bohemia and Moravia, now provinces of the Czech Republic. Their essentially egalitarian social organization absorbed neighboring or environmental phenomenon.

They were dreaded warriors because the men carried a long heavy iron sword and went into battle naked with blood curdling shrieks. According to Roman chroniclers, the Celts, or Gauls (Gaels) as they were also called, were the original “terrorists.” The Romans described them thus 3,000 years ago. Josephus identified Celts in the Roman army where they were attributed to have been gambling for Jesus’ loincloth or robe at the foot of the cross, for example. They did engage in dice games—dice were found in the relics of their ancient habitat in Hallstadt. The men wore trousers unlike their contemporaries in all but the Scythian tribes. Perhaps they copied trousers from these neighbors. Celtic men wore facial hair—thick mustaches. They went into battle naked emitting terrifying shrieks and they carried elongated trumpet like instruments that made a sound as terrifying as their appearance. They also wielded the ultimate weapon for that historic period—the long iron sword and invented the spear. As skilled artisans with metals, they developed this art to its apex in Europe. Only in Asia did the craft of sword-making eventually exceed the products of the ancient Celts. This is only one of many commonalities and connections between the Celts and the people of the Indian subcontinent and, of course, Siberia. The Druids are another.

The Survival of the Insular Celts

We know that there were Celtic tribes and villages in the Crimea at the time of the Romans, Greeks, and in ancient Sumer and Egypt enslaved and sold by Arab slavers throughout Africa and the Mediterranean rim. In the last two centuries BCE, the Romans scattered the Celts to all parts of their European empire. In south central Europe the settled Celts were overrun by the Slavs, Huns, and Teutonic tribes that differed greatly from the Celts and by some accounts were more violent. But hundreds of years earlier, the Celtic peoples were believed to be a minority Aryan military society who rode into Europe from the Russian steppes and imposed themselves and their farming culture on the settled populations who were not Indo-European. The language, Common Celtic gradually divided into two forms of spoken Celtic. The Continental Celts developed the form

known as Brythonic simplifying the case endings and losing the neuter gender and dual number. This Brythonic form later spread to Britain where it displaced the earlier Goidelic form. On the continent it remained as Gaulish. The main recognizable difference between the two forms is the substitution of P for Q in the Brythonic which, later became the vernacular in the final redoubt of the Insular Celts, Ireland, in the first four and five centuries CE. Gearoid Mac Niocaill (1972) refers to this period as the generations of Chaos, between the fourth and seventh centuries. The language itself went from Primitive Irish to Old Irish and by the end of the change, it was impossible for anyone to recall the former or use it. Since the culture and tradition were primarily oral and in this change much of ancient Irish (Celtic) history was lost. Transmission of history, practices, and traditions in writing was prohibited by the Druidic practitioners (who were the guardians of the language, philosophy and history) from commitment to writing had much to do with the loss. Exacerbating this problem were the plagues Mac Niocaill describes. Family and clan politics and stratification into classes evolved before the Vikings' raids and trafficking in slaves. Widespread trafficking continued to victimize the settled Celts in Ireland even as it had in central Europe. As the story goes, the Anglo-Saxon captive, Patrick, a shepherd boy was kidnapped and sold again into slavery in Ireland and later returned to Ireland to convert the Irish to Christianity. We know factually that the entire community of Baltimore in Cork was captured by slavers and sold off. The Romans sold the Irish Celts into slavery as did the Vikings a couple of hundred years later. But the story of Patrick and stories about him are more likely myth than fact. As we shall see below, Patrick was an iconic figure in Druidic lore that was transformed in *The Book of Armagh* into a Christian saint. His sainthood was not apparently ever officially recognized and in the 1990s his name was removed from the Calendar of Saints. Some in Ireland viewed this as the ultimate revenge of the Romans on the Celts!

There are indications that they were a cultural collectivity of tribal groups with a common linguistic identity. They were related tribal groupings and migrated in waves rather than as a conquering horde like the Mongols or the Scythians. More significantly Celts were recognizable by their particular crafts and lifestyle. For instance, their presence in what is now Portugal was evidenced by their iron work and building their permanent houses in circles. Circular houses and design of villages is remarkably similar to the Bo Pan, a society of Amazonian women in ancient China near Xian (Fields, 1976). They were often misrepresented by the Greeks and Romans as uncivilized savages because in fact, they rejected incorporation into Greek civilization and were bitter and often victorious enemies of the Romans.

An Exemplary Tribe of Celts

The Celtic tribe of “Boii” settled in what is now the Czech Republic where there have been significant archeological findings in Moravia. The Celtic tribes of Boii meaning “terrible” earlier invaded Roman terrain and were repulsed by the latter as they had been by the Greeks. In 387 BCE, they had seized Rome and pressed forward into all of Europe. After 200 BCE, they were conquered by Rome and but relatively few were “Romanized.” This may be because the Romans tried to impose their religion that was inimical to the Druid practices and beliefs of the Celts. An example of the distinction—in fact, the opposition of the two was that the Druids carved their gods and symbols into trees and their memorials in wood. The Romans carved their gods in stone and exhibited no qualms about destroying forests (sacred to the Celts) to build a stone temple on a hill. The Romans demanded their occupied populace pay taxes to support these marble temples. Even though their opponants often fled in terror because the Celts were reputed to be cruel warriors who collected and displayed the heads of conquered enemies.

The Celts were also excellent farmers, builders, craftsmen, artists, and merchants. The first central European settlement became known by their name as Boiohsemum in Latin that became Bohemia. Their system of tribal organization was also distinguished from other nomadic tribes perhaps because they made their first appearance in what is now Turkey alongside the Scythians. Their experience of wars, kidnappings, and enslavement established a fiercely protectionist tribal ethic. Everyone in their villages or clans was related and descended from a common ancestor. They would take enemies for hostage and sometimes enslave them but distinct from other tribes and peoples, they also gave manumission to slaves and slaves were not hereditary as in the Code of Hammurabi. They had a relatively brief history of nomadic experience that eschewed excessive accumulations of things and people to care for. In fact, a kind of natural birth control through prolonged breast feeding served as a population control and was necessitated by their lifestyle. In this nomadic tribalism as experienced in other ethnic groups, females, the infirm, and the aged were often viewed as excess “baggage” and left to die. Some of this may well have happened in some nomadic Celts, but the evidence of the Boii, the Gaul, and Gaels suggests otherwise. Gravesites excavations reveal that often the tools of the warriors were intermingled with the jewelry and clothing of females and that women were not assumed on the basis of gender alone to be in any way inferior nor categorized as “repositories for family honor,” nor as property nor chattels as we shall see under Brehan law. Just as the class and clan chose chieftains and kings, women could exert choice in what level of wife or kind of relationship they would

commit to. Women and children were not items of exchange or barter and episodic famines seem to have been unlikely natural enemies. They got their foodstuffs in hunting and gathering, stored and preserved their meats and generally provided well at communal feasts in halls and longhouses that accommodated very large numbers. They were Communitarian in that they shared as a community or as a clan—a large extended family with common ancestry.

The system of tribal organization of the Celts was also reflected in their fortifications. Their walls were up to three meters wide and reinforced by logs filled with stones. The front wall was made of shaped stones joined without mortar. Between their front wall and the gated tower was a narrow runway that was a death trap for anyone breaching the outer wall. Unlike other tribal societies, the Celts appear before 200 BCE, to have completed their nomadic existence and were instead building permanent residences with institutions evolved from their Druidic beliefs. Ultimately their central European homeland was overrun by conquering Slavs, Huns, and Teutons, all of whom battled for supremacy with the Romans and sometimes were allied with the Gauls against the Roman occupiers and finally turned against the Celts while the latter sought refuge scattering to the north and west. The Celts were in a perpetual and episodic war with the Romans. The latter invaded and occupied all of the Celtic lands on the continent and the lands of the Insular Celts in England. They never occupied Ireland nor defeated the fierce resistance by the Celts of what are now Scotland, Wales, and the west of England.

Characteristically the Celts were a stratified society in three and later, four pyramidal layers. The chieftains elected ever-higher chiefs, who in turn elected a high chief; the Druids or priests, scholars, poets and musicians, and the ordinary members of the tribe who were warriors. Women's status was based on her family of origin but it was fluid and she changed her "belonging" through her marriage or marriages rather than a place on the stratification hierarchy per se. As we shall see when we look at Druidic religion and Brehan law, there were these places for men. Yet there were women, both mythic and historic who (Te Danuum) trained men in the arts of war and women who reigned as chiefs or queens (Maeve) and Boadicea; Priestesses, dramatized by Bellini in his opera, *Norma*.

Slavery

At least as early as 1760 BCE, slavery was an established institution. But slaves were usually captives in war and deemed desirable property when their captors intended to occupy their territorial claim or take them off to work their own territory. This was not a useful property for nomads unless they

could market the slaves as well as capture them. Slave ownership was useful in multilayered societies and those permanently in residence on a large piece of territory to which they made claim. Given the archeological finds of Celtic villages in central Europe, they marked out their territory with walled-in villages designed for defense against prospective invaders. At this level of urbanization and development of agrarian and herding pursuits, the tribes needed a legal system to establish and enforce their property rights. The finds at Halstadt and other central European burial sites appeared to indicate social and gender equality among the Celts. The ancient Celtic cemetery revealed that in death there was a kind of rough equality. That is to say most were buried with the everyday tools and ornaments deemed typical of their lives; their primacy in developing weapons of iron allowed them to advance through the forests and defeat would-be predators, were they human or beast. Celts were among the first mercenary warriors serving the rulers of the classical world. A few had more and finer funereal treasures than the rest, but not much when compared with the range of class differences suggested with the Egyptian burials. This near equality of possessions between the chieftains, the kings, and the commoners prevailed in Celtic Scotland, Wales, and Ireland until the coming of the Normans. The fierce competition between clans and families was for possession of cattle and territory. It was also expressed in competitive games. Contrary to the games of the Greeks that emphasized individual prowess, Celtic games were competitive teams or, like dice, games of chance. Slavery didn't serve the needs of hunter-gatherer societies but was known in ancient Assyria and India. Slavery or enslavement likely engulfed thousands of Celts as they made their way from Turkey to central Europe. We know that Celtic slaves rose against Ptolemy II in ancient Egypt and against the Hittites as well as the Romans after them. The Celts were in close contact and probably interbred with Shamanistic cultures while spreading their own language and beliefs. That would explain similarities with other Indo-European groups and also spread through mergers and alliances against the Romans. By the third or fourth millennia BCE, there were four or five castes or classes of Celts on the continent: the chieftains, the Druids, the warriors, the commoners or farmers, and a fifth class composed of criminals and prisoners of war who were slaves. Their extensive spread and evidence of their relics indicate relationships with ancient Hinduism of India and suggestions that they were a branch of Aryans.

There were further similarities in ornamentation and in written symbols in Oghum—the early written language of their past. These evidenced in developed villages and farmland. We also know that their ornamentation designs had much in common with those of Asia especially India. Besides

being Shamanistic with many gods and goddesses there was a gender distinction male gods and the men who worshipped them were identified as forces of nature. Thus, there was the god of thunder; of wind, and rain. Goddesses and the women, who worshipped them, were named for or by rivers, lakes, and valleys. Their holy places were wooded areas and waters. The root of the word “Druid,” can be recognized as “meaning one who is immersed in knowledge” (Ellis, p. 38). The origins of the word Druid is also believed to be derivative from oak trees or in their favorites—the yew, hazel, and rowan trees. Ellis cites the scholar Dr. Daithi O hOgain of University College, Dublin, as follows: “The favorite tree of the Druids, however, was clearly the rowan and it was on the wattles of this tree that Irish practitioners slept in order to have prophetic visions. The hazel tree was important as evidenced by the Druid’s name MacGuill (son of hazel) and by the lore concerning the hazel trees at the source of the River Boyne, the nuts of which had a nucleus of wisdom (Ellis, p. 38).

The oak had an important role in early Christianity in Ireland and was the earliest sacred tree in Ireland. Many early churches were built on the site of Druidic oaks. Ellis references Brigid’s monastery at Kildare, which in Gaelic means Church of the Oak. Thus, the origin of the Druid may be traced to the food-gathering age when it was seen as a symbol of plenty in 4000 BCE when people were collecting acorns and storing them. The oak was viewed as the most venerable tree of the forest and the hardiest and most useful. Archeological findings reveal that the early Europeans built their houses of oak wood and built their fires of the same. For more than a thousand years, acorns along with grain provided a major food source for the Celts of Europe. By the start of the first millennium BCE all learned men and women of their society were designated as having “oak knowledge.” The oak tree was the symbol of a high god or the father of the gods. It was, indeed, the ancient phallic symbol.

The Romans who had become the imperial power in Europe not only determined to “civilize” the Celts—or Romanize them, but also saw their religion as an obstacle to that objective. The class of scholars, professionals, poets, and artists were all called Druids. But to outsiders and historians, “Druid” became the name for the religion itself. In the part of Gaul that became France, the Romans tried to extirpate Druidic temples and priests. A dramatization of that struggle is the libretto in the opera “Norma” by Bellini that is roughly placed in the part of Normandy, now Rouen. In Roman times, that city became the administrative center for the Romans. But the Celts appeared in Greek sources from the fifth to the sixth century BCE almost four centuries before the first references to the Druids in Continental Europe. Despite their prowess in warfare and their skills in

social organization, the Celts retired from their central European territories under pressure from the Germanic and Slavic tribes who, while the Romans attacked them from the northwest and south, completed the encirclement. The embattled Celts moved to the Iberian Peninsula, and joined their tribal relations in Gaul (now France) as well as the islands of England and Ireland, including Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man. They are better known in the written works of their enemies than by their own histories, until the Christianization of Ireland and England, their exploits, culture, philosophy, and reasoning remained obscured from readership. Under the Druidic commitment these words, poems, songs, and narratives were transmitted by oral rather than through the written word. We know, however, that in ancient Europe, Celtic was the third language in the order of numbers or percentages of Europeans speaking a language.

The Druids

The Druids were a caste of Celts—the intelligentsia—wise men and women who became leaders in the age of hunter-gatherers, in large part because they knew the natural surround and what could be nourishment, medicinal, or healing and predict from the behavior, presence or absence of birds, insects and flora climate, weather, seasons, and the probability of drought or famine. They were found in very part of Celtic society but it was not until the second century BCE that the Greeks recognized that these learned functionaries had a name—Druids. The root of the word Druid can be recognized as meaning one who is immersed in knowledge (Ellis, p. 38). The origins of the word Druid is believed to be derived from oak trees or in their favorites—the yew, hazel, and rowan trees.

Martin O'Murchu has pointed out: “In Ireland there survives in Irish more extensive early records than for any other part of the Celtic world” (Ellis, p. 25). That is probably because of repeated risings against Roman domination followed by Roman reconquests in other parts of the Celtic world. The damage by violence to any kind of records is obvious. Again, history is written by the winners and the Romans had a corner on the market for producing history representing their perspective and destroying anything that contradicted that perspective. The Romans were never able to completely “pacify Gaul.” The “pax Romanis” lasted a few years and was broken by uprisings and incursions of the Insular Celts who came to the aid of their cousins in Gaul. They went to Gaul to support their “cousins” in another rising against their Roman occupiers. The Romans made a final attempt to invade the Insular Celts. In 69 CE, there was yet another rising of the Gauls and Tacitus remarked that the “Gaulish Druids” were taking a leading part and

prophesying the fall of Rome. This is one of the earliest notes on the Druids and their significance in the Celtic society and identity as well as the degree of threat attributed by the Romans to this religion. Significantly, the “glue” holding this otherwise diverse linguistic tribal society that elected their leaders at every level and where appropriate, recognized and respected the “Druidesses” as much as their male counterparts. Druids were their caste of scholars, spirituals, poets, and retainers of their history and tradition. In some ways, this is similar to the Brahmans of India, but the Brahmans in India were the leaders, directors, and upper caste. In Celtic society, Druids were not usually the leaders or chieftains but as the Brahmans in Hindu societies, the Druids were the philosophers, lawgivers, curative medical professionals. They provided treatment and even hospitals. The Druidic legal scholars developed the complex system of Brehan Law, which, as we shall see, recognized women’s value and full participation. Contrary to the descriptions of them by their Roman and Greek enemies, this tribal society was not nomadic, but agricultural and pastoral. It was highly evolved and sophisticated. As Peter Beresford Ellis points out: “It was only at the height of Celtic expansions that the Greeks and Romans began to speak of the Druids not as priests but as philosophers, judges, educators, in fact, as the native intellectual class of Celtic society and found throughout the world wherever Celts resided.” (Ellis 1995, p. 35). Even as the Celts or Gaels became famous in the classical world for the prowess as warriors and eventually became the mercenaries of many armies they were known for their intellectual prowess. To the east, they defeated combined army of Greek states and sacked the temple of Delphi, site of Pythia, the Greek oracle and priestess of Apollo around 366 BCE. Some of the treasures were later found near Toulouse in France. Some 20,000 Celtic warriors and their families were persuaded to cross into Asia Minor and established the Celtic State of Galatea where they were the first Celtic people to be converted to Christianity by Paul of Tarsus to whom he wrote his famous Epistle. There they earlier served Nicomedes of Bithymia against Antiochus of Syria. Coincidentally at the same time in Jerusalem and Modin, the Maccabees were raising a guerilla army to fight the Syrian occupiers who were forcing conversion to pagan gods on them. Particularly interesting is the reported phenomenon of the Celts bringing their families with them as they went to war in mercenary armies. In other warrior societies of the period, including the Romans, families were left behind. The class of warriors also functioned in India quite distinctly from the class of priests and scholars. Around 58 BCE, the Halveti led by Orgonix and his son-in-law Dumnorix, “brother of the chieftain and *Druid Divinacus* of the Awdui formed a Celtic alliance and began plans for a westward migration to escape the incursions of the Germanic and now Slavic tribes” (Ellis, p. 31). The

Romans were continuing to battle the Celtic Treveri I of Gaul and killed the leader of the “Gaulish” resistance and promptly took another expedition to Britain and succeeded in obtaining the formal submission of several “significant southern British chieftains. The Romans were never able to conquer the northern part of the island and tried to defend their conquest by building Hadrian’s Wall from coast to coast” (Ellis, p. 32). The Romans could never subdue the Celts over a lengthy period of time because Celts rebelled and rejected the Roman system of authority. While the Roman political system was based in their values it was inimical to the Celtic informal system.

And during the 360 years of their occupancy there were numerous rebellions and numerous insurrections. There was only one place in Europe that the Romans could not invade and hold subject—Ireland. By the later days of the Roman Empire when Christianity had taken hold and became the state religion only Ireland and northern Britain remained “pagan” and Celtic. And in the area that became England, the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons had invaded and all but annihilated the Celtic natives. As they spread through along with their Germanic cousins, across Gaul and Britain, the language changed but some, like French, still incorporated a large Celtic vocabulary. The survivors of the formerly predominant language civilization of Europe now survive in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Breton. And the history and culture are incorporated with the Druidic religion.

Boudica, a queen and widow of an Iceni king, educated by the Druids who died in battle against the Romans, has become an iconic figure for Britain and for those who identify with the ancient Celts. There are both myths and genuine history about Boudica and a statue of her mounted in a chariot swinging her weapon is outside the parliament building in London. Incidentally, she laid waste to London in her battle with the Romans. She was not a vapid Madonna figure.

Boudica, the Druids, and Brehan Law

Popular myth abbreviates the story of the Celtic warrior queen focusing on one traumatic episode of her rebellion against the Roman occupiers of her land in what is now East Anglia. If in the Druid religion and the Celtic tribal tradition, women were confined to a limited set of domestic roles, Boudica could never have happened. Likewise, absent her education and status, which was a function not only of her birth caste as a daughter of a chieftain and married to a king, but also her elevation to this position by choice of her peers in that caste and tribe her husband’s premature death might have resulted in the enslavement of the Iceni by the Romans. The Roman plan for the southern Brittanic Celts whose agricultural and

manufacturing provided major trade for the use of the Romans and for their own marketing with other nations, as to commandeer their goods and take the women to Rome to be sold in the slave markets. Descriptions of the Celts by Roman and Greek scholars declared the beauty of the people—tall and fair with very long reddish golden hair and alabaster skin and Boudica fit this description. She was born around 25 CE to a royal family and trained by the Druids. She practiced Druidic divination and was committed to her faith. Caius Suctonius Paullinius became governor of Britain in 58 CE. By the spring of 61 CE, he had reached his northwestern limit, the Druid stronghold on the Isle of Mona. Tacitus described the forces he faced: “The enemy lined the shore in a dense armed mass. Among them were black robed women with disheveled hair like Furies, brandishing torches. Close by stood Druids, raising their hands to heaven and screaming dreadful curses. For a moment the Romans stood paralyzed by fright. Then urged by Suctonius and each other not to fear a horde of fanatical women, they attacked and enveloped the opposing forces in the flame of their own torches. When the battle ended Suctonius garrisoned the island and cut down its sacred groves” (Oppenheimer, Stephen 2007 *The Origins of the British*). The Romans rationalized this destruction as “cleansing” these altars of human sacrifice. In fact, most of their sacrifices consisted of symbolic deposits of such valuable objects as jewelry and weapons into sacred wells and lakes. The Roman governor, according to Roman law, eschewed their treaties with the Iceni and their neighbors, with the death of Prasutagos, the King (elected chief), husband of Boudica. The Romans had distrusted the Iceni and prohibited their keeping weapons (as they did of any conquered peoples). The Iceni, as did the surrounding tribes, nevertheless maintained caches of weapons and the Roman administration determined to take back from the Iceni monies, they believed had been paid to them for trade and treaties. The Roman Procurator arrived at the Iceni court with his staff and a military guard to take inventory of what he regarded as Roman property. When Boudica objected, he had her flogged and her daughters raped in front of her.

At that point, Boudica decided that the Romans had been in Britain long enough and gathering up her neighboring tribes divined and raised her arms to the heavens from whence the favorable signal was issued. They moved against the Camulodinium in which was the Colonia built for retired legionaries and the Roman Temple built atop what had been a stand of Druidic forest and for which (the temple) the Romans expected the Celts to pay and make annual visits. Rebels inside the Colonia conspired to unnerve the superstitious Romans. Delirious women chanted of destruction at hand. Boudica’s army overran the town after two days of fighting. The legionary force available to defend Camulodinium was Legio IX Hispania with 2000 legionnaires and

500 cavalry. Boudica ambushed and slaughtered the infantry. The cavalry took shelter at Londonium. Catus Decimus had fled to Gaul and Suetonius declared the town evacuated but many of the women and elderly stayed. Boudica killed and butchered everyone she found. Verulamium met a similar fate. It had cooperated with the Romans and gained status as a *municipium* with self government and eligibility for Roman citizenship. Boudica again slaughtered and butchered everyone alive as vengeance for their willing association with Rome. Suetonius had gathered a force of 10,000 men as compared with Boudica's 200,000, but his tactics were those of a conquering army while she, accustomed to fighting a guerilla war with a very large, technologically less sophisticated in weaponry, and chariots had a less unmaneuverable force, and met him on an open field. However, he had his army deployed through a narrow redoubt with nothing behind him and no way for armed infantry or cavalry to get behind him and no way for any force to gather behind or on his flanks. The Celts chariots were too light to reach the flanks of the enemy when they emerged in a wedge formation from the valley. Tacitus reported an overwhelming Roman victory in which the Romans lost 400 but 70,000 Britons in addition another 80,000 died in the attacks on the three cities. Nonetheless, the Britons were regrouping and preparing to fight again. Tacitus reports that Boudica took poison while Suetonius received reinforcements and employed a punitive policy ravaging with fire and sword all he believed hostile. The Britons had expected to break into the Roman grain stores and enlisted all available men in the army, according to Tacitus and a famine ensued. We must keep in mind that Tacitus, the historian, was a Roman and not fond of the rebels or their rebellion. But Nero dispatched one of his administrators, to investigate and he agreed that Suetonius continued to provoke and lose ships and their crews to British raids. He was recalled. Margaret Donsbach writes: "But as time passed, Britannia became an orderly and respected part of the Roman Empire. It remained so for another three centuries. Boudica's people finally won what it seems they had wanted all along: respect, peace and a government that treated them with justice and honor" (Donsbach, *Military History* magazine; April 2004). Migrations of other peoples diluted Celtic dominance and culture over time and the language became arcane in England—except in Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland. Celtic history would have been unexplored but for the survival of Celtic language and Brehan Law in Ireland.

Druidic Existentialism in Ireland

It is clear that their religion and system of law we might assume derived from the Druids, the sustaining force—the essential connectivity that forms the

society. The basic social unit was the *tuanth*, the family, or *fine*, which is Irish for kinship group. It included much more than the conjugal family of parents and children. It was made up primarily of all those males who had a great grandfather in common, up to and including second cousins. The *derbfine* is a wider kinship group that might in certain circumstances have a function as a five generation group; the six generation group is called the *inadfine*. Outside of this, the rights and responsibilities of kinship passed. These relationships had substance. But the reason the Celts in Ireland were probably the earliest existentialists was that the basic political unit, the *tuanth*—“a people”—existed because a group thought of themselves as such—a unit big enough to have a king—and if their neighbors also thought of them as such, then they were and not defined or limited by territory or numbers. Perhaps we could describe this manner of identity as “I think therefore I am.” Or perhaps, “we think we are and therefore we are we!” So also was the political connection among the families. The smaller units elected their king who in turn chose an over-king who had more such units and then a king over that one (each *fine* chosen and pledged fealty by the king of the smaller units) until there was a status hierarchy. Mac Niocaill says: “In some cases descent was inferred from status and a genealogy cooked up to fit the political facts: such are the Ui Failige who emerge at the end of the sixth century and by virtue of their political importance find themselves in due course credited with descent from Cathair Mar, from whom the Laigin ruling dynasty claimed descent” (1972, p. 29).

As is evident from this political organization or system of relationships, these were people quite unlike those regulated by ancient tribal law and family law encapsulated into this existential system would appear to exclude women. But that is far from the case. In this system, a woman belongs to a *fine* and is regarded as her *fine* is regarded but has further freedom of self definition because she may choose to marry a man of a different *fine*. In fact, she almost always does this. She is not confined to an arranged cousin marriage nor even to marriage with someone of her own “kingdom.” But her *fine* of origin remains ready to protect her rights in accordance with the nature of the relationship she chooses. Lest this sound too fantastic, the fact is that with four different classes of marriage and eight different conditions of marriage (some of these “temporary”) and some connections with “slave girls” (yes, the Celts in Ireland did acquire slaves), this wasn’t an absolutely egalitarian society. Kinship and kingship were matters of extended family relationships and full membership in a *fine* required military service if inheritance was to be gained. In short, women were barred from inheriting territory or cattle if they hadn’t served in war but the retribution to anyone who killed a woman was higher than that for killing a man. When,

in Christianity, women were prohibited from “military service” problems commenced on inheritance and property rights. It must be noted that in reviewing the history of women in ancient Ireland, it is time sensitive and place sensitive. There are changes and reversals in practice.

Major changes came not with just the onset of Christianity, which took several centuries to take hold and several Synods to attempt (after several hundred years) to bring the practice of Celtic Christianity into conformance with the rest of Europe. The Celts had never been receptive to foreign domination on matters of their family and political life. They would adapt or adapt practices they chose as exciting little damage to their common belief systems. Thus, the sites for monasteries and then basilicas were former hill forts and groves and just as women Druids had influence over practices by their facility with divination, curative medicine and philosophical or other intellectual pursuits, so also women religious in Christianity and female saints in early Ireland achieved renown for the same skills. Similarly, Druid “clergy” could marry and so in Ireland there were married Christian clergy except perhaps in the monasteries where monks and abbesses dedicated their lives to study including writing and illustrating the books they acquired from scholars in Egypt and other places in which monastic pursuits earlier commenced. The influence of the Eastern Church is seen in the seventh century writings of the “in Vitae” lives of exemplary saints and in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, which contains hymns of the fifth and sixth century. Saints Brigid and Patrick are known through their vitae in *The Book of Armagh* and probably served as transitional icons connecting the Celtic Druids with Christianity. Particularly interesting is the fact that these were a male and a female and that unlike many of the Roman and Eastern saints, the Celtic Irish saints were always scholars, teachers, and healers. One of the most significant residual cultural inheritance of the Irish and Scottish is the strength and endurance of the kinship connection. Thus, what happened to kin in the eighteenth century is told and retold as if it is happening today or yesterday. I was telling a Church of Ireland clergyman in Belfast, on a visit in 1972, that I would be joining my son in Wexford for the holidays. He looked at me in horror and said, “They’ve been burning our Churches in Wexford. (He was Church of England).” Shocked, when I returned to my hotel I phoned the family in Wexford with whom my son was staying and asked. He laughed and said “That happened three hundred years ago. There’s no Church burning happening here now” (Fields 1973). That was the beginning introduction to understanding “The Troubles.” I had been doing a study of the development in children of prejudice, violence, and discrimination—the roots of racism. I learned that truncation of moral development occurred at Piaget’s second Level—Vendetta and that vendettas is a basic

phenomenon in tribal societies. For the ancient Irish, it was evidenced in cattle raids and sometimes in hostage taking to seal an agreement between kinship groupings or fosterage. In the “Troubles” vendetta and old persistent tribal animosities, their graphic symbols, literature, and music reiterate violent retribution and/or victories over “foreign domination and imposition of foreign institutions.”

These take the form of Protestant versus Catholic or Monarchist versus republicanism or English versus Irish. In the end it comes down to tribal identities and the Celtic existentialism that proclaims “I am who I say I am” and “I attribute to you your identity in relation to me.”

Combined with the gender-role distinctions imposed through Christianity, in this case Church of Rome and Church of England, women’s role is and has been restricted. During the first half of the twentieth century women were limited to home and children with few choices of occupation or outlets for talents. If they had a scholarly bent they joined religious orders. If they had talent in the performing arts there were narrow possibilities for pursuit or, of course, emigration. Strikingly, the leaders of the Celtic Revival and of republicanism in Ireland during the first quarter of the twentieth century were several remarkable women who were not native of Ireland, nor were they Irish Catholics. The Countess Markowitz and Maude Gonne were probably best known, but they were not alone and there were then and in the period of the most recent “Troubles” women martyrs and leaders of organizations supporting their “side.”

And then there were, in the seventies, little girls like Trish one of five children of an impoverished family in the Lower Falls area of Belfast. Her father had gone off to England to get work because there was little employment for Catholics in Belfast. Her mother was more focused on her sons getting education and opportunities than she was on her daughters, and so little Trish wore the hand-me-downs from her brothers and, as she put it, “they think I’m a wee lad.” “They,” being the British soldiers, were omnipresent on the streets of Lower Falls always on the lookout for the Provisional or Official IRA. She was picked up and taken off to jail with the boys on several occasions and only when she was strip searched was her gender recognized. These were everyday traumatic experiences. If they were not targets, they witnessed raids in which their fathers or brothers or neighbors were shot and/or taken off to detention. Trish’s most significant trauma occurred when she was standing in the doorway of her house and shooting erupted on the street and a British soldier fell on her bleeding and moaning. She felt like she was suffocating. That trauma has never been appropriately treated. Today she is a middle-aged woman. Her life, her two surviving sons, her marriage to a farmer in the Irish Republic has been impacted. She feels that her life is

“stamped” with that horror. She was one of many children in the Therapy Play center I established in Lower Falls in 1972 and thereafter. Many children with whom I worked in those years have remained a ghostly (and some, a very lively) presence in my life and whenever I return to Northern Ireland I am literally swamped with tea and biscuits in their parlors and caught up on the latest news of who did what and who’s alive or not.

It was on one of those visits, I encountered the Falls Road Woman’s Collective and their very important project and what happened to the families of that embattled place and, of course, more to the point, what happened to the women. I think it’s important to point out that similar experiences of family disintegration, suicides, and psychological scars happened in the Loyalist (Protestant) areas as well and that the transgenerational heritage of xenophobia is not diminished even after the Good Friday Accords and all the Peace dividends contributed by British and Irish governments and non-profits. One of the reasons for the never-ending vendettas is that treatment for the mental damages of trauma has been placed in the venues of the paramilitaries themselves as they have become the core of political parties. That means that members who believe in the “cause” are providing “therapy” to those of similar beliefs and not treating the narrow, destructive tribal allegiances that generate vendetta. In Northern Ireland, a province of the United Kingdom, the National Health Service does not deliver the same quality and kinds of care as in England where military veterans and their families who suffered combat trauma, PTSD in Northern Ireland and abroad get up-to-date behavioral health and social services. In Northern Ireland there are Peace Walls covered with icons of threat and martyrs. This is a major sightseeing objective for tourists as is the renovated Crumlin Road Gaol in which thousands were tortured and imprisoned without charge or trial. The report indicates that even after 20 years (a generation after the cease fire), the rates of alcoholism, family breakdown, mental hospitalizations, lower life expectancy in the specific area most impacted by the Troubles than in three other Belfast parliamentary constituencies; ranked # 1 in the NI multiple Deprivation measure; high rates of dependency on prescription drugs; youth riots, shootings and vandalism exceed rates in other districts. Over all, in Northern Ireland, other studies have found higher incidence of suicides, births out of wedlock, increased numbers of children with learning disabilities, and increased alcoholic admissions to mental hospitals. The new neighborhoods are gated, fenced, and circular with signs or graffiti warning away anyone with iconic differences. Churches report decreased attendance even while the differences between communions are the pretexts for employment discrimination and intercommunal violence.

The Falls Road Women, aided by Professor Lesley Storey of Queens University, Belfast, presented this data in Symposium at the 2011 APA Convention.

Their findings can be compared with my own, reported in 1989 in a chapter entitled “Terrorized into Terrorist: Pete the Para Strikes Again” in O’Day and Alexander’s *Ireland’s Terrorist Trauma*.

Perhaps the one shining light in the Celtic winter darkness is that more women of both Loyalist and Republican political parties are elected to the local and UK parliamentary bodies and many of the women whose accomplishments in community service and community organization are gaining recognition and a place in governance. But Celtic tribalism seems endless, doesn’t it?

CHAPTER 9

Epilogue

Violence against women destroys women but as we have noted in the chapters on the Celts, China, Afghanistan, and Africa, it destroys entire societies and lingers on into many generations to destroy an entire culture. It is also a prelude and a predictor of violence against minority groups and against any who dare to be different. This book can be called a travelogue through time and geography examining the factors and conditions that prevent 50 percent of the world's population from contributing their full potential to improving the quality of life for the 100 percent. Starting where humans began—in Africa more than 400 million years ago hominids have progressed linguistically, technologically; evolving cultures, physiognomies, and practices. In Africa women especially women lacking an education and supportive family, become victims of sexual exploitation and criminal violence. There is the glorious example of the first African woman elected president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and the first African woman (in fact, the first African involved in environmental issues) to win a Nobel Peace Prize, Wangari Maathai in contradiction to the masses of African women destroyed and not counted. Women have always been the backbone of the African economy. Their work in agriculture and in the marketplace long ago supported their children.

Gradually, women in Africa are recognized internationally for important accomplishments, but the unfortunate overwhelming majority of women in Africa is neither counted nor is their violators and murderers made to account for their actions. In Egypt, the ancient practice of Female Genital Mutilation continues even while young Egyptian women become doctors, lawyers, engineers, and revolutionaries. Once the revolution is victorious, women are not included in the decision-making bodies or in the highest

levels of elected government. Women representing their countries in the 2012 Olympics are impeded by wearing body coverings and head pieces that handicap speed and agility.

In the Negev, I met Bedouin girls whose lives are and will be so different from their mothers, and grandmothers that the latter can't even comprehend their daughters' thirst for education and desire to exercise their bodies for themselves and to explore literature and poetry. Their mothers and grandmothers watch TV Arabian "westerns" with heroes on beautiful horses rescuing helpless girls from evildoers. To imagine their own granddaughters conducting investigations of drug dealers and gang bosses is incomprehensible but their nine-year-old descendants are imagining themselves doing just that and a lot of other adventures besides. Yet, over all of them hangs the shadow of potential honor killing even though in Israel these are illegal and violence against women is a criminal offence.

Not very far from where they live, the Heradi—ultraorthodox Jews have regressed to a stage of extremist religion that has been politicized to become sanctioned by State Silence in the same state that is insuring these Bedouin girls against honor killings. The pretext for restricting women on the street, in public transportation, and in public places, is that "the sight and/or sound of women is distracting men from prayer and adherence to their religious duties!" It seems to me that Judaism places a very strong expectation of personal responsibility for choices and behaviors. Therefore, men who cannot control their thoughts need to be segregated and taught how to achieve his in religious law. The Heradi punish little girls whose dresses are not down to their ankles and prohibit girls in their schools from learning the Talmud—the arguments about religious laws and practices and the Prophets; make women sit in the back of the public bus and restrict their choices in every dimension of their lives. Women in this society have a single purpose—breeding.

I'm reminded of the winter of 1982–1983 when I was in south Lebanon and when I finished my interviews in one high school rose to say "Thank you" and "Salaam" to the teacher who had allowed the visit. I stretched out my hand and he drew back as if electrified and I was told by my accompanying guide, "he can't ouch you unless you are married to him"! To which I said, "That's too pricey" and drew back. A week or two later I was in Jerusalem at a bank. I was in line behind some Heradi men. As the line increased in front of me, I noticed that they were letting in their fellows, even as I waited patiently and politely in this interminable queue. I kept saying, "Bvakasha" (Please) and getting no response. I looked at my hands and pushed the man in front of me. I was getting ready to push the one in front of him when they

noticed me and quickly cleared a path. I looked at my two hands and said to myself, “I have power! With my own two hands I can make these bullies afraid of me!” Their fear empowered me. Unfortunately, in other places or circumstances, a push from a woman is sufficient to signal her death.

In Afghanistan, the schizoid experiences encountered daily are literally driving people insane. There is no help or treatment available for them. And in India, little girls are sold to traffickers because that is the only way their families can get food and shelter while widows are homeless beggars or prostitutes. This is sanctioned by the state which, at the same time has become the fount of high technology and medical advancement!

In the place in which were found the oldest evidence of human (woman) habitation outside of Africa, Siberia, today is the epitome of gender genocide. Women have no identity, and are likely, in this society of Normlessness, to be brutalized at any moment and destined to have babies, become addicted to alcohol or/and drugs. Recently the *New York Times* (July 25, 2012) reported on the 2007 discovery of 15 bodies of women, some as young as 13, who had been murdered in a place in far eastern Siberia that was formerly copper mining country. More recently, five years later, the corpses of 28 pre-born infants—some early stage embryos and others gauged to be 7 month-gestation. No one has been charged with these crimes although criminal gangs are suspected in the murder of the women. These are places at the end of the Kolyna Trail where the forced labor camps have fallen apart and the towns are depopulated. But no one knows where the majority of the population has gone! Siberia is the mythological home of the Golden Goddess but it is also the homeland of uncounted women and girls who have no idea how and where their grandmothers came from or who they were. The Russian system of exile, imprisonment, forced labor, and corruption initiated generations of women who were first afraid to recognize who they were and where they came from or how they got to Siberia—eradicating identity—and then conditions of survival so tenuous and insecure that Normlessness (anomie) prevailed.

Siberia, China, Afghanistan, and India export baby girls. Some fortunate few are adopted by couples desperate for a child to love and they are loved and cared for unstintingly and unreservedly. From Afghanistan and India girl children more often are trafficked in the Gulf States and beyond.

And then there is China—one of the oldest civilizations in the world. The people in China are remarkably resilient, particularly the women. Six thousand years of Emperor Gods, warlords, bandits, revolutions, and repression has taken a terrible toll on all who have survived. But generations of women challenged by conditions for survival as female infants and then for education, jobs, and justice in need of mental health services and equality. They

have been witness to and victims of continual trauma politically sanctioned and only somewhat relieved in the past decade. Even so, horrendous travesties such as the recent forced abortion of a seventh-month pregnancy because the woman and her husband did not have money to pay the fine for having a second child or to bribe the corrupt local officials. At the other end of the socioeconomic scale are women who are the daughters and granddaughters of The Long March. Now the wealthy wives of prominent political figures who have achieved career success themselves, appear to have become the Chinese traditional vixens. They are castigated as evil geniuses who led their husbands astray into corruption. (Please refer to figure 1.2 here.)

Violence nearly always begins with violence to identity. Another name for this phenomenon is discrimination. Researchers and international organizations are currently studying prevention of mass atrocities. These begin with sanctioning the destruction of one “kind” of person. Sanctioned destruction in Chile and Argentina in the seventies through the nineties, included, under the rubric “Communist enemies of the state” anyone and everyone who disagreed or was different. Identification as a Socialist or Communist was cause for arrest, torture, and death. For women who were pregnant, they were tortured and then kept alive long enough to give birth. Their infants and young children were then “adopted” by their torturers or the latter’s friends and family. For women there are two and more kinds and bases for torture. Often unspeakable sexual travesties are performed on her as a “warning” to her husband or kinfolk. Women were raped by trained dogs and had rats inserted into their vaginas.

One woman I examined from Cameroon whose husband was a trade unionist and teacher was tortured repeatedly to signal her husband who was subsequently tortured to death. In Chile, as in China labor activists who were female were tortured among other things, by application of electrodes to nipples and genitals. Often this was done in front of husbands, brothers, and lovers to compel the latter to give information.

Following ancient tribal law, women and girl children cannot perform heavy labor tasks and thus in the Nazi selections women were consigned to the gas chambers along with the elderly and young children. They could not perform the hard labor that entitled prisoners to food. This clearly represents regression to the harshest principles of tribal law. In Siberia, many were compelled to hard labor and died not long after entering the gulags.

Celtic tribal law, especially in Druidic times would appear to be more gender egalitarian. However, when property rights are compromised or dependent on military service and women are excluded from that option, gender inequity commences. Ultimately in Ireland it grew from disadvantage through primogeniture to disadvantage for practicing

Catholicism and politicization of religious extremism as evidenced in twentieth-century Ireland.

In the late twentieth-century round of The Troubles, women—mostly Republican but also many Loyalists were subjected to interrogation, torture, and detention. When I testified as an expert for one such young woman who had been tortured and was on trial, I was detained later that same day and abused by women prison guards at Crumlin Road Gaol. A decade later when I was interviewing women and children survivors of the massacres at Sabra and Shatela in Beirut I was again labeled “dangerous” but this time by the US intelligence agency, which then demanded the dean of American University of Beirut (AUB) immediately dismiss me because I was “endangering AUB students” who had gone with me to learn and to act as interpreters. I learned that in places of totalitarianism, like Northern Ireland and Lebanon an educated woman who wrote books was threatening. My first book on Northern Ireland, *Society on the Run* (Penguin Ltd. Hammondsworth UK, 1973) was ordered off the market and 10,000 copies shredded within weeks of its issuance in October, 1973. This was because it was based in research on torture, prejudice, and discrimination sanctioned by a government. That content, according to the government, made it hazardous to fragile community relations and therefore put under a “D” notice in the United Kingdom where it was published. That book had found its way to Beirut in 1983, a place enveloped in an even more lethal intercommunal warfare. I bought four copies of it for my students at AUB to help them learn research methods in a society under siege! Keeping women illiterate, uneducated, and ignorant is the intent of totalitarian governments whether of the left or of the right. It is also consistent with tribal law. This is precisely the point at which far left and far right comes together closing the spectrum in a circle rather than a line.¹

The educated little Bedouin girls of the Negev are gaining self confidence and self esteem. They are able to view their antecedents and their future as internally consistent. They do not have to assert their proud identity through violence either as recipients or as violators. Their lives open before them as the lovely huge roses grow in Jericho and even in the Negev desert by care and nourishment.

But what will happen to women in Afghanistan when NATO and American forces leave? And what will happen to girls born in rural India to the Dalit “untouchables”? Women from all parts of the world where they’ve suffered tortures to their bodies and shriveling of their spirit come to the United States for asylum and are thrown into prisons where once again they are helpless victims of predation by guards, administrators and, too often, immigration officials?

Or they are trafficked by gangsters to be sex commodity entertainment for the profit of their “Masters” no different from slavery in ancient and medieval times.

All of these and the chapters on sanctioned destruction of women are the reason for a stronger international response than a Declaration against Violence against Women (the reenactment of which is, even as I write, delayed by the US Congress because senators and Congresspersons are playing delay games for political advantages). This is the argument for inclusion of women in the Genocide Conventions as a protected class. In that action there is preventive power that saves the life of an infant girl in rural China and of child brides in forced marriages in Afghanistan and Africa. Even the Ten Commandments and the Code of Hammurabi contained preventive prescriptions as well as punitive consequences for violations of the basic laws. International law must prevent as well as prescribe penalties for Violence against Women. (Please refer to figure 1.3 here.)

The legacy of the Celts of Europe is the bond of kinship. But the politicization of religious extremism has repeatedly over the centuries torn this fabric and splintered the populace. This has become the poignant symbol of the effects of transgenerational violence. It is also the place wherein the consequences of societal violence is played out in the lives of women and children. For every man tortured and imprisoned, there is a mother, spouse, sister, or daughter, no matter how well educated that suffers mental and medical consequences. The experiences of children growing up in violence whether in Northern Ireland, China, Afghanistan, or Darfur become a landscape of painful memories that are the ground in which PTSD and other mental health anomalies are rooted. This social ecology truncates the development of moral judgment at the level of vendetta thus giving rise to the next generation of violence. Unlike Siberia where connections between people with families and origins are anonymous, in Ireland individuals and families are so intensely aware of their antecedents that the line between past and present is a series of dashes.

Ironically in Belfast, working and middle-class people live in circular shaped communities surrounded by walls. Sometimes the walls are referenced as “Peace Walls” and sometimes they are adorned with murals and statements about which identities are welcome and flags symbolic of such. Annual parades glorify ancient victories and bonfires commemorate them even as they evoke Druid feasts and episodic uprisings against the Romans. In this militaristic society, oddly, women have broken with many of the restrictive conventions that impose, in other such societies, limitations and exclusions on females. During the past several decades as men have been preoccupied with paramilitary loyalties and acting out intertribal wars,

many women have become elected parliamentarians and others community leaders and professionals. In Africa, too, we see these extremes of reaction to a society of violence and victimization. Not so in Afghanistan, Siberia, and China. In China, women are expressing their empowerment by becoming super consumers. They shop till they drop on guided tours of Fifth Avenue and Rodeo Drive or in Paris, or Rome.

Little girl children adopted from China and Siberia are dressed like little princesses but have nightmares about beatings, screams, blood on crushed flowers.

Their contemporaries from India and Afghanistan live these nightmares when they become commodities, sold for a bag of rice to traffickers.

Note

1. “Dr. Rona Fields reports on the permanent damage to all sectors of the population in Northern Ireland resulting from detention and torture in Interrogation. The armed patrols and intrusions into Catholic homes has established a climate of fear, anxiety and prolonged stress for the children. They are afraid of the military, the paramilitaries and are experiencing a climate of extreme psychological stress that will permanently adversely affect their lives and the future of the whole society.”

Appendix: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and Depression

Abstract

Stress has long been hypothesized as either the causal agent or the consequential comorbid condition in psychological, psychosocial, and psychosomatic diseases. But “stress” is not only subjective but also variable in duration and extent. Depression is also a diagnostic category with multiple modifiers and various manifestations. Treatment is dependent on both the etiology—the stressor and the dynamics of the depression. This review partials out these many diagnoses and definitions, but also examines the common threads for treatment potentials. The importance of distinguishing organicity from functional dynamics is considered via psychological testing and neurological measuring instruments. The consequences of inappropriate pharmaceutical treatment can be lethal even while absent such treatment may, in some instances lead to organic deterioration from repeated episodes. The problem in diagnosis and treatment of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Depression is not only the aforesaid, but also the fact that the same individual can, at different times and in different situations, manifest distinctly different symptoms.

Recognizing this phenomenon studies have been done demonstrating that the same patient entering a mental hospital four times in the course of as many years, can be diagnosed with four or more differential diagnoses. It is these common threads among the diagnoses that allow quantitative studies on treatment.

Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and Depression

The role of stress in psychiatric disorders has been recognized for many years (Lieberman and Yogar, 1994). In a 1967 symposium on Psychological Stress

(Appley and Trumbull, 1967) explored psychophysiological and adaptive stress. Significantly, in that symposium, Magda B. Arnold examined the psychophysiological and psychoneurological processes of stress and emotion as brain functions. More broadly, the connections between stress and disease, both psychosocial and psychosomatic were explored and presented in 1970 in symposia sponsored by the World Health Organization (Levi, Lennart, Oxford University Press, 1971). Psychoanalytic theorists including Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung early recognized the contribution of social and psychosomatic stress to neuroses. During the 1960s, studies on the psychiatric consequences of prolonged stress concomitant with violence as in Combat Stress and K-Z or concentration camp syndrome, became the etiological core syndrome for the Diagnostic categorization of PTSD that first appeared in the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual III (1980).¹ As scientific and clinical studies of PTSD progressed, there is increasing recognition of the connections with Depression. In fact, the major psychological measurement or diagnostic scales and inventories incorporate items cross valid for both of these diagnoses (cf. Manuals for Beck Depression Index; Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory; Spielberger, C. et al. 2003. "The Nature and Measurement of Depression." In *The International Journal of Clinical and Health Psychology*, pp. 209–234).

There are measurable hormonal respondents to stress. These, most importantly, insulin suppressants can trigger diabetes. This in turn can itself instigate mood disorders since hypoglycemia and diabetes, both disorders of sugar metabolism when undiagnosed and untreated put the patient out of control and feeling depressed. While Depression is the most prevalent of diagnosed mental disorders, increasingly, PTSD is recognized as concomitant with various medical conditions while the stress of recognizing severe and deteriorative medical diagnoses may progress from an Adjustment Disorder to, or manifest as, Acute or Post Traumatic Syndrome. Brain trauma can be identified as a consequence of prolonged traumatic stress or as a precipitating factor, for example (Fields 2008).

Stress itself has been studied and recognized as a trigger in somatic disorders (Lennart Levi, ed. *Stress and Society* 1970). It is important to recognize Post Traumatic or Trauma induced stress as a distinct category and diagnosis because acute trauma has a particular syndrome of somatic and psychic accompaniment. Prolonged trauma as differentiated from prolonged stress is the difference between military service in a war zone and suffering through a prolonged illness.

Longitudinal studies of patients with prolonged and untreated PTSD have been identified diagnostically as Adjustment Disorders, but are also recognizable as Mood Disorders. As distinct from "insanity" this form of depression is a dysphoric mood or affect that varies in intensity. The

kind of depression that is psychotic includes hallucinations, delusions and breaks with reality. On the other hand, Depression connected with PTSD is characterized by flashbacks; a melancholic state that is not readily accessible to explanation—a mood inappropriate to the activities or events that precipitated. This kind of Depressive disorder, often identified as Dysthymic Disorder is one of the frequently diagnosed anomalies connected with PTSD.

The diagnosis or designation Post Traumatic Stress Disorder was first described as the psychological consequence of extreme traumatic stress in a person otherwise not suffering any diagnosed mental illness. In direct contradiction to this description is Foa et al. (*Effective Treatments for PTSD* 2009, p. 9) states that

patients with PTSD usually have at least one other psychiatric disorder... US Epidemiological findings indicate that 80% of patients with lifetime PTSD have lifetime depression, another anxiety disorder, or chemical abuse /dependency. Longitudinal research on subjects diagnosed with PTSD has increasingly demonstrated co-morbidities. (p. 9)

This is a “chicken and egg” conundrum. Classic research elaborated above, contends that PTSD is the etiological initiator for various comorbidities. It stands to reason that in accord with the original diagnostic definition, the physiological and psychoneurological consequences of stress manifest, especially when the stress is prolonged, in comorbidities.

In 1984, Van Der Kolk et al. suggested that psychological trauma may be a precursor of such diverse psychiatric syndromes as psychosomatic conditions, Chronic Pain syndrome, and “certain borderline conditions.” The chronic experience of vulnerability, helplessness, and victimization recognized in PTSD patients cannot be explained purely on a behavioral model. In fact, the application of this diagnosis has become so widespread and varied that it is in danger of losing all meaning (Van Der Kolk, B. ed. 1984. *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Psychological and Biological Sequelae*, American Psychiatric Association, p. 125).

Neurophysiological Etiology

As Magda Arnold pointed out in her 1965 essay on “Stress and Emotion” (Appley and Trumbull 1967),

Surely, if the biological equivalent of the physicist’s definition of stress really is the force and resistance involved in normal functioning then

we would really have to find a different term for the stress that disturbs normal functioning and brings about a “stress syndrome” (Appley and Trumbull 1967, p.123).

She goes on to say that it is disturbances in the normal physiological systems that impair normal functioning arouses awareness of disturbed normal functioning, organismic reaction or extraordinary intensified activity that is required to counteract the disturbance of the neural system. In this way, emotion is aroused as it accompanies psychological stress and the physiological changes that ensue are accompanied by feelings ranging from discomfort to pain. When an individual’s psychological appraisal system elicits a negative emotion, the resulting feeling is mediated through neural pathways in the brain.

In this way, affective memory establishes itself through hippocampal system lesions. Affective memory is aroused in the appraisal of stress situations as is also motor memory. The motor response to the pain or other negative feelings is aroused repeatedly when the initial stimulus is present and the neural pathway to the motor reaction becomes a behavioral habit just as emotional stress can cause lesions in the affective memory circuit and so impairs the ability to assess the consequences of action.

Other research on the manifestations of “flashbacks” on Vietnam veterans suffering PTSD using brain scans indicates that there is a “kindling effect” in the Hippocampus when the subject is confronting a vivid reexperiencing of the traumatic stress.

Can this “kindling” repeated many times result in permanent brain damage? The answer is yet unknown. What is clear, however, is that aberrant behavior is triggered and awareness of reality is severely limited. This inability to distinguish fantasy from reality is, of course, the diagnostic criterion for Schizophrenia. In torture survivors examined by Fields, there is visible shrinkage in the gray matter of the Hippocampus. Since that part of the brain is critical for both affective and motor memory, this phenomenon suggests yet another organic disorder traceable to prolonged extreme stress (in Fields 2008).

Motor and affective memory also functions in response to familiar or unfamiliar stimuli. In brief, the stress response is a subjective, rather than a psychologically objective stimulus because there is cognitive appraisal operating even if quite briefly before the response is chosen. Thus, there are two cognitive mediators required for a stress response.

If there is cognitive deficiency as in severe mental retardation, or limitations in affective repertoire as in Autism spectrum disorders, inappropriate stress responses, even deleterious reactions may ensue.

Distinctions and Relationship with Psychological Reactions to Stress

In such instances the Axis I diagnosis is PTSD and Axis II is the chronic cognitive state of Mental Retardation or Autism as appropriate. Treatment for Axis I is the focus in such cases. Diagnostic and treatment foci are more complicated when there is comorbidity (two Axis I diagnostic indicators). But as PTSD persists unrelieved over time the patient may be diagnosed with a chronic Adjustment Disorder. The symptoms develop within three months of the stressor. By definition the diagnosis Adjustment Disorder must resolve within six months of the stressor. If it does not resolve or persists over a longer period or if the stressor is a chronic condition of life it may progress to more severe mental disorders including Major Depression, Dissociative Disorder. In contrast to Acute stress disorder or PTSD that are triggered by an extreme stressor, Adjustment Disorder symptoms can be triggered by a stressor of any severity. Both syndromes manifest Depression and other mood anomalies.

Developmental Differences

Depression manifests differently in children and adults. This difference leads to confusions in diagnoses and treatment. Traumatic Stress may be induced by the same stressors but manifests differently in behavioral syndrome and hence reflected in diagnoses. In children and in adolescents, depression is often masked by Attention Deficit Disorder diagnosis. Medications, such as Ritalin and Concerta are prescribed. These are stimulants that can backfire, are addictive and when the Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is actually a manifestation of a seizure disorder can have catastrophic consequences. When this behavioral syndrome is actually Childhood Depression stimulants may temporarily help but these medications interact differently with hormonal changes of the brain in adults and often in adolescents. As one patient who is in his thirties and quite articulate, explained his problems (he has organic brain damage with seizure activity and notable tics particularly when he is relaxed). He said his depression comes on after he has struggled for hours to focus and concentrate because of the demands of his job. He becomes exhausted and frustrated. During his work time he avoids any reflective thinking and his tics aren't evidenced while in therapy sessions, he is reflective and appears to have *petite mal* seizures with tic behavior. Thus, we see that Depression in his case might have been originally diagnosed when he was a child and struggled to maintain focus in class. His parents' home schooled him one on one with minimal distractions.

In some instances of traumatic stress, prolonged behavioral manifestations in a child may be characterized as ADHD and as the child grows into adulthood, the flat affect and minimal social interactions are diagnosed as Dysthymic Disorder or Mood Disorder but might actually have been Asperger's Syndrome all along.

Behavioral consequences are likely to be problems in concentration and a lower level of academic achievement and aspirations. Medications usually prescribed to Depression and/or for organicity can exacerbate problems in concentration and stimulants likewise.

Pregnancy and In Vitro Fertilization (IVF)

Pregnancy whether "natural" or "induced" through IVF is a major hormonal stressor. Besides gonadal hormones, the stress as experienced neurologically triggers other hormonal reactions that directly reflect in behavioral changes including alternating mood states. We know from studies of Post-Natal Depression that few cases are entirely situational and in many instances, situational Depression may have been diagnosed prepregnancy and a consequence of infertility. The stress of the biological "clock" for women marrying in their third decade of life combined with sex-role expectations and sex-role-related behaviors in expression that contribute biochemical effects of emotional-environmental stressors. In IVF hormone treatment is an essential aspect of the process to produce ovum and the uterine environment for fertilization to transpire. Repeated, frequent, and intensive IVF preparation can and often does trigger mood altering changes including the possibility for clinical depression.

Women who have undergone this treatment repeatedly following failures of embryonic viability have experienced changes connected with stress, pain, frustration, grief, and anger.

Wetzel, in her 1984 encyclopedic volume, *Clinical Handbook of Depression* (Janice Wood Wetzel, Gardner Press, Inc.) writes extensively on women at risk for Depression focused on the social and environmental roles and stages of a woman's life. Besides the component of stress, many of the precedent conditions are trauma and trauma related. Added, might be endogenous to abnormalities in pregnancy such as gestational diabetes and/or hypertension, the conditions of birth in itself whether it is vaginal delivery or Cesarean and neonatal conditions. Social circumstances such as poverty and/or single motherhood are additional risk factors.

Any combination or all of these circumstances readily contribute to Post-Partum Depression with all of the attendant pathology.

Aging, Anxiety, Degenerative Diseases

Degenerative diseases such as: Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, Pick's, Huntington's, Creutzfeldt-Jacob, Cardiovascular Dementia all incorporate as behavioral symptoms, various kinds of Depression and, of course, anxiety. Head trauma dementia and HIV disease all have neuropathological findings of diffuse, multifocal destruction of white matter and subcortical structures. Many of the above noted degenerative diseases can occur in children. Symptomatic early behavior indicators may be misdiagnosed as Depression and forms of depression may indeed accompany these syndromes. Insofar as head trauma and PTSD are contributory, they present possibilities for behavioral treatment even as they are symptomatic. Depression and Dementia are thus coauthors of pathological behavior.

Aging itself is not pathological but as various illnesses, accidents, and idiopathic anomalies and systemic disorders manifest as the body ages, possibility for Situational and Seasonal Depression increases. As in any other age group, such vulnerability are increased with poverty and social isolation. Comorbidity with Traumatic Stress increases algebraically as the individual is exposed to environmental and social risks. Since Post Traumatic Stress can be dormant for years and only manifest after another stress—sometimes a medical illness, or a new trauma, the likelihood of the comorbidity increases with age.

Conclusions

In DSM IV-TR, completed in 1994 there is further elaboration of the PTSD diagnosis that comports very well with Fields' findings in her research on long-term traumatic stress particularly evidenced in generations experiencing the trauma of ongoing violence and, at the same time, the behavior of parents and grandparents—indeed of an entire society under siege. DSM IV-TR states that familial patterning reflects evidence of an heritable component to the transmission of PTSD and a history of first degree relatives suffering depression leading to greater vulnerability to developing PTSD. Thus the thesis of Transgenerational Traumatic Stress reaction becomes the social fabric for all of the societies remarked in this book.

PTSD incorporates Depressive disorders and often triggers or aggravates the behavioral manifestations. This is probably because PTSD affects brain and neural pathways and these are themselves producers of the hormones present in and triggering depression.

Note

1. Academic Medical Center, The Journal of the American Medical Association, Department of Psychiatry (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Published in JAMA.) Sample survey of 1,011 respondents aged 15 years or older conducted in Nangahar Province during January through March 2003—43.7 percent experienced between 8–10 traumatic events; 14.1 percent reported 11 or more significant symptoms typical of anxiety, depressed PTSD higher rates of symptoms were associated with higher numbers of traumas experienced. Symptoms were more prevalent in women than men. Authors conclude that “mental health symptoms in this region should be addressed at the population and primary health care level.

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